The Latin Dialect of the Ager Faliscus

150 Years of Scholarship
Part I

GABRIËL C.L.M. BAKKUM

Ty F Ams

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150 Years of Scholarship

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The Latin Dialect of the Ager Faliscus

150 Years of Scholarship

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Preface

In the spring of 1987, it was decided that Faliscan would become the subject of my research as *Assistent in Opleiding*, mainly for the simple reasons that Faliscan was a subject that could be treated within the range of a Ph.D. research and that no major work on it had appeared for some time – for 24 years, to be precise. At first, I was only too glad too agree with the phrase of my predecessor Gabriella Giacomelli that "Faliscan is not an attractive language": only after some time I discovered that I regarded Faliscan neither as unattractive, nor as a language. It took me several years as well as repeated visits to the epigraphic material in Rome, the Vatican, and Viterbo, to elaborate why this was so.

Little did I suspect then that the untimely death of my own *socia kara* would lead to a period of twelve years during which work on the project would cease completely and everyone but myself assumed that it would never be resumed, let alone finished. Indeed, when the work was at long last resumed in the autumn of 2007, part of it survived only as a print-out and as files on some old 5.25″ floppy discs that were retrieved only with some difficulty. Neither did I suspect that when the work finally *was* finished, still no major work on Faliscan had appeared in the meantime – for 45 years, the span of my own lifetime.

Now, 21 years after its beginning, the work is completed: the time it took Ulysses to marry Penelope and beget Telemachus, fight the war at Troy, and return home through many adventures – always wishing, but hardly expecting, to see the day of his homecoming. And, like Ulysses' companions, many of mine have not lived to see that welcome end: I name only my dearly beloved girlfriend and companion drs G.A. van Camerijk (†1994), my esteemed teachers, prof. dr A.M. Bolkestein of the Universiteit van Amsterdam (†2001), prof. dr S.L. Slings of the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam (†2004), prof. em. dr C.J. Ruijgh of the Universiteit van Amsterdam (†2004), and my mother, C.C.M. Bakkum-Spaan (†2006).

If this research has finally been brought to a conclusion, this is the result of other minds and hands as well as mine. I wish to thank them here for all their help and assistance:

• First and foremost, prof. em. dr **Harm Pinkster** (Universiteit van Amsterdam), for all his help and suggestions, for his confidence in my abilities – *namque tu solebas meas esse aliquid putare nugas* –, and for his infinite patience with my erratic style of working. It was due to his tutoring that my interest in the languages of ancient Italy was awoken, and without him the writing of this thesis would never have been possible.

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3. A NOTE ON SOURCES AND EDITIONS

The names of ancient authors and their works are, where possible, abbreviated according to the conventions used in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (*OLD*) or the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (*TLL*), and in Liddel & Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon* (*LSJ*).

Several authors that are quoted with some frequency are referred to as follows:

- the fragments of **Livius Andronicus** are quoted according to Erasmi's *Studies on the language of Livius Andronicus* (1975) and the numbering, as in this work, follows the edition of Lenchantin de Gubernatis (1937), abbreviated as **L**
- the fragments of **Ennius** are quoted according to Skutsch's *The Annals of Q. Ennius* (1985), but the numbering follows the edition of Vahlen (1928^2), abbreviated as **V**
- the lexicon of **Hesychius** is quoted and numbered according to Latte (& Hansen)'s *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon* (1953, 1956, 2005), abbreviated as **L** or **L/H**
- the lexicon of **Festus** and the extracts by **Paulus Diaconus** are numbered according the edition by Lindsay (1913), abbreviated as **L**
- the texts of the **Latin grammarians** are numbered according to Keil's *Corpus grammaticorum Latinorum* (1855-1880), abbreviated as ***CGL***, although the texts may follow more recent editions

The inscriptions from the agri Faliscus and Capenas are referred to by their number in my edition (chapters 12-19). The numbers are preceded by an abbreviation indicating in which period or alphabet group I have placed them (see §11.1.3):

EF	Early Faliscan	**LtF**	Latino-Faliscan
MF	Middle Faliscan	**Cap**	Capenate
MLF	Middle or Late Faliscan	**Lat**	Latin
LF	Late Faliscan	**Etr**	Etruscan

The numbering, and, unless otherwise stated, the reading of the inscriptions that are not in my edition follow wherever possible, the following editions:

- for the Latin inscriptions: *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* (***CIL***) or Degrassi's *Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae* (***ILLRP***, 1957, 1963)
- for the Etruscan inscriptions: Rix's *Etruskische Texte* (***ET***, 1991)
- for the Sabellic inscriptions: Rix's *Sabellische Texte* (***ST***, 2002)
- for the Venetic inscriptions: Lejeune's *La langue vénète* (**Le**, 1974)
- for the other languages of ancient Italy: Conway, Whatmough & Johnson's *The Prae-Italic dialects* (***PID***, 1933) or Vetter's *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* I (**Ve**, 1953)

4. CONVENTIONS IN THE REPRESENTATION OF EPIGRAPHIC TEXTS

The following signs have been used in the representation of epigraphic texts:

*	An asterisk denotes traces of a letter. The number of asterisks corresponds to the number of damaged or illegible letters.
ạbc	Subpunction denotes that a letter is damaged and can be read in different ways. This is always explained in the text.
[abc]	Letters between square brackets denote letters of which no legible trace remains, but are integrated according to a modern editor of the text.
[...]	Points between square brackets indicate a space where no legible trace of letters remains, but that is assumed to have contained a number of letters that cannot be integrated, the number of dots corresponding to the number of letters that is assumed to be missing.
[4-5]	Numbers between square brackets indicate a space where no legible trace of letters remains, but that is assumed to have contained a number of letters that cannot be integrated, as indicated by the numbers. This convention is used in cases where the number of missing letters is either very large or uncertain.
[---]	Dashes between square brackets indicate an unknown number of missing letters: combined with a question mark, the dashes indicate the possibility that more letters either preceded (*[---?]*) or followed (*[?---]*) the preserved text.
‹abc›	Letters between pointed brackets are assumed either *(a)* to have been left out by mistake or *(b)* to have been written in error while another letter was intended by the person who wrote the inscription.
{abc}	Letters between accolade brackets are assumed to have been added in error by the person who wrote the inscription.
· ⁚ ⁝ ⁞ ⁖ ⁘	These dots represent the various types of interpuncts as used in the text.
|	The long vertical line is used to indicate *(a)* a regular line end, or *(b)* lines turning around a corner of the inscribed object.
||	The double long vertical line is used to indicate a non-regular line division, e.g. where the text is continued in the line *above* rather than in the line *underneath* it.
1 2 3	Superscript numbers have been used in sepulchral inscriptions consisting of several tiles to indicate the arrangement of the text over the separate tiles. If a letter is written partially on one and partially on the other tile, the number follows the letter.
[1] [2] [3]	Superscript numbers between square brackets have been used in sepulchral inscriptions consisting of several tiles to indicate the arrangement of the text over tiles that have not been seen by any editor of the text, but that are assumed to have originally been part of the inscription.

Chapter 1
Introduction

"On peut se demander s'il y avait lieu d'écrire vraiment un ouvrage d'ensemble sur les Falisques. Leur histoire militaire n'est guère qu'une petite partie de l'histoire romaine, prise à rebours. Leur civilisation, assez rudimentaire, n'était qu'un reflet de celle de leurs voisins du nord, les Étrusques, ou de leurs voisins du midi, les Romains. On la connaît, assez mal, d'ailleurs, et, comme leur religion, surtout par les témoignages cent fois cités des écrivains latins. Les inscriptions trouvées sur leur territoire sont ou étrusques, ou à peu près latines, et ne nous fournissent pour ainsi dire aucun renseignement: la plupart, d'ailleurs, ne contiennent que quelques lettres à demi effacées ou des nom propres souvent d'une lecture douteuse."

1.1. Introductory remarks

With the biased but not wholly unjustified words quoted above, Duvau (1889:9) opened his review of the first major work on Faliscan, Deecke's *Die Falisker* (1888), and similar pessimism still sounds through in the words of Deecke's latest successor, G. Giacomelli (1963:1), "il falisco non è una lingua attraente". The problems in the study of Faliscan, however, are no worse than those in the study of any fragmentarily preserved language, and in the case of Faliscan there are at least three reasons why the Faliscan material merits the effort of its study: "grande morae pretium ritus cognoscere, quamuis difficilis cliuis huc uia praebet iter", as Ovid (*Am.* 3.13.5-6) tells us.

1. **Faliscan is one of the three best documented Latin dialects** (the other two being those of Rome and of Praeneste). The useable Faliscan material consists of *c.*355 inscriptions, and although in many cases these contain little more than names, they provide a surprisingly large amount of linguistic data.
2. **The Faliscan material is relatively old**. Most inscriptions date back to the first half of the third or the second half of the fourth century, a period for which there are few documents for most of the other Italic languages, while even for the earliest period the number of Faliscan inscriptions is comparatively large.
3. **The interest of Faliscan is enhanced by the location of the area where it was spoken**. Lying between the areas where Etruscan, Sabellic languages, and Latin were the native languages, and surviving the domination of the Etruscan culture, as well as, for a long time, the expansion of Rome, it is of considerable interest for the study of language contact in ancient Italy.

For these reasons many publications have been devoted to the Faliscan material, including such 'ouvrages d'ensemble' as Deecke's *Die Falisker* (1888), Herbig's *Corpus inscriptionum Etruscarum* II.2.1 (1912), Buonamici's *Il dialetto falisco* (1913), Stolte's *Der faliskische Dialekt* (1926), and G. Giacomelli's *La lingua falisca* (1963). It is therefore perhaps rather the desirability of a *new* comprehensive study on Faliscan that could be questioned, especially as *La lingua falisca* did not receive an unfavourable press.[1] One obvious reason for a new study is that the results of the many linguistic, epigraphic, and archaeological publications on Faliscan that have appeared in the 45 years since the publication of *La lingua falisca* have not yet been incorporated into a major overview, although *La civiltà dei Falisci* (1990) provides an excellent overview of the new developments, while the more important linguistic points have been the subject of the monographs by R. Giacomelli, *Ricerche falische* (1978) and *Nuove ricerche falische* (2006). The same applies to developments in the study of the Italic languages that bear on the study of Faliscan, most important of which are surely the publication, in 1978, of the *lapis Satricanus* (*CIL* I^2.2832a) and the ensuing discussion about the Italic second-declension genitive singular, the work by Wachter (1987) on the early Latin inscriptions, and the discussion of the Italic perfects of *facio* following the publication of two Faliscan inscriptions by Olmos Romera (2003) and Wallace (2004).

There is, however, another, and, in my view, more important reason for a new comprehensive study on Faliscan. For a long time Faliscan has been regarded as in some way related to Latin, and during the last decades more and more authors have come to see Faliscan as essentially a Latin dialect. An overall critical examination of the material that starts from this point of view is –or, rather, *was*– lacking until now. The aim of this study is therefore to argue that ***Faliscan is a Latin dialect, and in no respect a distinct language***. In order to do so, the definition of both the term *language* and the term *dialect* must be made clear, and every linguistic feature in the Faliscan epigraphic material addressed, compared and evaluated in this context.

The remainder of this chapter is reserved for a number of mainly methodological preliminary observations. The rest of this study is divided into two parts.

Part I is a discussion of the *linguistic* data in their widest sense. It opens with a discussion of the historical sources and their sociolinguistic implications (Chapter 2). The next chapters deal with the data on phonology (Chapter 3), the inflexional morphology of the nouns and the pronouns (Chapter 4), the verbs (Chapter 5), the lexicon (Chapter 6), the onomasticon (Chapter 7), and the syntax (Chapter 8). This is followed by an assessment of the effects of language contact (Chapter 9). The linguistic part is rounded off with my conclusions on the linguistic position of Faliscan with regard to Etruscan, Sabellic, and Latin (Chapter 10).

[1] Reviews: Lejeune 1964, Pellegrini 1964, Rix 1964 (critical), Untermann 1964 (critical), Loicq 1965, Olzscha 1965, and Mariner 1972.

Part II is a presentation of the *epigraphic* data on which the discussions in part I are based. It opens with a discussion of the material and of the Faliscan alphabet and orthography (Chapter 11). The remaining chapters comprise the edition of the epigraphic material, divided into the earliest inscriptions (Chapter 12), the inscriptions from Civita Castellana (Chapters 13-14), S. Maria di Falleri (Chapter 15), Corchiano and the northern ager Faliscus (Chapter 16), the south-eastern ager Faliscus and the ager Capenas (Chapter 17), the inscriptions of unknown or non-Faliscan or non-Capenate origin (Chapter 18), and the Etruscan inscriptions (Chapter 19).

1.2. Dialect and language

As the main problem of this study is whether Faliscan is a dialect or an independent language, some discussion of the way I define 'dialect' is mandatory. It should be noted at the outset that I use the term 'dialect' here only for a geographical variant of a language, and not, as is sometimes done, for social or in-group variants (sociolects or idiolects) as well. The material under discussion here simply does not allow isolating such variants, however welcome and interesting this would be.

The question of the definition of dialect can, on the whole, be approached from a sociolinguistic and from a structural point of view. The exclusively *sociolinguistic definition* of dialect is perhaps best summarized by the wisecrack about a language being 'a dialect with an army': in other words, it is the politics *behind* the language that decide, language being something used by a group that has some measure of political independence, and dialect, by a group that is an identifiable subgroup of a larger community but has no independent status. In this view the notions of dialect and language depend therefore mainly on extralinguistic features, especially the attitudes towards their dialect or language taken by the speakers of the dialect or language in question and by those habitually in contact with them. In such an approach the criteria on which a variant is regarded as a dialect or a language are provided not so much by those dialects or languages themselves as by sources that shed light on how speakers perceive the relation of their dialect or language to their cultural, national, tribal, or ethnic identity. In the case of long dead languages or dialects like Faliscan, this approach can only have a secondary or explicatory role, and then only if there are abundant historical or archaeological sources.

For the Faliscan situation, the criteria have to be provided by the *structural definition*, where the distinction between dialect and language is made on the basis of the intralinguistic features of the language or dialect in question. This method, in its turn, can be subdivided into a synchronic and a diachronic approach. In the *synchronic* approach, variants are compared along a number of parameters, traditionally resulting in a map of isoglosses, and are evaluated accordingly. The parameters should preferably

refer to several different layers of the language structure, such as phonology, morphology, lexicon, and syntax, and may accordingly be given a different 'weight' in deciding the degree of difference between one or more variants. This method, too, is virtually impossible to use in the case of such fragmentarily attested languages and dialects as Faliscan, especially as the documents that are preserved can often not be dated with any degree of accuracy (cf. §1.4.3). Most Latin dialect studies therefore apply a mixture of the synchronic and the diachronic approach.[2] The *diachronic* approach starts out from the assumption, explicitly stated or not, that dialects start off as local variants that gradually become independent (in a linguistic sense), either by retention or by innovation. The degree to which a variant has or has not reached linguistic independence (i.e., to which a dialect differs from the standard or from other dialects of the same language) can then be measured by the relative frequency of the following four parameters:

1. *common retention:* The languages or dialects involved have both retained the same inherited feature.
2. *separate retention:* The languages or dialects involved have both retained different inherited features.
3. *common innovation:* The languages or dialects involved have both replaced the same inherited feature by the same new feature.

4a. *separate innovation (bilateral):* The languages or dialects involved have both replaced the same inherited feature, but each by a different new feature.

4b. *separate innovation (unilateral):* One language or dialect has replaced an inherited feature by a new feature, while the other has retained the inherited feature.

(The term 'innovation' does not necessarily imply an entirely new feature, but can also refer to the standardization of one of several co-existing variants.)

Usually, these four parameters can be distinguished without too much trouble, especially when the variants involved have few contacts: for it is typical of this approach to look at the variants involved as if they developed in complete isolation from each other, while disregarding the phenomena related to language contact. It therefore runs the risk of regarding a feature as e.g. an instance of *common* innovation, while it may in fact have been a *unilateral* innovation followed by *spread* of the innovation from the innovating to the non-innovating variant. This weakness is of course compensated by the fact that it is far more expedient, and, from a structural point of view, theoretically more justifiable, to study the development of each variant involved independently. The problems of this method lie therefore not so much in its theoretical basis as in its application.

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[2] E.g. Ernout 1905, Campanile 1968, Solta 1974, Wachter 1987:101-277, Coleman 1990, and Joseph & Wallace 1991. Coleman 1986 is an example of a largely synchronic approach applied to the Central Italic languages.

With regard to the *application*, there is the problem that not every innovation or retention is comparable to every other, and that not every innovation or retention is as significant as every other. For instance, the fact that in both Faliscan and Latin /ou̯/ was monophthongized to /ō/ cannot be treated on a par with the fact that in both Faliscan and Latin the second-declension genitive singular ending /-osio̯/ was replaced by /-ī/: the former is a fairly frequently occurring phonological development that can also be observed in other Italic languages, while the latter is an apparently unique morphological replacement that is of far greater significance in the evaluation of the degree of difference between Faliscan, Latin, and the Sabellic languages. In the application of this method, there is a general tendency to regard morphological developments categorically as more significant than phonological ones (syntax and other parts of language are often left untreated), and older developments as more significant than recent ones. No doubt this is partly justifiable: yet it should be stressed that every individual instance of retention or innovation is to be evaluated for its relevance, and that the relevance given to any specific instance of retention or innovation will therefore remain a matter of interpretation.

With regard to the *evaluation* of the data in this method, the main problem is that the results of the diachronic method can rarely be quantified, and, as I shall argue below, the differences between languages and dialects are often gradual rather than abrupt, and can therefore often be evaluated better by quantitative data than by distinctions of the 'either … or' type. Furthermore, it is impossible to say that e.g. a certain number of shared innovations followed by a certain number of independent innovations points to a language rather than a dialect: one or two important separate innovations may outweigh a large number of relatively insignificant common innovations, and *vice versa*. The conclusions that can be reached by this method must therefore necessarily be relative rather than absolute.

With these precautions in mind, the implications for the method followed here are the following. First, as the outcome of the diachronic method is relative rather than absolute, the number of languages or dialects compared should preferably be more than two. To establish the position of Faliscan with regard to (Roman) Latin, it is therefore not enough to compare Faliscan with (Roman) Latin, but Faliscan should be compared also with other Latin dialects and with the Sabellic languages.[3] Then, if Faliscan is indeed a Latin dialect, the result of such a comparison would be expected to be, first, that Faliscan sides with Latin in all cases where Latin has separate retentions or innovations with regard to Sabellic; second, that Faliscan has a relatively large number of important common innovations with at least several Latin dialects, and third, that specifically Faliscan separate innovations would be either recent or of lesser significance.

[3] Failure to do so gives Joseph & Wallace 1991 a rather lop-sided conclusion.

A final point worth noting is that during the period under discussion in this study, that is, roughly the sixth to the second century, the dialects of the various Latin towns shifted from being independently coexisting variants of one and the same language (more or less in the manner of the Greek dialects, although with fewer structural differences) towards being variants existing alongside a Roman Latin that was gradually becoming the standard and consolidating its position as such. By the end of the period, if there were still any regional variants, these differed only in the way or in the degree in which they diverged from this standard, and can be regarded as local variants of substandard or 'rustic' Latin. This process appears to have been completed by the beginning of the first century BCE, exactly at the moment when the city-states and peoples of Italy lost their varying degrees of independence in the Social War and its aftermath: the Social War was the conclusion, not a catalyst, of this process of 'substandardization'.

1.3. Languages in contact

1.3.1. Language contact in ancient Italy. In a context like that of ancient Italy, especially during the period of the Roman expansion, it is reasonable to assume even *a priori* the existence of extensive language contact and of bilingual individuals or even bilingual communities. It is difficult to draw any specific conclusions about the effects of these contacts, however, as they can be observed almost exclusively through phenomena occurring in the written material. Sociolinguistic observations can certainly be derived from archaeological or historical data, and can be used very effectively to *explain* phenomena in written material, but such observations are not nearly specific enough to *predict* with any degree of accuracy the effects of language contacts in so far as these do not occur within the written material. Unfortunately, language contact, and especially its corollaries interference and borrowing, have been and sometimes still are used more as a device to explain away apparent irregularities in the material than as an independent fact of language. This is especially so in the case of Faliscan, which many authors have regarded as heavily 'influenced' by the Sabellic languages or Etruscan, usually without making clear just what was meant by 'influenced'. At best, they tacitly placed all interference and borrowing phenomena on one level and equated a high number of features that could be ascribed to other languages with extensive 'influencing'. It is therefore useful to look at some aspects of language contact that are relevant to the study of Faliscan.

1.3.2. Interference and borrowing. In this section I very briefly touch upon several features regarding interference and borrowing in language contact: a more detailed discussion, looking especially at the epigraphic material, may be found in §9.1. First of all it should be clear that the phenomena that can be resumed under the header of

'linguistic interference' operate on two different levels. The first is that of the individual speaker who, using a second language he or she is not completely proficient in, imports features from one language to the other, usually from his or her first language to his or her second language. As the proficiency in the second language increases, these imports gradually become fewer. On another level stand the interference features that have become part of the language into which they have been imported and are consequently used by a large part or the whole of the language community, even those that speak this language as a first language. It is only to this second type of interference that the term 'borrowing' is applied. Unfortunately, in the case of languages that are only epigraphically attested, the difference between interference and borrowing is obscured by the fact that an epigraphic document represents a language or dialect as used by *one* speaker at *one* specific point in time. It is therefore impossible to establish whether a non-native feature is due to real borrowing unless it returns in a sufficiently large number of inscriptions. A second point that should be kept in mind is that, although interference can take many forms, even in extensive language contacts not just any form of interference can acquire the status of a borrowing, as borrowings are embedded in the language into which they are imported and are therefore constrained by the structure of the host language. Below, I name a few of the factors that can act as limitations.

(1) Structural difference. The first point is the degree of difference in structure between the languages or dialects involved: ***where there is a large degree of structural difference, there will be less and more limited borrowing than where it is smaller***. If the structure of the language from which the borrowing is taken is similar to that of the host language on the level where the borrowing takes place, the borrowed feature can be embedded more easily into the host language, as it can be fitted into a similar place within the structure. In the case of Faliscan, this is of special interest for the evaluation of the contacts with the structurally very different Etruscan as compared with the structurally not dissimilar Umbrian or Sabine. The question is of course of even greater relevance for the contacts between Faliscan and Latin, for if Faliscan is regarded as a Latin dialect, the structural differences between the two are assumed to be very small. The degree of structural difference seems to be of little account as a borrowing constraint, however, in a so-called *Sprachbund*. This concept was originally developed for the situation in the Balkans, where, in the aftermath of early mediaeval migrations and the subsequent absorption of the peninsula into the Ottoman Empire, peoples and minorities in every possible sense coexist in a variety of ways, and languages of various Indo-European families exist side by side with altogether unrelated languages. In this situation, languages have been shown to develop along parallel lines even if they are completely unrelated. The existence of an Italic *Sprachbund* has been posited by Pisani (e.g. 1978:39-55, with literature), but I hesitate to adopt this idea. Existing *Sprachbund*-situations and the contexts in which they emerged differ greatly from that of pre-Roman Italy, and I am not convinced that there is any feature in Italic linguistics that can be

explained only or better by the assumption of an Italic *Sprachbund*. As far as I can see, the Italic *Sprachbund* has until now usually been invoked to explain unwanted irregularities in the material or in an argumentation (cf. §1.3.1).

(2) The borrowing hierarchy. Even where the structures of the languages in question are similar, not everything is possible: ***some parts of language can more easily be borrowed than others***, depending on how deeply they are embedded in the language structure itself. This concept is often expressed in the form of a 'borrowing hierarchy'. Although such hierarchies may differ in details, depending on the languages involved, they tend to show the same general tendencies. As an example I give the original borrowing hierarchy as it was long ago proposed by Whitney (1881:19-20), where elements of language are placed in decreasing order of 'borrowability':

> nouns > adjectives > verbs > adverbs > prepositions > conjunctions > pronouns > derivational prefixes or suffixes > inflexional prefixes or suffixes > features of grammatical distinction

Later publications have not brought significant changes to this model (see e.g. Haugen 1950:210-32, Appel & Muysken 1987:170-2). I regard the borrowing hierarchy as such a strict constraint on borrowing that in the case of fragmentarily preserved languages or dialects I have ventured to use it *predictively*, in the sense that borrowing on the deeper levels of the hierarchy is indicative of borrowing on higher levels *even if this is not attested in the material*: in other words, the presence of e.g. borrowed derivational suffixes would be a strong indication that borrowing on every higher level of the borrowing hierarchy took place even if for one ore more of these levels this is not observable in the material.

As so much of the Faliscan material is onomastic, it should be stressed that onomastic elements are *extremely* liable to be borrowed, but have no place on the borrowing hierarchy as they are not a genuine part of the language structure (§7.1.1). A large amount of borrowing in the onomasticon is therefore linguistically not significant except as a very good indicator of language contact and of the way the users of the languages involved perceive the identity of the communities involved.

(3) Extralinguistic factors. A third important point is that borrowing is not something that happens by itself: ***borrowing is the result of a process that is brought about by the speakers of a language***, who select one of various modes of expression offered by different languages or dialects at their disposal. Of course, this process is in most cases subconscious, but the fact remains that a choice is *made by the speaker*, as the result of a psychological or psycholinguistic process. The factors that decide this choice are often not intralinguistic, but extralinguistic, the choice normally being made in favour of the variant that belongs to the language or dialect associated with the community of which it is attractive to be regarded as a member, e.g. for economical, social, political, cultural, or perhaps even personal reasons.

Borrowing is therefore usually not a two-way process, and especially in the Faliscan context, where the contacts were primarily with the languages associated with two dominant political or cultural influences in the area, namely Etruscan (until the fifth century) and Roman Latin (from the third century onwards), borrowing should be expected to take the form of import into Faliscan rather than of export from Faliscan. Note that this implies that even within a strictly structural approach to the definition of language and dialect, it is therefore still necessary to take the extralinguistic factors into account when it comes to an evaluation of borrowing, as borrowing is a primarily *social* process that manifests itself in a language contact situation.

There is one more point I wish to mention in connection with language contacts in ancient Italy, namely the possible existence of *diglossia*, much of which has been made by R. Giacomelli (e.g. 1978, 1979). Consulting the literature on the subject, from the seminal article by Ferguson (1959) onward, exposes an inherent contradiction of studying diglossia from data such as those on Faliscan, for it is a standard feature of classical diglossia that the low-level language not only *is not* written, but in the opinion of its users *should not* or even *cannot* be written. It should therefore be impossible to study diglossia from written documents alone, unless there are strong indications for the existence of an unwritten low-level language from other sources, which in the case of Faliscan are not so compelling as to lead to the assumption of diglossia. Furthermore, diglossia normally requires that the high-level language has a long *written* tradition incorporating such fields as law, religion, and literature, as in the diglossia of Classical and spoken Arabic, or of Greek *καθαρεύουσα* and *δημοτική*. Such a situation is unlikely to have existed in pre-Roman Italy.

1.4. The Faliscan material

1.4.1. 'Faliscan', 'Latin', 'Sabellic'. In this study the term 'Faliscan' is used for a geolinguistic unit, that is, it denotes the name of a regional variant of Latin spoken in the area known as the *ager Faliscus*, whose extent is described in §2.1.1. There are no Faliscan inscriptions from beyond this areas, although some have been claimed as such (cf. chapter 18). One consequence of the assumption made in §1.1, that Faliscan is a Latin dialect, is that the term 'Latin' should properly be used here as a hyperonym of such local variants as Faliscan, Praenestine, etc. Tradition dictates, however, that 'Latin' is used exclusively to refer to the Latin of Latium and the colonies and other emigration areas beyond its confines. I have therefore not without some reluctance maintained this traditional use of the term 'Latin'. The term 'Sabellic' is used here in the modern wider sense to refer to Oscan, Umbrian, the Central Italic languages, South Picene, and Praesamnitic, in short all languages that appear in Rix's *Sabellische Texte* (2003), South Picene probably being a sort of archaic Central Italic *κοινή* (cf. Marinetti 1981,

1985:43-4, Prosdocimi 1987, and Meiser 1987a-b). It should be stressed that terms like 'Latin', 'Faliscan', 'Etruscan', etc., are used as *glottonyms* and therefore refer to *linguistic* units, irrespective of whether these coincide or overlap with homonymous political or cultural units.

'Proto-Italic' is defined as the (chronological) stage during which those developments took place that together set off the Italic languages from the other IE language families, but that precede any developments that occurred only in the Latin or only in the Italic branch (see also §3.1.2). The terms 'Proto-Latin' and 'Proto-Sabellic' are similarly used to denote the successive stage during which the Latin (or, Latin-Faliscan) and the Sabellic branches of the Italic languages underwent their respective individual developments that preceded any developments occurring only in the individual languages of these branches (see also §3.3.1).

1.4.2. The material. The material for the study of Faliscan consists of ***inscriptions*** and ***glosses***. Virtually all our knowledge of Faliscan is based on the data provided by the inscriptions: the handful of glosses (discussed in §6.6) add little to this. The number of inscriptions given by the various authors varies, depending on what is called Faliscan and what not, as well as on whether all or only the linguistically useful inscriptions are counted. The lowest count is 100 (Beekes 1990:49, counting only those that he regards as being of linguistic interest); the highest, 600 (Herbig *CIE* (1912), publishing exactly 600 texts, including every scrap or trace known to him). If from the 535 inscriptions in my edition I exclude all that are illegible, consist only of abbreviations, or are clearly Etruscan, Latin, or a Sabellic language, and count multiple inscriptions on one object and inscriptions repeated on more than one object separately, I come to *c.*355 Faliscan inscriptions, most of which contain features that can in some way or other be used as linguistic data.

Most of the Faliscan inscriptions are sepulchral, scratched or painted on the tiles used to close the burial-niches in the rock-cut tombs, or on the wall beside these. They contain the names of the deceased, often followed by a filiation, and, in the case of married women, by the word *uxor* 'wife' and the name of the husband in the genitive: sometimes the words *hec cupat/cupant* 'lie(s) here' are added as well. Others are cut at the entrance to the tomb, and name its owner, sometimes in the genitive with the word *cela* added, 'the tomb of ...': a few also contain statements on burial rights. Most of the remaining inscriptions are on pottery, and are usually either *Besitzerinschriften* or potters' signatures, consisting of names in the nominative or the genitive, though several of the earliest inscriptions have considerably more content than that. Dedications are few, and so are official inscriptions: the latter group consists mainly of the names of magistrates cut in the sides of the hollow roads of the area, although there are a few bronze inscriptions from the later periods. For an extensive overview of the material, see §I1.1; the formulas used in the various types of texts are discussed in §8.8-12.

1.4.3. The dating of the material. The Faliscan inscriptions span a period from the late seventh or early sixth century to the middle of the second century BCE. The earliest material can easily be identified both archaeologically and epigraphically, but the main group, dated loosely between the second half of the fourth and the early second century, often presents serious dating problems. Dating on archaeological context is difficult, not only because there may be doubts about the reliability of the archaeological context provided (cf. below), but also because burial chambers were often reused for centuries, and, especially in those tombs that were ransacked in antiquity, goods from one burial may well have become associated with another. As a consequence, a reliable basis for orthographical dating is lacking, although the use of the Latin alphabet in an inscription that was clearly written in the ager Faliscus (such as a sepulchral inscription) may be indicative of the period after 240 BCE (see below). Dating on linguistic features, that is, on successive stages of diachronic developments, can of course not be used in a linguistic study because of its obvious methodological disadvantages.

Editors therefore often take the war of 241 BCE (§2.6) as a dating criterion, for it was a result of this war that the two sites that provide the majority of the inscriptions, Civita Castellana and Corchiano, were abandoned, while the new Roman Falerii near S. Maria di Falleri was founded soon afterwards. The inscriptions from Civita Castellana and Corchiano are therefore assumed to date from *before* 240 BCE and those from S. Maria di Falerii from *after* 240 BCE. This division is still applicable, although in the case of Civita Castellana there are indications that the tombs and temples continued to be used after 240 BCE (cf. §2.6.2). I have therefore divided the epigraphic material from the agri Faliscus and Capenas into several age/alphabet groups, further specifying the categories proposed by G. Giacomelli (1978:510-1). I briefly introduce these categories here, discussing them further in §11.1.3:

1. ***Early Faliscan*** (**EF**) are the inscriptions between the late seventh and the fifth centuries. These constitute a group that differs considerably from the rest both in terms of the contents of the texts and linguistically.
2. ***Middle Faliscan*** (**MF**) are the inscriptions between the late fifth century and the war of 241 BCE. This group includes virtually all inscriptions from Civita Castellana and Corchiano, as these sites were apparently abandoned soon after 240 BCE, and few inscriptions from these sites can be shown to be later.
3. ***Middle or Late Faliscan*** (**MLF**) are the inscriptions from the smaller sites in the ager Faliscus that continued to exist after the war of 241 BCE, and cannot with certainty be ascribed to either the Middle or the Late Faliscan period.
4. ***Late Faliscan*** (**LF**) are the inscriptions datable *after* the war of 241 BCE written in the Faliscan alphabet and showing linguistic features that are consistent with the Middle Faliscan inscriptions. The inscriptions from S. Maria di Falleri and from the smaller settlements in the northern ager Faliscus belong to this group.

5. ***Latino-Faliscan*** (**LtF**) are the inscriptions, mostly dated after the war of 241 BCE, that are written in the Latin alphabet but still contain Faliscan dialect features. They are mostly from the sites at Fabbrica di Roma and Grotta Porciosa.
6. ***Capenate*** (**Cap**) are the inscriptions from the ager Capenas that are written in the Latin alphabet but still contain Faliscan dialect features. The majority of these inscriptions appears to date from before the end of the third century BCE.

Beside these categories, there are the ***Latin*** (**Lat**) inscriptions, that is, the inscriptions written in Latin alphabet and showing no significant Faliscan features. These are far more frequent in the ager Capenas (especially at the shrine of Lucus Feroniae), as this was Latinized at an early date: in the ager Faliscus, they appear to date almost exclusively from the period after 240 BCE. Finally, there are the ***Etruscan*** (**Etr**) inscriptions, which are defined on the basis of linguistic features as well as of the alphabet.

The criteria on which a text is judged to be Faliscan, Latin, or Etruscan, are discussed below: where doubt exists and alphabet and language involved seem to be at odds, inscriptions have been labelled as e.g. *Middle Faliscan/Etruscan* (MF/Etr).

1.4.4. When is a text Faliscan? Although it is usually not difficult to tell whether an inscription is Faliscan or not, there are cases where there is doubt as to the language used. Editors often solve this problem by looking at the alphabet, the presupposition being that the use of the Faliscan, Latin, or Etruscan alphabet is indicative of the language used. Although this is to some extent true, it is not a conclusive, and, worse, not a linguistic argument: I might choose to write this sentence in the Greek alphabet, but unless I not only *transliterate* but *translate* it as well, the sentence remains English. I have therefore looked first at the lexical, morphological, and phonological data present in the text (in that order), and have used the alphabet only as an additional criterion.

The decision whether an inscription is Faliscan or Etruscan is usually not a very difficult one, although even in this case things may turn out to be more subtle than they appear at first sight. A case in point is *umrie* ('Umbrius') Etr **XLIII**, a sepulchral inscription from Rignano Flaminio on the border between the ager Faliscus and the ager Capenas, and, as a sepulchral inscription, not likely to have been written anywhere else. I regard the language of this inscription as Etruscan in spite of the fact that it is written in the Faliscan alphabet, for the cluster *mr* is Etruscan, and not in accordance with Faliscan phonology, as is shown by *upreciano* ('Umbricianus') in MLF **363** and **364**, from the same tomb as *umrie*: the ending *-ie(s)*, although undoubtedly Etruscan, cannot constitute an argument to call the text Etruscan, as it occurs also as an interferential form (limited to the onomasticon) in otherwise Faliscan texts. On the other hand, I regard *hermana* MF/Etr **264** as Faliscan in spite of the fact that both the name and the alphabet are Etruscan, because in Faliscan the Etruscan gentilicia in *-na* were incorporated into the first declension as borrowings, as they were in Latin: in other words, the inscription could be Faliscan as well as Etruscan.

The differences between Faliscan and Latin are less obvious. An illustrative instance is *med · loucilios · feced* Lat **268**, engraved on a fourth-century strigilis found at Corchiano. I regard the language of this text as Latin, but not primarily because it is written in the Latin alphabet. In this case the first criterion is morphological, for Latin *feced* contrasts sharply with the contemporary Faliscan *facet* MF **470*** and *faced* MF **471*** (since *med* occurred both in Latin and in Early and Middle Faliscan, it cannot count as a criterion), and the second, phonological, namely the spelling *ou*, which at this date is Latin rather than Faliscan, where the spelling *o* was already predominant. But how about the *-s* in *loucilios*? After all, omission of word-final *-s* is generally regarded as a stock feature of Faliscan. The weakening of /s#/ after a short vowel and its omission in writing occurred not only in Faliscan, however, but in so many other Latin dialects as well that at the time it was a feature of Latin and Faliscan in general rather than of any specific dialect: a point made even more salient by the fact that in early Latin quantitative poetry /s#/ was treated in a different way than the Greek models for such poetry prescribed. If the material from the various Latin dialects is evaluated *statistically*, however, it appears that in the Faliscan inscriptions word-final *-s* is omitted in about 97% of the instances, whereas the percentage of omission in other areas is noticeably lower (§3.5.7*d*). It is therefore the *frequency* of the omission, not the omission itself, that constitutes a Faliscan dialect feature, and omission of *-s* counts as a Faliscan dialect feature *only* when viewed as part of the whole set of instances of this omission from the ager Faliscus, and not when viewed in isolation.

As a consequence, when judging whether the language of a text is Faliscan or not, such a statistically defined feature can count as a Faliscan dialect feature *only* if the text is Faliscan in other ways as well (e.g. containing other Faliscan dialect features or specifically Faliscan names, being written in the Faliscan alphabet, or being from the ager Faliscus): an important point where texts from other areas are involved. Thus, *titoio* **483**† from Ardea, has been regarded as Faliscan because of the omission of *-s*, but since there is no other indication of its being Faliscan, I can see no reason to regard it as such (§18.3.2).

1.4.5. The reliability of the material. A last point to be made concerns the reliability of the Faliscan material. As far as can be ascertained, the inscriptions themselves are genuine: in spite of the suspicions of some early editors (notably Deecke, who never saw any inscription himself), falsifications are apparently absent.[4] There may be some doubt, however, with regard to the data on the archaeological context of many of the inscriptions.

[4] *Ueiṇeto* MLF **464** is regarded as a fake by many scholars; *cauio* | *uetulio* LF **335** may be an unintentional double of *cauia* | *uetulia* LF **334**. I myself must admit to having had initial doubts with regard to the authenticity of the Ceres-inscription (EF **1**), but I have not been able to substantiate these.

First, there is the possibility that chance finds or material from badly documented private or semi-private excavations at other locations came to be ascribed to Civita Castellana as the central town of the area, as happened to Manzielli's excavations near the Grotta Porciosa site in 1890 (see §16.6) and to finds from the Principe del Drago's excavations at Narce in 1891. Second, there is the 'Villa Giulia scandal' (see Sforzini 1985:538-9 and Waarsenburg 1994:39 nn.156-7, 159). This affair centred on allegations made in 1898 by Helbig that the existing documentation on the excavations in the ager Faliscus was to a great extent added later, which, if true, would seriously have discredited the scientific value of the publications of this material, especially Barnabei's overviews in *Monumenti Antichi* 4 (1894). After a period of intense media attention and an investigation by a parliamentary committee headed by Pigorini, the affair ended more or less inconclusively with the temporary closure of the Museo, and with most of the blame being put on the actual excavators, Benedetti and Mancinelli-Scotti. It is useless to speculate now on who was to blame for what (or indeed whether anyone was to blame for anything), but some reservation about the documentation of the finds from the necropoles of Civita Castellana and Corchiano does not seem unjustified. Fortunately, it would not appear that even in the worst case this would have significant consequences for the linguistic assessment of the epigraphic material.

I conclude with a short note on the reliability of the epigraphic material as presented in my edition (chapters 11-19). The scope of this edition was to provide all the material on which my linguistic history of the agri Faliscus and Capenas is based, and therefore to include *all* inscriptions from this area from before the first century BCE, whether Faliscan, Latin, or Etruscan, to a total of 535 inscriptions. Of the *c.*440 Faliscan or possibly Faliscan inscriptions in this *corpus*, including those consisting only of abbreviations, *c.*420 are presumably still extant, of which I publish 126 from autopsy: this is indicated in the bibliography accompanying each inscription, and a full list is given in §11.1.1. Since many of the inscriptions that I have not been able to see were seen by G. Giacomelli, and *vice versa*, the two editions between them present the majority of the inscriptions from autopsy. Where I have published *e prioribus*, I can claim with some confidence to have collated every autoptic description and illustration.

1.5. A short survey of Faliscan studies: 150 years of scholarship

Although the ancient sources are not silent on the ager Faliscus and its inhabitants (cf. §2.2-6), the data on Faliscan as a language or dialect are very few. They consist only of a handful of glosses (discussed in §6.6), and of the much-quoted remark from Strabo's *Geographica* (5.2.9), *ἔνιοι δ'οὐ Τυρρηνούς φασι τοὺς Φαλέριους, ἀλλὰ Φαλίσκους, ἴδιον ἔθνος· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τοὺς Φαλίσκους πόλιν ἰδιόγλωσσον*: 'Some say that the inhabitants of Falerii are not Etruscans, but Faliscans, a distinct people; and some, too, that the

Faliscans are a *polis* with a distinct tongue.' It should be noted that as Strabo made this remark as part of his description of Etruria, expressions like *ἴδιον ἔθνος* and *πόλις ἰδιόγλωσσος* are to be taken relatively, as 'different with regard to the rest of Etruria', rather than absolutely.

Although the study of Faliscan antiquities was revived at a very early date with *De origine et rebus Faliscorum* (1546) by Massa, the study of Faliscan did not progress until much later. Cluverius, in his *Italia omnis* (1624:537-8), established most of the correct reading of the passage from Strabo, but did not discuss its implications, and Dempsterus, in his *De Etruria regali* (1723:2.53), still dismissed Strabo as "in rebus peregrinis balbutientem". The first Faliscan inscriptions were noted down already in 1676 (LtF **205**, MLF **206-207**, MLF/Etr **208-209**, and MLF **210**), and the first one to appear in print was published in 1726 (MF **79**), but without attracting specific attention: Lanzi, whose opinion on Faliscan (1824:52) was still no more than a paraphrase of Strabo's, in fact republished it as Etruscan (1824:392).[5]

The first conclusion on Faliscan that was based on linguistic data was drawn by Mommsen in *Die unteritalische Dialekte* (1850:364), where he concluded from the few Faliscan glosses given by the ancient authors that Faliscan was "wahrscheinlich sabinisch oder umbrisch", although at the same time drawing attention to the similarity between the Faliscan glosses and those of the Latin dialects.

Real interest in Faliscan started with the publication, in 1854, of a group of Late and Latino-Faliscan inscriptions from near S. Maria di Falleri (LF **220-230** and LtF **231-233**). This led to Garrucci's essays 'Scoperte falische' (1860) and 'Epigrafi etrusche anteaugustanee' (1864) that mark the beginning of the modern study of Faliscan. The inscriptions in Latin characters were subsequently included in Ritschl's *Priscae latinitatis monumenta epigraphica* (1862) and Mommsen & Henzen's *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* I (1863), while the Faliscan inscriptions, augmented by an increasing number of new finds, found their way into Fabretti's *Corpus inscriptionum Italicarum* (1867), Garrucci's *Sylloge inscriptionum Latinarum* (1877), Zvetaieff's *Inscriptiones Italiae* (1884-1885, 1886), Schneider's *Dialectorum italicarum aevi vetustioris exempla selecta* (1886), and Bormann's *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* XI (1888). This period was concluded by the first overall work on Faliscan and the Faliscans, Deecke's ***Die Falisker*** (1888). Deecke, gathering all data available in his day, treated Faliscan as influenced by the Sabellic languages, and regarded the ager Faliscus as at least linguistically entirely separate from Latium. In spite of the fact that his edition is nowhere based on autopsy, this work provided the basis for the subsequent publication of the Faliscan inscriptions in Conway's *The Italic dialects* (1897).

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[5] Lanzi's only Faliscan specimen (1824:459-64) was *leipirior · santirpior · duir · for* | *foveer · dertier · dierir · uotir* | *farer · uef · naratu · uef · poni* | *sirtir* (= *CIL* XI, falsae 350*), with the comment that "a Faleria paese indioglotto [*sic*] ottimamente conveniva un linguaggio nè latino nè greco" (1824:461): *Faliscum est, non legitur*, as one might say.

The 1880s and 1890s were fruitful decades for the study of Faliscan, mainly because of the many excavations connected with the newly-founded Museo di Villa Giulia. This material has since been gathered in *Formae Italiae* II.1-2 (1978, 1982). Even when these were stopped and the Museo temporarily closed in the first decade of the twentieth century (§1.4.5), a great number of new inscriptions were published, including the famous Early Faliscan 'Ceres-inscription' (EF **1**). The wealth of new material, most of which was first published in Thulin's seminal essay 'Faliskische Inschriften' (1907), made it quite clear that Faliscan was much less influenced by the Sabellic languages and stood much closer to Latin than had hitherto been assumed. On the other hand, Faliscan now came to be regarded as having been extensively influenced by Etruscan. This theory, already apparent in Jacobsohn's *Altitalische Inschriften* (1910), reached its zenith in Herbig's ***Corpus inscriptionum Etruscarum* II.2.1** (1912), a reworking of his *Habilitationsschrift*, *Tituli Faleriorum Veterum* (1910). Epigraphically, this is still the most complete work on the Faliscan inscriptions, with drawings of virtually all inscriptions then known, and virtually everywhere based on autopsies by Herbig himself or by Nogara; linguistically, it has the drawback of not containing a comprehensive evaluation of the linguistic data. Herbig's work was followed closely by Buonamici's ***Il dialetto falisco*** (1913), the third work devoted entirely and exclusively to Faliscan and the Faliscans.

The study of Faliscan then entered a phase in which few new inscriptions were published, with the important exceptions of the inscriptions from Vignanello (MLF **302-323**) in 1916, and, in 1933-1935, of three Early Faliscan inscriptions from Civita Castellana (EF **2-4**). Interest now began to focus on the linguistic interpretations, resulting in the *Inaugural-Dissertation* by Herbig's pupil Stolte, ***Der faliskische Dialekt*** (1926), the first work to concentrate entirely on the linguistic data. Other linguistic publications were made by Ribezzo (e.g. 1918, 1927, 1930, 1934, 1936), who maintained that Faliscan was heavily influenced by the Sabellic languages.

The importance of the Faliscan material now began to be realized outside the strict field of Faliscan studies, especially in the discussion of the Italic o-stem genitive singular. Vetter's *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* I (1953:277-331) contained the first publication of the complete Faliscan corpus since Herbig's *CIE* (1912). Although he did not comment explicitly on the linguistic position of Faliscan, it is clear from his comments on individual inscriptions that he regards it as at least close to Latin. The 1950s also saw much work in the archaeological field, notably the surveys of the ager Faliscus and Capenas conducted by the British School, published by Ward Perkins & Frederiksen (1957) and G. Jones (1962). A number of these new developments were included in G. Giacomelli's ***La lingua falisca*** (1963), the first publication since Deecke 1888 to include both an edition and a linguistic overview of the material. She published many inscriptions from autopsy, often for the first time since Herbig's *CIE*. As is clear from the title, G. Giacomelli regarded Faliscan as a language closely related to Latin.

After G. Giacomelli's edition, Faliscan studies went through a revival. A number of inscriptions were published in the second edition of Pisani's *Le lingue dell'Italia antica oltre il latino* (1964). A great number of publications appeared in the mid-1960s, of which I name only the many studies by Peruzzi (1963b, 1964a-d, 1965, 1966a, 1967a-b) and Hirata's monograph on the onomasticon (1967); more extensive studies are the monographs by R. Giacomelli, *Ricerche falische* (1978) and *Nuove ricerche falische* (2006). A large number of new inscriptions were published, most importantly the Late Faliscan inscriptions from Pratoro (LF **242-249**), published by Renzetti Marra (1974, 1990) and two Middle Faliscan inscriptions (MF **470*-471***) published by Olmos Romera (2003) and Wallace (2004). Important, too, was the publication of the archaeological data gathered in the 1880s and 1890s in *Forma Italiae* II.1 (1972) and II.2 (1981). Archaeological work progressed significantly: I name only the studies by Potter (1976, 1979) and Moscati (1983, 1985a-b, 1987, 1990). A comprehensive overview of the major developments was provided by the publication of *La civiltà dei Falisci* (1990).

The points of view on the linguistic position of Faliscan since the appearance of *La lingua falisca* are the following. The view that Faliscan was closely related to Latin was adopted by most scholars, but the *degree* of difference between Faliscan and Latin remains a matter of debate.

G. Giacomelli reiterated her view that Faliscan is a language closely related to Latin (in her article 'Il falisco' in *Lingue e dialetti dell'Italia antica* (1978), pp.509-542), but now attributed many features of Faliscan to influence from the Sabellic languages. Campanile (*Studi sulla posizione dialettale del latino* (1969), pp.85-92) pointed mainly to the differences between the two, and seems inclined to award Faliscan a more or less independent position. Solta (*Zur Stellung der lateinischen Sprache* (1974), pp.45-47) stressed the correspondences between Faliscan and Latin, but also saw a convergence of Faliscan with the Sabellic languages. Wachter (*Alt-lateinische Inschriften* (1987), pp.31-2 with n.73) stresses the shared innovations of Latin and Faliscan, and regards the two as "sprachlich ... nahestehenden Völker-schaften" (p.32). In the evaluation of the question by Joseph & Wallace ('Is Faliscan a local Latin *patois*?', *Diachronica* 8 (1991), pp.159-186), the conclusion is again that "Faliscan is a separate language from Latin and not a dialect of Latin, though it is the closest sibling to Latin in the Italic family tree" (p.185): their view is shared by Baldi (*The Foundations of Latin* (1999), pp.170-4). R. Giacomelli (first in *Ricerche falische* (1978) and recently in *Nuove ricerche falische* (2006), the most recent contribution on the subject) treats Faliscan on the whole as a Latin dialect, and I must agree with his conclusion, although I disagree on many points with his arguments.

In §10.2 the views of these scholars are debated in detail on the basis of the evaluation of the linguistic data presented in the following chapters.

Map of the ager Faliscus

Map of the ager Faliscus, showing most of the principal sites, the rivers and streams dividing the area into ridges, as well as the course of the three Roman roads (the Viae Cassia, Amerina, and Flaminia) constructed during the late third and early second centuries BCE. Of the two sites not figured on the map, Narce was located about 4,5 kilometres to the north-east of Mazzano, and Grotta Porciosa about 2 kilometres to the east of Gallese, close to the place where the Via Flaminia crossed the Tiber. Note the Monti Cimini that closed off the area to the west and north, and the main route to the west, crossing the Monti Cimini west of Sutri through the 'Sutri Gap'. (From Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:68 fig.1.)

Chapter 2

The ager Faliscus and its inhabitants

As a prolegomenon to the discussion of the linguistic data in chapters 3-9, I present in this chapter a survey of the non-linguistic data relevant to the linguistic history of the ager Faliscus. This consists of brief descriptions of the ager Faliscus (§2.1), its inhabitants and their culture, regarded from the perspective of ethnic identity (§§2.2-3), and the history of the area (§§2.4-6). This is followed by an evaluation of the sociolinguistic data relevant to the preservation of Faliscan and its later disappearance (§2.7), and the general picture that can be drawn from the data presented in this chapter (§2.8).

2.1. The ager Faliscus

2.1.1. Extent. The geographical and political unit known in antiquity as the *ager Faliscus* (see map p.18) is located in what is today the *regione* Lazio, the southern part belonging to the *provincia* of Roma and the northern to that of Viterbo; archaeologically, the area resorts under the Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Etruria Meridionale.[6]

In antiquity, the ager Faliscus was bordered on the east by the Tiber, which seems to have had no significant crossings between Lucus Feroniae at the southern end of the ager Capenas and the site near Grotta Porciosa in the north-eastern corner of the ager Faliscus (cf. Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957). The Tiber thus constituted a strong geographical as well as political and linguistic boundary with the area on the east bank. To the west, the borders of the ager Faliscus lay on the slopes of the Monti Sabatini in the southwest and the Monti Cimini in the northwest, which in antiquity were densely wooded. Livy's description (9.36.1, cf. also 10.24.5) of this *silua Cimina* at the end of the fourth century as "magis tum inuia atque horrenda quam nuper fuere Germanici saltus, nulli ad eam diem ne mercatorum quidem[7] adita", although obviously meant to add colour to his story, is confirmed by pollen analyses of samples from the beds of the Lago di Bracciano, the Lago di Monterosi, and the Lago di Vico, which indicate that the eastern slopes of the Monti Sabatini were covered by dense oak forests that remained largely undisturbed until the third and second century (see Potter 1976:6, 1979:96).

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[6] Archaeological guides to the area are De Lucia Brolli 1991a-b and Torelli 1985:25-48. A discussion of the area's history based on the archaeological material is Potter 1979.

[7] That is, *foreign* merchants: the intrepid Fabius who crossed the forest in 310 to avoid the hostile ager Faliscus was protected not so much by his disguise and his fluent Etruscan as by the fact "quod abhorrebat ab fide quemquam externum Ciminios saltus intraturum" (Liv. 9.36.6).

The northern and southern borders of the ager Faliscus are harder to establish. Northwards, the ager Faliscus extended to the ager Hortanus to the northeast and the ager Vulcentanus to the northwest, the border probably running along the upper slopes of the Monti Cimini. To the southwest, the ager Faliscus bordered on the ager Veientanus. The most obvious natural boundary here is formed by the Monti Sabatini and the ridge connecting these with Monte Soratte (ancient Soracte), and this may well have been the original southern boundary of the ager Faliscus. During the fifth century, however, the political influence of Veii extended northward well beyond this range to include Sutrium and Nepete (modern Sutri and Nepi), and as these towns subsequently became colonies in the early fourth century (§2.5.2), they and their territories ceased to be part of the ager Faliscus at an early date. To the southeast, the ager Faliscus probably included Monte Soratte, which was ascribed to the Faliscans e.g. by Pliny (*NH* 7.2.19) and Porphyrio (*in* Hor. *Carm.* 1.9.1): the border with the ager Capenas must have run somewhere along its southern and south-eastern slopes. It is unclear whether the land between Monte Soratte and the Tiber belonged to the ager Capenas or the ager Faliscus: although modern authors tend to assign it to the ager Capenas, the fourth- and third-century inscriptions from the area to the east of Monte Soratte are virtually without exception Faliscan instead of (Capenate) Latin (see §17.2-6).

2.1.2. Towns. The main site of the ager Faliscus, at least from the sixth century onward, was the town called *Falerii* or Φαλέριοι by the ancient authors, identified since Cluverius (1647:544-5) with the site occupied by Civita Castellana, *c.*50 kilometres north of Rome.[8] It was located at the point where a number of smaller streams flowing down from the Monti Sabatini joined the Treia, the main river of the ager Faliscus, and thus the natural centre of the area. The same name was used for the settlement founded by the Romans after the war of 241 as the new centre of the area, at the place known today as *Faleri*, or, in reference to the mediaeval abbey located within the Republican town walls, *S. Maria di Falleri*, *c.*4.5 km to the west of Civita Castellana. Modern usage therefore refers to the two towns as *Falerii Veteres* and *Falerii Novi* respectively.[9]

The ancient sources sometimes used other names for the two towns, a point discussed by Di Stefano Manzella (1977). Falerii Veteres is also referred to as Φαλίσκος (Steph. *Ethn.* 656.24-5 Meineke), Φαλίσκον (Str. 5.2.9, Diod. 14.96.5; *Faliscum* Avit. fr.2.2 *apud* Prisc. *CGL* 2.427.2 is a genitive plural = *Faliscorum*), or *Falisca* (Solin. 2.7), and Falerii Novi is also called Φαλέριον (Str. 5.2.9, Ptolem. 3.1.43 Cuntz, Steph. *Ethn.* 656.12-3 Meineke: Dionysius (1.21.1-2) uses this name for both Falerii's).

[8] For the older tradition that Civita Castellana was the location of Veii, probably inspired by the impressive site, see Moscati 1985b:45 n.1.

[9] Short descriptions of these sites and references to the literature on their excavations are given in the introductions to chapters 13-14 (for Falerii Veteres) and 15 (for Falerii Novi).

The appellations "[colonia] Falisca quae cognominatur *Etruscorum*" (Plin. *NH* 3.5.51) and "colonia Iunonia quae appellatur *Faliscos* [*sic*]" (*Lib. Col.* 217.5) would seem to refer to Falerii Novi, but this view has been challenged: cf. §2.6.2. *Falisci*[10] appears to be an alternative for *Falerii*: Ovid (*Am.* 3.13.1), too, used *Falisci* as a toponym when speaking of *pomiferis ... Faliscis*.[11] Strabo (5.2.9) and Plutarch (*Cam.* 2, 9-11, whence Polyaen. 8.7.1) use the two ethnica to distinguish between the inhabitants of the town (the Φαλέριοι) and of the ager Faliscus as a whole (the Φαλίσκοι).

The variants sometimes refer to coexisting towns, providing an argument for a continued existence of Falerii Veteres after the war of 241 (cf. §2.6.2). Strabo (5.2.9) names both a Φαλέριον and a Φαλίσκον, which Di Stefano Manzella (1977:156) equated with Falerii Novi and Falerii Veteres respectively: similarly, Stephanus mentions both a Φαλέριον (*Ethn.* 656.12-3 Meineke) and a Φαλίσκον (*Ethn.* 656.24-5 Meineke), calling the latter an ἄποικος Ἀργείων, which identifies it as Falerii Veteres (cf. §2.4.1).

Other sources also name an *Aequum Faliscum* (Str. 5.2.9, *Tabula Peutingeriana*) or *Aequi Falisci* (Verg. *A.* 7.695, Sil. 8.489; in both these cases the name is used as an ethnicon, cf. above on *Falisci*). This place was apparently not identical with Falerii Novi, for the *Tabula Peutingeriana* shows the latter as *faleros*, located correctly at five miles beyond Nepete on the Via Amerina, and the former as *aequo falsico* [*sic*], unfortunately located erroneously to the *east* of the Tiber on a road to Spoletium that is itself located to the *west* of the Tiber. Strabo's description (5.2.9) of Αἰκουουμφαλίσκον as ἐπὶ τῇ Φλαμινίᾳ ὁδῷ κείμενον μεταξὺ Ὀκρίκλων καὶ Ῥώμης can refer neither to Falerii Veteres nor to Falerii Novi (nor to the site at Grotta Porciosa, as Ward Perkins & Frederiksen (1957:189 n.53) suggested). If the town is identical with Falerii Veteres, it is unclear how the steep site could be called *aequus*: perhaps *aequus* is to be understood as 'levelled' (*aequus* or *aequatus solo*), referring to the destruction of the town in 241.[12]

The other town ascribed by the ancient sources to the ager Faliscus is *Fescennium* or Φασκέννιον: it is mentioned only as the place of origin of the ribald wedding songs known as *carmina Fescennina*, and cannot be located with certainty. It has been identified with Narce (first Barnabei 1894a:22), a major site of the southern ager Faliscus, whose decline after the sixth century would account for the lack of references. Habitation at Narce seems to have ceased after the war of 241, however, whereas

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[10] *Faliscos* is an accusative (perhaps from a map reference, cf. *faleros v* on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*), not a transcription of Φαλίσκος, as Di Stefano Manzella (1977:160) took it.

[11] Di Stefano Manzella (1977:152-4) furthermore adduced the very ambiguous instances Eutrop. 1.20.1-2 and 2.28, Amm. 23.5.20, and Serv. *in* Verg. *A.* 7.695. (The use of *Falisci* as a toponym may be due to the existence, in the onomasticon, of *Falerius* beside the toponym *Falerii*.)

[12] Cf. the *Aequimaelium* in Rome, thought to mark the site of the razed house of Sp. Maelius (Liv. 4.16, Dion. 12.4.6, Cic. *Dom.* 101, Var. *L* 5.157, V. Max. 6.3.1). Servius' explanation (*in* Verg. *A.* 7.695) of *aequus* as 'just' because the Faliscans were allegedly the source of the *ius fetiale*, although obviously spurious, represents an attempt to address the same problem.

Dionysius (1.21.1) speaks of *Φασκέννιον* as an existing Roman town, and Pliny (*NH* 3.5.51) names *Fescennia* as a township of the Augustean *regio VII*. Others have identified Fescennium with the site near Grotta Porciosa (Dennis 1848:159-62), with Corchiano (Buglione 1887a:25-6), or with Rignano Flaminio (Taylor 1923:93-4). The various claims are discussed by Shotter (1976:33-4) and Colonna (1990), who both decide in favour of Narce (thus also *BarrAtl* (2007), map 142).

These are only the sites that are named by the ancient authors. The archaeological record shows a number of other sites, e.g. at Corchiano and Vignanello in the north-west, at Gallese and the Grotta Porciosa locality in the north-east, and around Monte Soratte, with a distinct linguistic interest of their own, especially in the period after 240, when Falerii Veteres disappeared as the centre of the area and the land itself was divided into a Faliscan and a Roman part (see §2.6.2). References to the literature on these sites are given in the sections where the inscriptions from these sites are discussed in chapters 16 and 17: see also the works mentioned in note 6 (p.19).

2.1.3. Roads and routes. The road-system of the ager Faliscus and its routes to the surrounding areas are well known thanks to the surveys conducted by the British School in the 1950s (see Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957, G. Jones 1962, and Quilici 1990).

As said in §2.1.1, the ager Faliscus was closed off on the east and west sides by strong natural boundaries, and major lines of communication in these directions were few. No ancient Tiber-crossings are known between Lucus Feroniae at the southern end of the ager Capenas and the site near Grotta Porciosa at the northern end of the ager Faliscus used by the Via Amerina (cf. Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957 *passim*). Apparently unlike the next crossing to the north, located *c.*10 km away near Orte, the crossing near the Grotta Porciosa site was connected, by way of the valley of the Nar, with the Sabine interior and Umbria. It therefore constituted an important connection between South Etruria and the interior, and may have seen extensive traffic not only of traders but also of transhumance farmers (cf. Skydsgaard 1974:23-8 and Potter 1979:37-41). Since from *c.*400 to 240 this crossing was the first one to the north of those controlled directly by Rome, it may have had strategic importance as well.

The same applies to the westward route from the ager Faliscus to coastal South Etruria through the 'Sutri Gap', the saddle between the mountains surrounding the Lago di Bracciano and those surrounding the Lago di Vico. After the fall of Veii in the early fourth century, this was the southernmost route through Etruria not under Roman control, and the Romans were quick to secure it by establishing colonies at Sutrium and Nepete some years later (§2.5.2). The strategic importance of Sutrium and Nepete as gateways to Etruria is reflected by the frequent mention, in Livy's description of the wars of the fourth and third centuries, of skirmishes for the possession of these towns (see §2.5.2), especially Sutrium, which commanded the road that in the middle of the second century would become the Via Cassia.

To these routes to the east and west must be added the connection to the north and south formed by the Tiber. Especially during the *floruit* of Veii in the sixth and fifth centuries, when, together with Capena, Veii may have dominated its lower course all the way down to the river Anio (the modern Aniene), a sizeable amount of traffic must have passed up and down the Tiber valley (see Baglione 1986). This is reflected by the antiquity of the Via Tiberina, which followed the west bank for practically the whole length of the ager Capenas, having been traced even to the north of Fiano Romano (G. Jones 1962:201). The ager Faliscus was therefore located on the crossroads of two arteries between coastal South Etruria and the interior, which may explain its independence to some extent.

The overland routes through the ager Faliscus to the north and south were largely dictated by the nature of the soil. The streams flowing down from the Monti Sabatini and the Monti Cimini to the Tiber eroded the soft tuff of the ager Faliscus into deep, narrow gorges with often nearly perpendicular sides. With heights of *c.*70 m around Civita Castellana and *c.*100 m near Narce, these make a daunting obstacle to the traveller on foot or on horseback, as can still be glimpsed from Dennis's accounts (1848:115-62) of his travels in the area. Such roads as there are tend to follow the ridges between the gorges, descending only at points where both the gorge and the stream can conveniently be crossed. In the northern ager Faliscus virtually every stream runs from the mountains in the west to the Tiber in the east, constituting a severe impediment for any route to the north. This problem was partly solved by the construction of impressive bridges (cf. Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:97-101, 144-9), and there were roads from Falerii Veteres to Corchiano and Horta, and to the site at Grotta Porciosa; another road may have linked the site of Falerii Novi to Corchiano (cf. Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:185 fig.29). In the southern half of the ager Faliscus, most of the streams run northeast, flowing into the Treia near Civita Castellana: accordingly, here the ridgeways tended to run southwest-northeast, converging at the site of Falerii Veteres, which thus constituted the natural centre of the area.

The ager Faliscus was therefore best accessible from the south, and had one main route each to the east, the west, and the north. This is reflected by the way in which the road-system was restructured by the Romans in the century following their expansion into the ager Faliscus after 240 (see Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:187-93, Potter 1979:101-9). The Via Amerina, the first stretch of which, from Rome to Nepete, may already have been constructed when Nepete became a colony in the early fourth century (§2.5.2), was continued to Falerii Novi, which was thus firmly linked to Rome. From there, it followed the line of the earlier Faliscan road through the northern ager Faliscus to Horta, where it crossed the Tiber and continued to Ameria.[13] A second road, the Via

[13] According to Radke (1964:220-1), the Via Amerina thus took over the function of an earlier road to Horta leading northeast from Forum Claudii through Sutrium. No trace of such a road has been found: its presumed route would have taken it straight through the *silua Cimina*.

Flaminia, was constructed in 220: this entered the ager Faliscus near Rignano Flaminio, and continued almost directly north to the Tiber crossing near the Grotta Porciosa site, having been joined several kilometers to the south by a road branching off from the Via Amerina at Falerii Novi. Crossing the Tiber, it lead to Ocriculum, and thence through the valley of the Nar to Umbria. The Via Flaminia thus bypassed both Capena and Falerii Veteres, and appears to have been built for long-distance traffic to Umbria and beyond, being of minor importance for the connections between the ager Faliscus and Rome. The same is true of the third road in the area, the Via Cassia, constructed in 154, which branched off from the Via Amerina north of the Baccano crater to take a north-westerly course along the lines of existing roads to Sutrium and through the 'Sutri Gap' without entering the ager Faliscus proper. In the Roman road-system, the ager Faliscus thus no longer stood on the crossroads of north-south and east-west routes, but constituted a kind of 'junction station' on several long- and middle-distance routes leading north from Rome.

2.2. The inhabitants of the ager Faliscus as an *ἴδιον ἔθνος*

2.2.1. A distinct people. As described in the preceding sections, the ager Faliscus constituted a fairly well-defined geopolitical unit that was perceived as belonging to Etruria (thus Strab. 5.2.9, Plin. *NH* 3.5.51, Ptolem. 3.1.43 Cuntz, Serv. *in* Verg. *A.* 7.607, Steph. *Ethn.* 656.12-3 Meineke). The inhabitants of this area, called *Falisci* or *Φαλίσκοι*, could therefore be classed as a *populus Etruriae* (Liv. 5.8.5) or a *ciuitas Tusciae* (Serv. *in* Verg. *A.* 7.607). Yet they were regarded as in some respects different from other Etrurian communities, as is expressed by Strabo's remark (5.2.9), *ἔνιοι δ'οὐ Τυρρηνούς φασι τοὺς Φαλέριους, ἀλλὰ Φαλίσκους, ἴδιον ἔθνος· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τοὺς Φαλίσκους πόλιν ἰδιόγλωσσον*: 'Some say that the inhabitants of Falerii are not Etruscans, but Faliscans, a distinct people; and some, too, that the Faliscans are a *polis* with a distinct tongue.' As noted (§1.5), the context of the remark shows that Strabo is speaking in a *relative* sense, 'different with regard to the other *poleis* of the area' (cf. Camporeale 1991:213). Diodorus (14.96.5), too, spoke of Falerii as a town *τοῦ Φαλίσκων ἔθνους*, and Dionysius (1.21.1-2) ascribed features of Faliscan culture to a Pelasgian background (cf. §2.4.1). Coupled to the linguistic differences with the surrounding areas that can be observed from the epigraphic material, these statements have often led to the opinion that the inhabitants of the ager Faliscus were in some sense 'different'.

In *what* sense the inhabitants of the ager Faliscus differed from their neighbours is a very difficult question to answer. This is due in part to the fact that labels like 'Faliscan', 'Etruscan', or 'Latin' are used by different authors for such different entities as e.g. linguistic, political, or cultural units, which may overlap, but do not necessarily coincide (§1.4.1), and are often very hard to separate: partly, too, the difficulties derive

from the vague genealogical terms in which cultural or linguistic relationships tended and sometimes still tend to be expressed. Even Pulgram (1958:252-3) used the term "blood brothers" to refer to the linguistic unity of the ager Faliscus with Rome; Alföldi (1963:191) classed the Faliscans with the Capenates and Fidenates as "branches of the same Latin stock", while Ward Perkins (1970:427) called them "an independent branch of the same Urnfield peoples as the Villanovans and the Latins". Such statements are based wholly on connections that are irrelevant to, say, an assessment of the political relationship between the inhabitants of the ager Faliscus and the Romans in the third century, unless these connections were perceived, and perceived as *relevant*, by the Faliscans and the Romans themselves.

2.2.2. The Faliscans as an ethnos. In my view, for the purposes of this study the identity of the Faliscans is best approached by regarding it as an *ethnic* identity, in the sense in which this term has come to be used in social anthropology and thence in sociolinguistics and archaeology. To quote a general but useful definition of this term:[14]

> "этнос ... может быть определен как исторически сложившаяся на определенной территории устойчивая совокупность людей, обладающих общими относительно стабильными особенностями языка и культуры, а также сознанием своего единства и отличия от других подобных образований (самосознанием), фиксированным в самоназвании (этнониме)." (Bromley & Kozlov 1975:11)

> "Ethnos ... can be defined as a firm aggregate of people, historically established on a given territory, possessing in common relatively stable particularities of language and culture, and also recognizing their unity and difference from other similar formations (self-awareness) and expressing this in a self-appointed name (ethnonym)." (translation from Dragadze 1980:162)

Such a definition is applicable to the inhabitants of the ager Faliscus in so far as they were 'historically established' on the ager Faliscus without major invasions or migrations in the historical period or the centuries closely preceding it (cf. §2.4.1), and as having 'relatively stable particularities of language' and perhaps even 'relatively stable particularities of culture' (see §2.3).

With regard to the ethnonym, the inhabitants of the ager Faliscus do not seem to have had a real 'national' name in the order of *Etrusci*, *Sabini*, or *Latini*, i.e., a name that referred to a people or an area, but were named *Falisci* or *Φαλίσκοι* after their main city. However, this name is formed with the suffix that is distinctive of Italic ethnonyms (e.g. Latin *Etrusci*, *Osci*, and Umbrian *turskum*, *iapuzkum TI* Ib.17). The only instance of the use of this ethnonym by the Faliscans themselves is *falesce · quei · in · sardinia ·*

[14] Although this definition is now much less recent than when I started working on this book, it is by no means outdated: recent authors on ethnic identity in ancient Italy (e.g. Bradley 1997, Cornell 1997, Dench 1997, 2007) tend to refer to the criteria used by Smith (1986, 1991), which are almost exactly the same, although nowhere expressed as concisely as in this quotation.

sunt, in a late second-century Latin inscription from Falerii Novi (Lat **218**), where it is used for Faliscans that no longer lived in the ager Faliscus: exactly as expected, since there is no need to use the ethnicon within the group itself except where it is necessary to contrast members of one's own group with those of other groups. The same is true for the possible occurrence of the Faliscan ethnonym in the Etruscan inscription *[mi a]ụvileś feluskeś tuśnuta[ia pa]lpanalaś* Vn 1.1 (see §2.4.2).

It should also be pointed out that ethnicity may depend on different features at different times, and that the recognition of certain features as forming part of ethnic identity is strengthened by conflict or competition. The point that ethnicity is thus a relative rather than an absolute concept is of some importance for the study of the ager Faliscus, for it changes the search for features that were specifically and uniquely 'Faliscan' to a search for features in which the ager Faliscus could *regard itself* as different from the surrounding areas. Thus, the Faliscans may have regarded their language as distinctive in defining their ethnic identity with regard to the Etruscans, while on the other hand they may have regarded their traditional political alliances as distinctive with regard to the Latins.

Ethnicity then consists not in certain features of the culture of a group *per se*, but in the way these features are *perceived as relevant* to the identity of the group by its members or by those in contact with them. It could be argued that in applying this concept to the ager Faliscus, the problem of establishing a 'Faliscan identity' is confused rather than solved, for there is no way of knowing what constituted distinctive 'Faliscan' features in the eyes of the Faliscans themselves or of their neighbours. Yet I think it is worthwhile to describe the inhabitants of the ager Faliscus in the terms of ethnicity: the concept of ethnicity at least provides a framework within which observable differences between the culture of the ager Faliscus and the surrounding areas can be evaluated for their relevance to a 'Faliscan identity', even if the points where the Faliscans in our view differed most from their neighbours may not at all have been those the Faliscans themselves or their neighbours perceived as relevant.[15]

The difficulties of establishing what features did or did not play a role in ethnic identity are great, especially when the material from which these features must be derived is almost entirely archaeological. In the case of material objects, especially those of daily use, it is very hard to establish what role they played in the perception of ethnic identity: if they were associated with ethnic identity at all, this is often not because they were produced to be the bearers of such an identity, but because they had this role thrust upon them according to the historical context in which they were used, and so assumed a symbolic value that was independent of their intended practical use.

[15] The following studies on ethnic identity in the ancient world I have found especially useful: Cornell 1997 (on early Rome), Gnade 2002 (on the Volscians at Satricum), Roymans 2004 (on the Batavians), Dench 2005 (on Rome), and Terrenato 2007 (on social change in South Etruria).

Of course, the more an object is or becomes linked to non-material purposes, such as religious or magic ritual, the more easily it may acquire this added symbolic value. The same is true of objects used in contexts where such identity plays a crucial role or is contrasted with other identities, such as distinctive armour or weaponry. Yet as this value is not normally an inherent feature of the object itself, data relevant to ethnic identity cannot normally be derived from individual objects unless the context in which and the purpose, symbolic or otherwise, to which the object was used can be interpreted as having relevance to this ethnic identity.

Further difficulties with regard to establishing the ethnic identity of the Faliscans are of course the fact that the historical sources on the Faliscans are all written by 'outsiders' writing from a Roman perspective that may have influenced or even biased these authors (cf. §2.7.1*b-c*), and the fact that these authors usually wrote several centuries after the events on which they report took place.

2.3. What constituted a 'Faliscan identity'?

2.3.1. Faliscan material culture. The problems in the interpretation of material culture mentioned in the preceding section are unfortunately very acute in the case of the Faliscans. Thus Cato (*Agr.* 4.1, 14.1) mentions a *praesepe Faliscum*, but this type of cattle-stall does not appear to have been limited to the ager Faliscus alone, and in any case will hardly have been a major feature of Faliscan identity. On the other hand, a possibly significant feature may have been the distinctive weaponry described by Dionysius (*τῶν ὅπλων τῶν πολεμιστηρίων κόσμος, ἄσπιδες Ἀργολικαὶ καὶ δόρατα*, 1.21.1), as such apparel may very well have had symbolic value for the combatants: it could in fact come under the heading of 'material expressly created to be the bearer of ethnic identity'. Unfortunately, Dionysius' account leaves it unclear how specifically Faliscan these weapons were, and the remark may simply have been made to draw attention to the alleged Faliscan connection with Argos (cf. §2.4.1 and §2.3.4).

In general, archaeological sources show that the material culture of the ager Faliscus did not differ greatly from the remainder of South Etruria. In the earlier periods the area seems to have known some more or less distinctive styles of pottery (see e.g. Baglione 1986), and also in later periods the Faliscan workshops can be identified by their own styles (see e.g. Adembri 1985, 1990, Schippa 1980). In contexts of competition or conflict such as the successive emergence of Veientan and Roman power in South Etruria, even daily objects may have had a role in stressing or expressing who presented themselves, or were regarded, as Faliscan, Etruscan, or Latin. There is, unfortunately, no way of knowing this with any amount of certainty, since the context of their use is on the whole not specific enough (as opposed to e.g. the material from Satricum on which Gnade's (2002) study of ethnic identity is based).

More relevant to Faliscan identity may have been the material culture related to burial rites and religious cults, for these present several distinctive features. Thus, Faliscan *tombe a pozzo* were often provided with a *loculus*, a custom for which parallels are known only from Veii (Baglione 1986:129), while the seventh-century *tomba a fossa* 24/XLII of the La Penna necropolis at Civita Castellana furnishes an instance of a tree-trunk burial with impasto discs or 'shields', which has parallels only at Veii and in Latium (cf. Baglione 1986:136-9). The use of the rock-cut tombs that today form such a conspicuous feature of the landscape also seems to have been more or less confined to the agri Faliscus and Capenas. The custom was continued at Capena, Sutrium, and Nepete after these towns became colonies in the early fourth century, as well as at Falerii Novi, and may well have been regarded as a distinctive Faliscan feature by the neighbouring areas. For the inhabitants of the ager Faliscus this type of burial may have been due in part to the nature of the terrain and the availability of existing tombs rather than to feelings of ethnic identity, but family tradition must have played an important role, and such a tradition is a potent feature in defining one's identity. With regard to cultic objects, there are the testimonies of Dionysius (1.21.2) and Ovid (*Am.* 3.13), who both described the paraphernalia of the cult of Juno, but they appear to have been more interested in noting similarities with the cult of Hera at Argos. There are indications that the cult itself may have played a part in Faliscan ethnic identity: see §2.3.4.

Somewhere between material and non-material culture lie Faliscan literacy and literature. The Faliscan alphabet was developed independently at a very early date (see §11.2.1), and although there are no ancient sources to mention it, this alphabet will have made written Faliscan clearly distinguishable from documents in the Latin or Etruscan alphabet. Whether there existed any kind of Faliscan literature is unknown. The *carmina Fescennina* were ascribed to a Faliscan origin (cf. §2.1.2), and so, perhaps, was the *metrum Faliscum* (⏑̄⏑⏑ ⏑̄⏑⏑ ⏑̄⏑⏑ ⏑⏑̄), although Terentianus Maurus (*CGL* 6.385.1992) and apparently also Servius (*CGL* 4.465.5) ascribed this to an unidentified Serenus. The Faliscans were also credited with several supplements to the *Lex XII Tabularum* (Serv. *in* Verg. *A.* 7.695). Neither the *carmina* nor the *leges* of the Faliscans need necessarily have been committed to writing, however, and the existence of the infamous Faliscan schoolmaster (see §2.5.1) is evidence of literacy rather than of literature.

2.3.2. Faliscan society. Close to nothing is known of the structure of Faliscan society. The inscriptions furnish only familial appellations like *pater* (only in the theonym *[die]s pater* MF **62**) and *mater*, *filius* and *filia*, and *uxor* (for attestations see §6.2.*55*, *45*, *24-25*). The inheritance of the gentilicium through the male line and the use of patronymic rather than metronymic filiations show that in these aspects at least Faliscan society was patriarchal, and thus did not differ in this respect from the societies of the surrounding areas, except perhaps from the Etruscan, where metronymic filiations are found.

On the subject of the names themselves, much has been made of gentilicia (see §7.1.1, §7.10.3), but what is largely disregarded is that the ager Faliscus shows several praenomina that were unique to the ager Faliscus or exceedingly rare elsewhere (§7.7.2, §7.10.4-5). Examples of this are *Volta* and *Iuna*: *Volta* and *Iuna* are all the more surprising since they are *male* praenomina in *-a*, a category absent from the Latin or indeed the Italic onomasticon. *Gauius* and *Gauia*, although well-known elsewhere, occur in the ager Faliscus with a far greater frequency than anywhere else. It is unclear in how far any of this was relevant for feelings of ethnic identity, but someone called *Iuna* may, when in Rome, have been immediately recognizable as a Faliscan, in which case the name could be part of an ethnic identification: see §2.3.4 for a possible local significance of this name.

A point which to my knowledge has never been raised is how Faliscan society was stratified. Etruscan and Latin society seem to have differed in this respect especially where the status of slaves and freedmen was concerned (see Heurgon 1961:74-94, W.V. Harris 1971:114-29, and Rix 1994 *passim*), and the point could therefore provide an interesting insight into the nature of the Faliscans' status as a distinct cultural unit within Etruria. Unfortunately, there are no data to show whether the position of the Faliscan slaves resembled that of the Latin *serui* or that of the Etruscan servile class, which consisted at least partly of freeborn men, described by Dionysius (9.5.4) as *πενέσται* 'serfs, bondsmen'. It is remarkable, but probably not significant, that Zonaras (8.18.1, from Cassius Dio) uses *τὸ δουλεῦον* rather than *τοὺς δούλους* or *τοὺς οἰκέτας* to describe the slaves of the Faliscans.

Neither is it clear whether the status of the Faliscan freedman was more like that of the Latin *libertus* or that of the Etruscan *lautni*.[16] Falerii Veteres has yielded two Middle Faliscan sepulchral inscriptions apparently naming *libertae*. The first, MF **41**, names a *l]oifirtạ* called *loụria*, who was interred in the same *loculus* as the apparently freeborn *fasies : c[ai]sia*, but the implications of this are unclear. A Late Faliscan sepulchral inscription from Falerii Novi, LF **221**, gives a second instance, a *loferta* called *uipia : zertenea*, the mother of the *homo nouus* Marcius Acarcelinius. Other instances are *tị ṭị [·] ṭịria lo[?---]ll[e]a : cs : f* MF **155** and *[---]*i : u[o]ltiai lo* MF **165**.

There are, however, also two instances of a double gentilicium in Middle Faliscan *uel[·]uisni · olna* MF **82** and Middle or Late Faliscan *m · tito · tulio · uoltilio · hescuna* MLF **346**, which appears to have been a typical designation of the Etruscan freedman (Rix 1965:376-8, 1994:97-111): see also §7.6. This could imply that Faliscan society resembled that of the Etruscan communities at least in this respect.

[16] In South Etruria, *lautni* only occurs in Ta 1.182: as it is very frequent elsewhere, especially in the ager Saenensis, at Perusia, and at Clusium, this may not be coincidental. Rix (1994:107), however, thinks otherwise.

2.3.3. Faliscan magistracies. We are likewise badly informed on the structure of the Faliscan magistracies. The literary sources name no Faliscan magistracies except the political priesthood of the *fetiales* described by Servius (*in* Verg. *A.* 7.695), and apparently by Dionysius (*ἱεροί τινες ἄνδρες ἄνοπλοι πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἰόντες σπονδοφόροι*, 1.21.1). *Fetiales* are also mentioned for several Latin towns, and were as such not distinctive of the ager Faliscus. (Servius' reference to *Aequi Falisci* as the place of origin of the Roman *fetiales* is a fabrication to explain the word *aequus* in this toponym, cf. §2.1.2.) The inscriptions likewise provide few data on Faliscan magistracies. Roadside inscriptions that probably name the magistrates responsible for the building and the maintenance of these roads (MLF **206**, **207**, **210**, LtF **205**, **290**, Lat **291**, perhaps also MLF/Etr **356-357**?) give only names, not magistracies.

The only magistrates named in the Middle Faliscan inscriptions are the *efiles* (MF **113-117**), whose functions may at least partly have corresponded to those of the Roman *aediles* (Vetter 1953:292-3, Combet Farnoux 1980:137-42), and the *rex*. Note that G. Giacomelli (1963:243, 1978:521, 530) has suggested that *efiles* is a *calque* on Latin *aediles*, a suggestion adopted e.g. by Rix (1994:96 n.36). It is noteworthy that both these offices bear Latin names and by and large correspond to offices known from Latin towns, while there is no mention of Etruscan magistracies at all (I do not adopt Vetter's reading *m]ạrọ* in MF **91**).

The *rex* is the only office found both at Falerii Veteres (MF **90**, and perhaps MF **91**) and at Falerii Novi (LF **249** and LtF **231**, cf. fig.2.1). He probably had a sacral function, like the Roman *rex sacrorum*. The fact that the *rex* occurs in *cursus* may suggest that the office of the Faliscan *rex*, unlike that of the Roman *rex sacrorum*, was not permanent: its place at the end of the *cursus* may not be due to rank, but to the fact that it was not part of the normal Roman *cursus*. Perhaps the *rex* performed a periodically returning sacral function that required some equivalent of *imperium*, like the Roman *dictator clavi figundi causa*.[17]

The inscriptions from Falerii Novi mention other magistracies (cf. fig.2.1), all reflecting the Roman organization of the town: it cannot be ascertained if comparable magistracies existed in the area in the period before 240, and by what names they were known. Two public inscriptions mention two collegiate *preṭ[ores* (LF **213**), and a *pretod* acting on behalf of a (presumably local) senate, *de* | *zenatuo* · *sententiad* (LF/LtF **214**). The *cursus honorum* of the sepulcral inscriptions name the *quaestor* (LF **242-243**, **245**, **247**, Lat **237-238**, **219**), the *praetor*[18] (LF **242-243**, **247-248**, Lat **240**), the *duouiri* (LF **243**, **247-249**, Lat **237, 240**), and the *censor* (LtF **231-232**).

[17] The *rex* could, for instance, have played a role in the *ἱερὸς γάμος* that according to Taylor (1923:65) may have constituted a feature of the Faliscan cult of Juno.

[18] As the *praetor* occurs here in *cursus honorum*, it is unlikely that it is a Latin rendering of a local supreme magistracy such as the Etruscan *zilaθ*: a point worth making, as even in the early Empire *praetor* could still be used to render Gallic *vergobret* (cf. Roymans 2004:64).

[a]) From Falerii Veteres: all other inscriptions are from Falerii Novi. [b]) Public inscription: all others are sepulchral. [c]) The text has the *honores* in decreasing order. [d]) As *[---]or* stands at the end of the inscription, perhaps *cens]or*, but *ux]or* is also possible. [e]) Doubtful reading, although *q* is certain.

Fig.2.1. **Honores** ***in the inscriptions from Falerii Veteres and Falerii Novi.***

2.3.4. Faliscan religion. There are more sources, both literary and epigraphic, on aspects of Faliscan religion, and these data could well be relevant to describing Faliscan ethnic identity, as a distinct religion is quite often the focus of any form of group-identity. A survey of the material is given by Taylor (1923:60-93) and, more briefly, in *Sant* (1985), *passim*. I briefly discuss here the cults that can be traced to Falerii Veteres or Republican Falerii Novi.

The major cult of Falerii Veteres seems to have been that of ***Juno***: Ovid in fact coined the word *Iunonicolae* to provide the Faliscans with a suitable epithet (*Fast.* 6.49), and the whole point about the mythical founding of Falerii by the Argives may well have originated from the fact that Argos was famous for its cult of Hera. The temple of Juno has been identified with the temple in Contrada Celle at Civita Castellana (see §14.1.4 and *Sant* pp.110-3); the cult, which may have included a consort *pater Curris* (Tert. *Apol.* 24), was thought to have derived from the cult of Hera at Argos (Dion. 1.21.2, Ovid. *Fast.* 6.45-9). Worship at the Celle temple continued after 241, and the temple was in fact completely restructured in the second century BCE (cf. Potter 1979:100, Moscati 1985b:70-1). Both Dionysius (1.21.2) and Ovid (*Am.* 3.13) describe the cult as existing in their own day, although it is unclear whether this was a continuation of the original rites. Local worship appears to have persisted for a long time, witness the much later attestations of a *pontifex sacrarius Iunonis Curritis* in *CIL* XI.3100 and 3125. The Roman cult of Juno Curritis is thought to have originated from an *euocatio* of the Faliscan deity in 241 (Taylor 1923:68).[19]

This cult of Juno may very well have played a part in the ethnic identity of the Faliscans, for several reasons. On the one hand, not only do the sources treat it as an almost emblematic feature of Faliscan culture, even using it to give a context to other features of Faliscan culture such as descent, foundation-myth, and weaponry, but the cult was also the subject of an *euocatio*, a ritual aimed at least partly at removing the deity at the very core of the enemy's religion. On the other hand, the worship of Juno at Falerii Veteres continued after the fall of Falerii in 241: whatever else was destroyed of the Faliscan culture or even of Falerii Veteres itself, people kept coming to the old temple, which, as said, was restructured in the second century BCE. The cult as described by Dionysius (1.21.2) and Ovid (*Am.* 3.13) either still continued the ancient cult in some way, or the cult as it was remembered in the time of these authors had been considered important enough to be worthy of a revival. In such a context, the popularity of the Faliscan man's name *Iuna* (§7.7.1.29), even if etymologically unconnected with *Iuno*, may well have been due to a *perceived* etymological connection between the two.

[19] The only evidence for this seems to be that Juno as worshipped at Falerii was sometimes also referred to as *Curritis*. Ogilvie (1965:674) pointed to Ovid. *Fast.* 3.843, but that text refers to the *euocatio* not of Juno but of Minerva.

Another famous cult ascribed to the Faliscans is that of the worship by the ***Hirpi Sorani*** on Mount Soracte:

> "Soractis mons est Hirpinorum[20] in Flaminia conlocatus. in hoc autem monte cum aliquando Diti patri sacrum persolueretur (nam diis manibus consecratus est) subito uenientes lupi exta de igni rapuerunt. quos cum diu pastores sequerentur, delati sunt ad quandam speluncam, halitum ex se pestiferum emittentem, adeo ut iuxta stantes necaret: et exinde est orta pestilentia, quia fuerant lupos secuti. de qua responsum est, posse eam sedari, si lupos imitarentur, id est rapto uiuerent. quod postquam factum est, dicti sunt ipsi populi *Hirpi Sorani*: nam lupi Sabinorum lingua uocantur *hirpi. Sorani* uero a Dite: nam Ditis pater *Soranus* uocatur: quasi *lupi Ditis patris*" (Servius, *in* Verg. *A.* 11.785);

> "haut procul urbe Roma in Faliscorum agro familiae sunt perpaucae quae uocantur *Hirpi*; hae sacrificio annuo quod fit apud montem Soractem Apollini super ambustam ligni struem ambulantes non aduruntur, et ob id perpetuo senatus consulto militiae omniumque aliorum munerum uacationem habent" (Pliny, *NH* 7.2.19).

Other sources are Vergil (*A.* 11.785-9), Silius (5.175-81), Servius (*in* Verg. *A.* 11.787), and Solinus (2.26, echoing Pliny). There are no epigraphic attestations of this cult: the word *sorex* read in LtF **231-232** is often interpreted as the name of the Soractean priesthood, but even if it is indeed a priestly title and not (as I think it is) a ghostword, the *sorex* need not have been connected with the worship on Mount Soracte (cf. Macurdy 1921 and Peruzzi 1963b). The name *Hirpi Sorani* is usually regarded as the cultic epithet of a small group of *gentes* performing a hereditary ritual, but it recalls such totemic tribal names as *Hirpini*, derived, like *Hirpi*, from *hirpus*, and *Picentes*, derived from *picus*, and Servius' account is not incompatible with an explanation of the *Hirpi Sorani* as a small group of immigrants from the Sabellic-speaking area on the other side of the Tiber: see §2.5.2 and §9.3.

With the exception of Servius (*in* Verg. *A.* 11.785), all sources (including Serv. *in* Verg. *A.* 11.787!) link the *Hirpi Sorani* to the worship of ***Apollo***. Taylor (1923:83-91) explains this at some length through the assumption of a confusion of Apollo Lycaeus and Mars; others have doubted the whole idea of the worship of Apollo on Soracte (*REA* s.v. *Hirpi Sorani*). There is epigraphic evidence for a cult of Apollo at the Tempio Maggiore on Colle di Vignale, however, the oldest cultic centre of Falerii Veteres (see §14.1.2 and *Sant* pp.85-6), already for the Early Faliscan period, in the dedication *apolonos* EF **10** (*c.*500-475, apparently the oldest mention of the deity in an Italic language); from Falerii Veteres, too, is the inscription *apolo* LF **65** (300-250). Falerii Novi has yielded a dedication *[. · u]mpricius · c · f* | *aburcus · q ·* | *[a]polinei · dat* Lat **219** (*c.*120-50).

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[20] The confusion with the *Hirpini* (if it is indeed a confusion) may be due not only to the similarity in name, but also to the fact that the poisonous fumes described here were also a recognized feature of the Hirpinian temple of Mefitis at Ampsanctus (Cic. *Div.* 1.36.79, Plin. *NH* 2.95.208).

The sixth- or seventh-century 'Ceres-inscription' (EF **1**) contains the earliest epigraphic attestation of ***Ceres*** in the phrase *ceres : far *[0-2]e[1-3]tom : *[3-5]uf[1-4]ui[..]m : *[3-4]*ad* and, many centuries later, a place *ad Cereris* near Falerii Novi is mentioned in *CIL* XI.3083 (cf. Taylor 1923:76-7).

The Ceres-inscription was thought also to contain references to Liber, but the readings *l[o]ufir*, *lǫuf[ir*, *louf[i]r* and the interpretation of *euios* as Εὔιος that gave rise to this idea are now largely abandoned (see §12.2). There is certainly no evidence for seventh-century "important orientalising inscriptions that document the spread of the cult of Dionysus among the town's aristocrats" (*ArchFal* p.15). Faliscans are mentioned in connection with the Bacchanalia-upheaval (Liv. 39.17.6), but there are no indications that Bacchic worship was present much earlier at Falerii Veteres, as Peruzzi (1964a:158-9, 1964b) suggested.

A deity attested thus far only at Falerii Veteres is ***Mercus*** or ***Titus Mercus*** known from the dedications *titoi* | *mercui* | *efiles* MF **113-117**, *titoi : mercui* MF **118-122**, *mercui* MF **123-126** (texts reconstructed from multiple examples), found in the temple 'ai Sassi Caduti' (see §14.1.3 and *Sant* p.113). This Titus Mercus may have had similarities with Roman Mercury, and possibly with the Oscan deity *Mercus* known from the dedication *mirikui* Cm 24: this is discussed extensively by Combet Farnoux (1980:113-69).

Attested only for Falerii Novi are the worship of Mars, implied by the occurrence of a *mensis Martius* in the Faliscan *fasti* (Ovid. *Fast.* 3.87-90) and by the Faliscan *sors* inscribed *Mauors telum suum concutit* (Liv. 22.1.11, Plut. *Fab. Max.* 2.3; cf. Taylor 1923:78-9). Ovid (*Fast.* 3.89) furthermore informs us that the *mensis Martius* was the fifth month among the Faliscans. The worship of the Capitoline Triad, is attested for Falerii Novi by the second-century Latin dedication *[di]ouei · iunonei · mineruai* Lat **213**, although there is no ground to assume that the triad itself originated at Falerii (thus Girard 1989). The Roman cults of Minerva Capta (Ovid *Fast.* 3.843-4; cf. Girard 1989) and of Ianus Quadrifrons (Serv. *in* Verg. *A.* 7.607, Macrob. *Sat.* 1.9.13) are mentioned in the sources as having been brought to Rome from Falerii, apparently after the war of 241 ("perdomitis ... Faliscis" Ovid, "captis Faleriis" Servius). Worship of Minerva at Falerii Novi is attested in the public dedication to Minerva *de* | *zenatuo · sententiad* LF/Lat **214**.

Beside these cults, there are epigraphic attestations of the *haruspex* (LtF **231-232**): as said, the *rex* (MF **90-91**, LF **249**, and LtF **231**), too, may have had a sacral function (§2.3.3). The sources also ascribe the priesthood of the *fetiales* (Serv. *in* Verg. *A.* 7.695, see §2.3.3) to a Faliscan origin and mention two Faliscan festivals, the *Struppearia* ("in quo coronati ambulant," Fest. 410.12-5L, see §6.6.6) and the *decimatrus* (Fest. 306.4-6L, see §6.6.2): the latter has parallels in Latin festivals like the *quinquatrus*, *sexatrus*, and *septimatrus*.

The names of most of the Faliscan gods of cult (Ceres, Titus Mercus, Ianus, Mars, and probably Minerva), priesthoods, and festivals are therefore Italic: only Juno seems to have been of Etruscan origin (see *REA* s.v.). Mythological scenes on gems and mirrors found in the ager Faliscus bear Etruscan legends (cf. e.g. the Etruscan inscriptions Etr **XXV**, **XXVII**, **XXVIII**, **XXXI**, **XXXIII**, **XLI**, and **L**), but most of these may have been imports from other areas (with the probable exception of Etr **L**): the sole instance of a Faliscan legend is the Middle Faliscan inscription *canumede [die]s pater cupi‹d›o menerua* MF **62**.

2.4. The early history of the ager Faliscus

2.4.1. Mythical origins. With the exception of Justin (20.1.13), who referred to it as a Chalcidian colony, all ancient sources regarded Falerii as an Argive settlement (Cato *apud* Plin. *NH* 3.5.51, Dion. 1.21.1, Steph. *Ethn.* 626.23-4 Meineke) founded by Halaesus (Ovid. *Fast.* 4.73-4, *Am.* 3.13.32, Serv. *in* Verg. *A.* 7.695, Solin. 2.7): a discussion of these sources may be found in Camporeale 1991. The attribution of Italian towns to Greek or Trojan founders is of course commonplace, especially at the periphery of Etruscan influence (see Alföldi 1963:228-38): the connection with Argos will have been made because of the identification of the Faliscan cult of Juno with that of Hera at Argos (Dion. 1.21.2, Ovid. *Am.* 3.13; cf. §2.3.4).

2.4.2. The history of the ager Faliscus until the fifth century BCE. The earliest history of the ager Faliscus can only be inferred from the archaeological evidence. The main surveys of this are Barnabei 1894a (but see §1.4.5) and Holland 1925, and, based on new evidence, Potter 1976, 1979:52-92, Baglione 1987, and Petitti 1990.

Nowhere is there any indication or recollection of Faliscan having been *brought* to the area in some way in the centuries immediately preceding its first attestations: whether Faliscan is viewed as a separate language or as a Latin dialect, it was the indigenous language in the area in the sense that it was present there *before* Etruscan. If Faliscan is a dialect of Latin, therefore, the ager Faliscus and Capenas in all probability originally have formed a part of a Latin-speaking area to the *north* of the Tiber that disappeared (or became Etruscanized in a linguistic sense) with the spread of Etruscan civilization and language from the coastal centres. Etruscan largely, but perhaps not wholly, replaced Latin throughout South Etruria – except for the ager Faliscus and the ager Capenas. I think that the assumption of such a 'north bank' Latin-speaking area (and thus a continuous Latin-speaking area that ranged from Latium adiectum in the south to the ager Faliscus in the north) is not a very difficult one: note e.g. the early Latin 'Vendia-inscription' **479†**, dating from the late seventh (or early sixth) century (cf. Cristofani 1993:25-7).

The Etruscan language and culture certainly entered the ager Faliscus, and Narce, its southernmost major site at the time, became a wholly Etruscan town. Yet they did not spread rapidly enough or in a sufficient degree to replace the existing language and culture entirely, perhaps because of the lack of communication with major Etruscan centres such as Tarquinii and Caere. Significantly, the ager Faliscus was at this time culturally independent enough from both Etruria and Latium to have developed an alphabet of its own (§11.2.1-2). The contrast between Etruscan Narce and Faliscan Falerii appears already in the earliest epigraphic material: of the 19 or 20 early Etruscan inscriptions from the ager Faliscus, 18 are from Narce and the south-western ager Faliscus (Etr **I-XV** and **XVIII-XX**: Etr **XXIX** is from Corchiano, while EF/Etr **5**, from Falerii, is either Etruscan or Early Faliscan), while all certainly Early Faliscan inscriptions (EF **1-4** and **6-10**) are from Falerii.

An early attestation of the Faliscan ethnicon has been read by Poccetti (1997) in the seventh-century inscription from Vetulonia, *[mi a]ụvileś feluskeś tuśnuta[a pa]lpanałaś* Vn 1.1. He convincingly interprets *feluskeś* as an Etruscan rendering of *Faliscus*, pointing also to fourth-century *veluske* (probably a name) in an inscription published by Colonna (1995). (To these could perhaps be added early fifth century *[m]i larisa fẹlẹṣkẹnas am**[?---]* AS 1.40.) If *feluskeś* is indeed 'Faliscan', this has some very interesting consequences. The form is clearly an Italic, probably Latin, ethnonym, and its use here by a Faliscan living 'abroad' would imply that the ethnonym was already used by the Faliscans themselves, and that they were therefore already identifiable as a distinct group. But if Narce was the original main site of the area and Falerii succeeded it as such only during the fifth century, as is usually assumed, why was the ethnonym of the area derived from the name of Falerii already in the seventh? This must mean that Falerii was for some reason regarded as the most important site even before or during the *floruit* of Narce. I do not find it hard to envisage the older autochthonous centre that gave its name to the area as being on its way to being eclipsed by an emerging competitor whose success was due to its better connections with the Etruscanized area to the south, and possibly the support of Veii.

A more dubious early source for Faliscan history has been seen in one of the frescoes of the late fourth-century François Tomb at Vulci. The scene depicted may refer to events of *c.*500, as some of its figures also appear in the story of the expulsion of the Etruscan kings from Rome. It shows local heroes killing foes designated with ethnonyms like *rumaχ* 'Roman', *sveamaχ* 'Sovanian', and *velznaχ* 'Volsinian': one is labelled *venθicau[...]*[.]plsaχs* Vc 7.30, and Heurgon (1961:66) suggested that this *plsaχs* should be interpreted as 'Faliscan'. Some scholars hesitatingly adopted this interpretation (e.g. Alföldi 1963:66, Torelli 1966:1212, Scullard 1967:122-3), but there is no evidence for it, as Di Stefano Manzella (1977:162) has shown.[21]

[21] The word has also been taken as the ethnicon of Salpinum (e.g. Pareti 1952:310, Accame in Alföldi 1963:222 n.1, Baffioni 1967:157 n.144).

The early authors on Faliscan stressed the importance of alleged early Sabine invasions (§1.5; still Pallottino 1987:105), and although there seems to be no evidence for the large-scale invasions which they presupposed, there may well have been small-scale immigrations from the Sabellic-speaking areas. Perhaps the *Hirpi Sorani* (cf. §2.3.4) were one such group (thus already Taylor 1923:90): although usually regarded as hereditary priests, the sources, especially Servius (*in* Verg. *A.* 11.785), seem to indicate that they may have been a tribal group (*populi* in Servius' account) of Sabellic origin that migrated to the area around Mount Soracte guided by their totemic animal[22] and preserved an identity, including an ethnonym, until Roman times. In the Faliscan onomasticon, there are several gentilicia that are of Sabellic origin (§7.8.2), and there are linguistic traces, too, of the presence of speakers of Sabellic languages in the area (§9.3), especially in inscriptions from the ager Capenas.

During the late sixth and early fifth century the most important development is the growth and the expansion of Veii as the major Etruscan centre of the Lower Tiber basin. To the east, Capena, probably already a cultural or economic dependency, now became a political dependency as well. During the fifth century, however, Faliscan Falerii eclipsed Etruscan Narce as the central site of the ager Faliscus, perhaps because of its more central location with regard to the trade routes through the South Etruria (cf. §2.2.3), whose importance steadily increased with the emergence of Veii as the dominant centre to the south (cf. Baglione 1987).

The vacuum arising from the decline of Narce was filled by the extension of Veientan power into the area that may well have been the south-western ager Faliscus, beyond the range between the Monti Sabatini and Mount Soracte (§2.1.1), where Veii either reinforced or founded Sutrium and Nepete, thus controlling the western access route to the ager Faliscus through the 'Sutri Gap'. The effects of this 'second Etruscan wave' into the agri Faliscus and Capenas, however, were to be short-lived, and quickly to be superseded by the expansion of Rome into South Etruria, which would change the situation completely.

2.5. Falerii, Veii, and Rome in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE

2.5.1. The Fidenate wars and the siege of Veii. The history of the ager Faliscus from the late fifth to the middle of the third century is documented by the much later historical sources, especially Livy. Diverse as they are, these present a consistent picture of a Falerii doggedly resisting the gradual extension of Rome's influence in South Etruria. It should of course be stressed that such sources can only be used with

[22] Such treks are reported for the Picentes (Str. 5.4.1, Paul. *Fest.* 235.16-7L) and the Hirpini (Str. 5.4.12, Paul. *Fest.* 93.25-6L): to the latter Servius (*in* Verg. *A.* 11.785, 11.787) assigned both Mount Soracte and the ritual performed there by the *Hirpi Sorani*.

an adequate amount of critical sense, especially where the earlier periods are concerned, but this does not mean that they are altogether useless: although individual events may be questioned, the main trends and events are clear, and often supported by archaeological evidence. A useful survey of the historical material is provided by Shotter 1976: cf. also Cornell 1986, 1991, and Gnade 2002:136-9 for discussions on the relative merits of historical and archaeological evidence. In the discussion in this and the following sections, I follow Livy's account as the primary source.

The earliest events in Roman-Faliscan relationships to be recorded are the late fifth-century wars over Fidenae. Due probably to the uncertainty about the date of the duel between A. Cornelius Cossus and Lars Tolumnius (cf. Ogilvie 1965:563-4), famed as the second occasion on which a Roman commander brought home the *spolia opima*, the sources are confused: Livy's account (4.17-34) probably contains repetitions, Diodorus (12.80.6-8) mentions only the second of the two wars described by Livy, and Florus (*Epit.* 1.6/12.9) telescopes the wars into the siege of Veii.

In Livy's account, Fidenae defects to Veii in 438 and their joint armies cross into Roman territory in 437 (4.17.1-11). There they are joined by the Faliscans, whose eagerness to go home makes the king of Veii, Lars Tolumnius, decide for the battle in which he is killed (4.17.11-18.8). The Romans then conduct punitive expeditions into the agri Veientanus and Faliscus in 436 (4.21.1-2). When the Romans threaten Fidenae in 435 (4.21.6-22.6), the Faliscans are unwilling to participate in a new war (4.21.8), although it later appears that they took part in the battle at Nomentum (4.32.3). After the fall of Fidenae, Veii and Falerii in vain seek help from the Etruscan League at Fanum Voltumnae in 434 and 432 (4.23.4-24.2, 25.7-8).

In 427 war erupts again, with the Veientes and Fidenates making forays into Roman land (4.30.5-6) until Fidenae is defeated in 426 (4.30.5-34.7). It is unclear whether the Faliscans participated in this second war. Frontinus' (*Str.* 2.8.3) reference to a campaign against the Faliscans by T. Quinctius Capitolinus during his consulate in 446 is usually regarded as an erroneous reference to his famous campaign against the Volscians in that year. However, it could be a recollection of an otherwise unknown campaign against the Faliscans by T. Quinctius Cincinnatus Poenus when he was *tribunus militum consulari potestate* in 426: like T. Quinctius Capitolinus, he inflicted a defeat upon the Volscians during his consulate, in 431 (4.31.1-34.7).[23]

Falerii and Capena next appear as the only allies of Veii during the siege of 402-395, being credited by Livy with the not unjustified fear that "quia proximi regione erant, deuictis Veiis bello quoque Romano se proximos fore" (5.8.5). Sending relief forces in 402 and 399 (5.8.4-12 and 5.13.9-13, perhaps a repetition), and asking

[23] The campaign by the dictator Q. Servilius Priscus (in 418, cf. *REA* s.v. *Servilius* 75) mentioned by Frontinus (*Str.* 2.8.8) on the other hand may in fact have been the campaign against the Aequians described by Livy (4.47.1-7).

for help from the Etruscan League at Fanum Voltumnae in 397 (5.17.6-10), they become involved in the war, which is carried to their own lands from 401 onwards (5.10.2, 5.12.5, 5.14.7, 5.16.2). M. Furius Camillus, before taking command of the siege of Veii in 396, considers the threat posed by Falerii and Capena serious enough to deal with these towns first, breaking the resistance of Capena in 395 and granting the city a *foedus* (5.19.7-8, 5.24.3; cf. W.V. Harris 1971:89).

After the fall of Veii, he tries the same tactics against the Faliscans in 394, which results in an unsuccessful siege (5.26.3-10). The deadlock is broken by a Faliscan schoolmaster delivering the sons of the Faliscan nobility as hostages to the Romans, an offer from which Camillus indignantly refuses to profit, whereupon the Faliscans, moved by his noble gesture of returning the boys unharmed, immediately offer unconditional surrender (5.27): a story-with-a-moral that apparently enjoyed great popularity, if this can be judged from the number of sources in which it appears (Dion. 13.1-2, Plut. *Cam.* 9-11, V. Max. 6.5.1, Fron. *Str.* 4.4.1, Polyaen. *Strat.* 8.1.7, Flor. *Epit.* 1.6/12.5-6, Avit. fr.2 *apud* Prisc. *CGL* 2.427.1-6, Eutrop. 1.20, Hier. *Ep.* 57.3, Oros. 3.3.4, and Zonar. 7.22, from Cassius Dio).

It is possible that Falerii did *not* escape capture, however. According to Diodorus, the Romans took the town by storm in 392 (14.96.5) but concluded a peace in the next year (14.98.5); Livy twice (5.43.7, 6.7.4) makes Camillus refer to the *capture* of Falerii, and the main cause of his soldiers' later discontent is his refusal to let them sack the town, which hardly understandable if Falerii was surrenderd and not taken. The *euocatio* of Minerva, Janus Quadrifrons, and perhaps of Juno Curritis, usually placed at the conclusion of the war of 241, could then have taken place at this date, repeating the *euocatio* of Juno Regina from Veii in 396 (Liv. 5.21).

2.5.2. The wars of the fourth and early third century BCE. While Rome is trying to regain its control over the Latin league after the Gallic siege, the cities of Etruria revolt in 389 (Liv. 6.2.2). The main bones of contention are Sutrium and Nepete, controlling the route through South Etruria (§2.2.3): "loca opposita Etruriae et uelut claustra inde portaeque" (Liv. 6.9.4). After some Etruscan successes, the Romans regain control (Liv. 6.3.1-10) and establish themselves by grants of citizenship to 'faithful' Veientes, Capenates, and Faliscans in 388 (Liv. 6.4.4; cf. Harris 1971:192-9). War is continued in 387 under the leadership of Tarquinii (Liv. 6.4.8-11): in the confused fighting, again centred on Sutrium and Nepete (Liv. 6.9.3-4, 6.9.7-10.6), the Romans come off best. They secure the area by founding colonies at Sutrium, Nepete, and Capena shortly afterwards (the exact dates are debated).

Tarquinii, together with Falerii, again takes advantage of the situation by overrunning South Etruria in 358 (Liv. 7.12.5-6) or 354-353 BC (Diod. 16.31.7) as far as the *salinae* near the mouth of the Tiber in 356 (Liv. 7.17.6-9) or 353-352 (Diod. 16.36.4). For Falerii this may have meant regaining control over Sutrium and Nepete,

although the former is the Roman base camp again in 357 (Liv. 7.16.7-8). The next years see a number of indecisive skirmishes and one pitched battle, decided in favour of the Romans (Liv. 7.17.2-5, Fron. *Str.* 2.4.18). In 351 hostilities are concluded with forty-year *indutiae* (Liv. 7.22.5-6), which in 342 are replaced by a *foedus* (Liv. 7.38.1), perhaps, as Shotter (1972:32) suggested, one similar to the one granted to Caere in 353 (Liv. 7.20.8). An epigraphic record of this war is preserved in the first century CE (!) Latin eulogium of the Tarquinian praetor, A. Spurinna (see Torelli 1975:67-92), which mentions the Faliscans in an unfortunately fragmentary passage (*falis[c---]* is legible, but nothing of the context remains).

For the years around 300, there is again only Livy's account. The Faliscans, although not mentioned, will certainly have been present when Sutrium was besieged by "omnes Etruriae populi praeter Arretinos" (Liv. 9.32.1-12) in 311, and the story (Liv. 9.36) of Fabius' journey through the *silua Cimina* (apparently to cross the Tiber near Horta or the Grotta Porciosa site) to cement an alliance with the Umbrians, shows that normal travel through the ager Faliscus was temporarily too dangerous. After this, the Faliscans kept quiet for some time, so that on the campaign against Volaterrae in 298, the Roman baggage train could be left at Falerii "modico praesidio" (Liv. 10.12.7). The Faliscans are absent, too, from Livy's account of the war of 295: writing of the events of 293, he states that the Faliscans "per multos annos in amicitia fuerant" (10.45.6).[24] The Romans are sufficiently wary of them, however, to post a guard over the ager Faliscus in 295 (Liv. 10.26.15), probably to prevent a capture of Sutrium that would have cut their supply lines. Not surprisingly, at the outbreak of the war of 293, it is the report of Faliscan participation that spurs the Romans into action (Liv. 10.45.6): the Faliscans are quickly cowed into submission by Sp. Carvilius Ruga's capture of an unidentified *Troilum* and five *castella*, and are granted *indutiae annuae* (Liv. 10.46.10-15). Archaeological sources show that around this date the route through the 'Sutri Gap' began to be opened and enlarged, and the area surrounding Sutrium and Nepete to be brought under culture (Potter 1979:96-7), indicating that the Romans were firmly establishing themselves in the area.

The Faliscans appear in the sources "not as great instigators of action ... but as ready to support those in the front line" (Shotter 1974:29), allying themselves first with Veii and later with Tarquinii, and taking advantage of every opportunity to subvert the growing Roman influence in South Etruria. In view of their consistent record of 'bad behaviour', the relative clemency with which the Romans treated this dubious ally, located in such a strategic position on the routes to both Etruria and Umbria, is remarkable: they are in fact often treated far better than the situation seems

[24] I can see no way of reconciling this with Frontinus' mention (*Str.* 2.5.9) of a stratagem by Cn. Fulvius (in 295?), "cum in finibus nostris exercitus Faliscorum longe nostro maior castra posuisset".

to justify. The clement treatment of the Faliscans after their surrender to Camillus as described by Livy almost seems to symbolize their relationship with the Romans.[25]

2.6. The war of 241 BCE and its consequences

2.6.1. The war of 241 BCE. In the consulate of A. Manlius Torquatus Atticus and Q. Lutatius Cerco, i.e., in the consular year 241-240 BCE, the Faliscans became involved in a new war against Rome that would mark the end of the ager Faliscus as an independent political unit. Two interesting discussions of this war and its consequences are Loreto 1989 and Di Stefano Manzella 1990.

The date of 241-240 appears in Polybius (1.65.2), Livy (*Per.* 20), Valerius Maximus (6.5.1), Eutropius (2.28), and Zonaras (8.18.1, from Cassius Dio), and is epigraphically confirmed by the *Fasti Triumphales* (AUC DXII), which mention the triumphs *de · falisceis* granted to both consuls on the first and the fourth of March 240, and by the inscription on a South Etrurian cuirass published by J.-L. Zimmermann (1986), *q · lutatio · c · f · a · manlio · c · f · l consolibus · faleries · capto ·*. Only Orosius (4.11.10) places the war slightly later, in 238.

The surprising fact that the Faliscans seemingly waited until the end of the Punic War instead of taking advantage of it is often ascribed to the expiration of the hundred-year *foedus* concluded in 342 or of the *indutiae* granted in 293, curiously making the date of a revolt dependent on a treaty imposed by the oppressor. Salmon (1969:65) suggested that the Faliscans felt threatened by the colonization of Spoletium in 241, but there appears to be no reason why they should, and the only source to mention both events together, [Liv.] *Per.* 20, presents them in the reverse order: "Falisci cum rebellassent, sexto die perdomiti in deditionem uenerunt. Spoletium colonia deducta est." It is much more plausible that 241 was not the year when the Faliscans started their revolt, but the year when the Romans were free to take action against them (Loreto 1989:720-1, Di Stefano Manzella 1990:342). The conflict may have started much earlier: its occasion and cause are unknown, although both a refusal to provide troops for the Punic War and problems in the renewal of the *foedus* of 342 have been suggested (Loreto 1989:726-7).

The sources describe the war as a six-day campaign ([Liv.] *Per.* 20, Eutrop. 2.28; *ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις*, Polyb. 1.65.2) with two pitched battles (Zonar. 8.18.1, from Cassius Dio) that cost the lives of 15,000 Faliscans (Eutrop. 2.28, Oros. 4.11.10),

[25] *AntFal* (p.18) describes these wars as "bitter struggles against expansionism of Rome, whose fury against Falerii, which vied with Rome's ceramic producers for ever more distant markets, was no doubt largely due to serious trade rivalry." There appear to be few signs of 'Roman fury', however, and I doubt whether Rome would go to war over pottery markets at a time when it was land and possessions that marked the status of a town or individual.

whereupon Falerii was surrendered ([Liv.] *Per.* 20, V. Max. 6.5.1). Both consuls were granted a triumph (*Fast. Triumph.* AUC DXII), which lends some credibility to the astonishing number of casualties for an army of such a small area, because of the requirement of 5,000 enemy casualties to apply for a triumph (Di Stefano Manzella 1990:342, cf. V. Max. 2.8.1: see, however §2.7.1*e*). The Faliscans had to hand over *τά τε ὅπλα αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὰ ἔπιπλα καὶ τὸ δουλεῦον καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς χώρας* (Zonar. 8.18.1, from Cassius Dio), which sounds as if Rome was making a nasty example of Falerii ("aduersus quam saeuire cupiens populus Romanus," V. Max. 6.5.1), perhaps as a warning to other unreliable allies.

Loreto (1989:730-3) rightly concludes that the war must have had a symbolic value to the Romans that far exceeded its actual importance (witness the double triumph for such a minor campaign): after the Punic War, they needed a quick and decisive victory to re-establish themselves at home and abroad.

2.6.2. The division of the territory and the founding of Falerii Novi. The sources report that as a consequence of the war of 241, half of the Faliscan territory was forcibly ceded to the Romans: "[*Μάλλιος Τορκουᾶτος*] *τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς χώρας ἀφείλετο*" (Zonar. 8.18.1, from Cassius Dio), "agro ... ex medietate sublato" (Eutrop. 2.28). According to Loreto (1989:723), the ceding of half the territory was not in itself extremely severe, since the usual sanction was one-third: the same sanction had in fact been imposed on Caere in 273.

The ceded area would obviously have been centred on the new Falerii and extended westward to Sutrium and Nepete, so that the territories of Veii, Capena, Sutrium, Nepete, and Falerii Novi now constituted one continuous stretch of land under Roman control. Di Stefano Manzella (1990:345) suggests that the ceded territory extended eastward to the Tiber to include the fertile tablelands north of the Rio Maggiore and the Treia, and cut what remained of the ager Faliscus in half. This is indeed very plausible: it seems in fact extremely likely that the Roman area extended north-eastward towards Gallese and the Grotta Porciosa site, placing the Romans in direct control of the strategically located Tiber crossing that gave access to the Sabine interior and Umbria (note the colonization of Spoletium in 241, which in [Liv.] *Per.* 20 (quoted in §2.6.1) directly follows the Faliscan war), and which in 220 would be used for the Via Flaminia.

The town of Falerii itself was destroyed and a new Roman Falerii was built *c.*4.5 km to the west, in the middle of a section of flat tablelands. This was done probably somewhere between 240 and 220, when the Via Amerina was extended northward from Nepete; the same is implied by Zonaras, who explicitly places the demolition of the old town and the founding of the new town as 'later' than the war itself: *ὕστερον δ' ἡ μὲν ἀρχαία πόλις εἰς ὄρος ἐρυμνὸν ἱδρυμένη κατεσκάφη, ἑτέρα δ' ᾠκοδομήθη εὐέφοδος* (8.18.1, from Cassius Dio).

The usual interpretation of Zonaras' words is that Falerii Veteres was destroyed and its inhabitants resettled *en bloc* to a less defensible site, like the inhabitants of Volsinii in 265 (Zonar. 8.7.4-8), but this is an over-simplification. The continued use of some of the temples of Falerii Veteres attested by Dionysius (1.21.1-2) and Ovid (*Am.*3.13) has long been confirmed by archaeological findings (see Potter 1979: 99-101, Andrén 1940:88). Continued habitation at the site of the old town is implied by the toponomastical data (cf. §2.1.2), although the archaeological evidence for it is slight, consisting mainly of a few Republican burials (see Moscati 1985b:70-1).[26]

Di Stefano Manzella (1990:349-50) also rightly questions the idea that the population of Falerii Novi consisted simply of transferred inhabitants of Falerii Veteres. It seems indeed unlikely that the Romans would deport their enemies to a less defensible site only to provide this with walls that are still among the best preserved works of Republican military architecture, and much more plausible that many or most of its inhabitants were Roman or Latin immigrants (like the craftsman *t · fourios · *[·]f* in Lat **216**?). As Falerii Novi was the administrative and military centre of a newly-occupied territory, its administration must have been pro-Roman, and will have included few members of the ruling class of Falerii Veteres: Di Stefano Manzella (1990:349-50) suggests that it may have comprised Faliscan families whose loyalty to Rome in 389 had been rewarded with the citizenship (§2.5.2).

A related point is the legal status of Falerii Novi. It is usually assumed that the town was at first either a *ciuitas foederata* or a *municipium sine suffragio*, as it was during the first centuries CE (cf. *CIL* XI.3083, 3103, 3112, 3116, 3121, 3125, 3127, 3147, and 3155a,1). The *honores* in the *cursus honorum* from Falerii Novi (§2.3.3) also point to municipal rather than to colonial status, as M. Mancini (2002:38-40) points out. At some time during its history, however, the town must have been a *colonia*, since in *CIL* XI.3089 and 3094 the emperor Gallienus is honoured as *redintegrator coloniae Faliscorum*.[27] It is apparently this earlier colony that is referred to by Pliny (*NH* 3.5.51) and the *Liber Coloniarum* (217.5). Since these statements are difficult to reconcile with the epigraphic evidence for a *municipium*, there is a tendency to disregard them altogether.

Di Stefano Manzella (1990) suggested that Falerii Novi was in fact a (Latin) colony already from its foundation in or shortly after 241, becoming a *municipium* after the Social War. Colonial status is indeed more in accordance with the strategic importance of the area, as well as with the amount of trouble taken by the Romans to

[26] The few sepulchral inscriptions from Falerii Veteres in the Latin alphabet (LtF **140**, **171-174**) may belong to such post-241 burials.

[27] The restoration of colonial status was a piece of propaganda by which Gallienus, whose maternal ancestors were Egnatii from Falerii, attempted to draw attention to his patrician forebears (De Blois 1976:134). This second *colonia Faliscorum* is mentioned in *CIL* XI.3089-94.

restructure its settlement and road-structure (§2.1.3). A complicating factor is that Falerii Novi belonged to the *tribus Horatia* (cf. *CIL* XI.3100, 3112, 3123, 3125, 3136, 3930 (?), 7494, and the inscription quoted in note 268), not to one of the South Etrurian *tribus* created in the fourth century for Veii, Capena, Sutrium, and Nepete (the *Arnensis*, *Sabatina*, *Stellatina*, and *Tromentina*).[28] The *colonia* mentioned by Pliny and the *Liber Coloniarum* is explained by Di Stefano Manzella (1990:366-7) as being not a *colonia* in the legal sense, but a land-allotment to veterans of the triumvirs at Falerii Veteres, administered from Falerii Novi.

2.6.3. The ager Faliscus after 241. The loss of a very large number of men of fighting age, the surrender of *τὸ δουλεῦον*, the ceding of half the territory, the replacement of its main site by a new settlement probably populated at least partly by immigrants, and the subsequent construction of the Roman roads, must greatly have changed life in the ager Faliscus. This change is very visible in the abrupt change in the area's settlement pattern described by Potter (1979:98-101). Falerii Veteres was at best reduced to an insignificant township and replaced as the main centre by the new Roman Falerii.

Of the other centres, Narce and Corchiano ceased to exist shortly after 241; Vignanello, perhaps located in the part of the ager Faliscus that was not ceded to the Romans, disappeared in the second century, while the site at Grotta Porciosa may have survived as a Roman settlement. The main type of settlement now became clusters of farmsteads, many of which new foundations, their Faliscan predecessors having been abandoned in the mid-third century. All this appears to reflect a (perhaps deliberate) attempt at fragmenting and ruralizing the area. The major routes from the area, although following the lines of pre-existing ones, differ from these in the kind of traffic they serve, opening up the area to long-distance traffic while at the same time depriving it of its function as a crossroad (§2.1.3).

All this cannot have been accomplished without a major uprooting of Faliscan society, whereby traditional loyalties were disrupted and pro-Roman families, and even *homines noui* like Marcius Acarcelinius, the 'fatherless' son of a freedwoman (LF **221-223**) came to the forefront (cf. Terrenato 2007 for a discussion of such social changes). Such an uprooting, both economical and social, cannot have been without far-reaching consequences for the (linguistic) identity of the inhabitants of the area.

The new Falerii showed no signs of independence, and does not seem to have differed from the average Roman provincial town. The sources only refer to it as the location of one of the many *omina* portending Flaminius' defeat in 216 (Liv. 22.1.11, Plut. *Fab. Max.* 2, Oros. 4.15.1), as the birthplace of one of the ringleaders in the Baccha-

[28] Di Stefano Manzella (1990:349) points to the fact that after the Social War the *Horatia* was also the *tribus* of Spoletium, which was colonized in 241.

nalia-upheaval in 187-186 (Liv. 39.17.6), and as the birthplace of two brothers who served under Varro in Spain (*R.* 3.16.10-11). Cicero still names Falerii as a possible place for land grants (*Leg. agr.* 2.25.66), although the town is later described as populous by Strabo (5.2.9). Its main economical resource now seems to have been the rearing of sheep and cattle, the latter the source of the *uentres Falisci* (Var. *L* 5.22.111, Mart. 4.46.8, Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.35). Already Cato (*Agr.* 4.1, 14.1) had referred to the *praesepe Faliscum*; Ovid mentions the Faliscan sheep (*Epist.* 4.8.41) and bulls (*Am.* 3.13.14=*Fast.* 1.84=*Epist.* 4.4.32), whose famed whiteness was ascribed by Pliny (*NH* 2.106.230) to the properties of the local water. Other sources mention the growing of flax and the linen-industry (Grat. 40, Sil. 4.223). All in all, the picture painted by the sources is that of a rather somnolent rural tranquillity.

2.7. Sociolinguistic factors influencing language preservation or loss

In §§2.3-4 I described a number of factors that may have played a role in Faliscan ethnic identity. The feelings of identity of a group speaking a specific language or dialect can be a powerful or even decisive influence in the preservation of that language or dialect, but other sociolinguistic factors must be taken into account. The difficulties in applying these to the situation in the ager Faliscus are great, and the influence of each individual factor can only be estimated in a very general way. I present here several that can to some extent be assessed.

(a) Economic status. Although it is impossible to establish how wealthy the average Faliscan was at any given period, something may be said about the area as a whole. During much of the period of its independence, the ager Faliscus may well have been considered wealthy ("ciuitas Italiae opulenta quondam fuit," Eutrop. 2.28): the area was well situated with regard to trade routes, possessed fertile land, especially for pasture, and was traversed by transhumance routes (§2.1.1-3). In fact, I think it very likely that the area's economy was a major factor in keeping it independent, especially during the earlier periods. Falerii started building monumental temples like the one at Contrada Celle in the fifth century (*Sant* pp.110-3), fourth- and third-century exports of Faliscan pottery material have been found throughout the adjacent areas, and there may have been exports of a less durable nature such as cattle and linen (cf. §2.6.3). After the war of 241, this must have changed, as the Romans now controlled the main routes to and from the area and created new roads for long-distance traffic and trade (§2.1.3). During the division of the area into a Roman and a Faliscan part, from shortly after the war of 241 until the implementation of the *lex Iulia* at the end of the Social War (90-89), trade with Roman or Latin citizens may have been restricted by the *ius commercii*, depending on the status of both areas (§2.6.2-3).

(b) Social status. This is a point on which the sources are silent, and perhaps their silence is eloquent enough: other towns or peoples were not deemed worth the effort of serious comment at a time when Roman historiography was still finding its own ground. Indirect data may be glimpsed from Roman literature. Dench (2005:300-1) points to the caricatures and stereotypes of Italic and Latin rustics that may be found in Roman literature from the Roman comedy of the second century onward: the emerging importance of the City was apparently strengthened in its identity by facetious references to those dwelling outside it or not conversant with its *mores*. However well the Faliscans may have thought of themselves, and whatever status they may have had among the city-states of Etruria (cf. e.g. their repeated appeals to the councils of the Etruscan councils at Fanum Voltumnae mentioned in §2.5.1), there are no indications that they were held in any kind of regard at Rome.

(c) Language status. What status the language or dialect has can be approached from two directions: the status it had within the group itself and the status it had among the 'outsiders'. Unfortunately, there are simply no sources on the status of Faliscan either among the Faliscans or among the outsiders: the latter are silent to the extent that there are not even contemporary Roman sources to remark on the fact that the Faliscans spoke a different language or dialect in any way.[29]

Dench's (2005:298-361) excellent treatment of language as a factor in Roman ethnic identity understandably starts from the first century BCE, when authors such as Caesar and Cicero were establishing what was 'good' Latin and by and large decided that this was the Latin of the Roman upper class. In this period, the mention of 'rustic' Latin begins to make its appearance, *rustici* and *antiqui* often being treated side by side by authors on language: well might the rustic still speak as of old, but in the City, men moved with the times. Earlier authors had made jokes and puns based on the other Italic languages, e.g. Lucilius' *primum Pacilius thesorophylax pater abzet* 581M (where *abzet* 'has died' = Paelignian *afḍed* Pg 9) but there are no more examples of this from the first century BCE onward: Roman Latin now became *de rigueur*, as appears from the remarks on the apparently well-remembered rural speech of Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 87-8).

(d) Functional distribution of the language involved. A language or dialect can stay alive much longer if it has specific functions within the community that speaks it, especially if these functions are connected to other possible rallying points for ethnic identification such as religion (cf. e.g. the survival of Hebrew in the Diaspora). Unfortunately, I can find no trace of an institution where Faliscan played a part, apart, perhaps, from ritual: from the customs in Rome (especially the *instauratio*) and the way in which the Umbrian rituals of the *Tabulae Iguuinae* are presented, it could be

[29] The earliest author who remarks upon the Latin of Falerii is Varro (*L* 5.162, see §6.6.*1*).

expected that the precise wording of rituals was important in the ager Faliscus as well, and its autochthonous cults may have retained prayers recited in Faliscan while the written and spoken language of the area became successively more like Roman Latin. Although there is no evidence for this, it is worth noting that the last 'Faliscan' inscription, or, perhaps rather 'inscription trying to appear Faliscan' (LF/Lat **214**) is a public dedication and may perhaps reflect an older wording of the same text. Other institutions appear to be lacking: there are no indications that Faliscan played any role in the *carmina Fescennina*, for instance.

(e) Population size. The number of speakers of Faliscan is the one factor where some quantification can be done, if only to illustrate the difficulties and the overly large number of *a priori* assumptions involved. The population of the ager Faliscus can never have been very great, and may be estimated to some extent from calculations based on land-use such as the ones applied by Ámpolo (1980) to early Latium. The overall size of the area, depending on where the borders were situated, was no more than 400-500 km² at the very most. Even today a sizeable part of the terrain (e.g. the river-gorges) is unusable for agriculture: in antiquity, this part must have been larger, given the amount of woodland on the ranges to the north and west (§2.1.1). Part of the usable land was used for the rearing of cattle and sheep (cf., for a later period, Ov. *Epist.* 4.8.41, *Am.* 3.13.14=*Fast.* 1.84=*Epist.* 4.4.32, Plin. *NH* 2.106.230) rather than for food-crops: in all, the arable land cannot have exceeded 30,000 ha, which would have fed 45,000 people at the very best. For the inhabitants to be considered wealthy, however, the true number of inhabitants must have been much lower, probably in the order of 20,000-22,500, at any given period, if not lower than that.[30]

A very much higher number, however, is implied by the size of the Faliscan army in the war of 241, where the sources (Eutrop. 2.28, Oros. 4.11.10) give the number of Faliscan casualties as 15,000. This number may of course be overstated, but in view of the quite extraordinary double triumph awarded for this victory, it cannot have been much lower than 10,000, unless there had been a gross relaxation of the legal requirement of 5,000 enemy casualties for a triumph (V. Max. 2.8.1). Even if the number of casualties was *c.*10,000, the army itself must have been 15,000-20,000 strong or more, and as it would have included most freeborn men in the age range of 18-45, this would point to a very much higher number of inhabitants than the one arrived at above, perhaps even 75,000-80,000. I find this very hard to accept: either the Faliscan army had been bolstered up with troops from other areas, or both consuls were given a triumph on just *one* total of 5,000 enemy casualties.

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[30] Ámpolo (1980:28-9) reached much lower estimates for Latin towns of comparable size: *(1)* Rome (seventh and sixth centuries): area 435 km², est. 18,000 inhabitants; *(2)* Tibur: area 351 km², est. 15,000 inhabitants; *(3)* Praeneste: area 262.5 km², est. 10,000-12,000 inhabitants.

A related point is the number of non-Faliscans that moved into the area after the war and the division of the territory. Falerii Novi may have housed a few thousand inhabitants, perhaps,[31] but it can only be guessed at how many people were given allotments in the rural area that was now Roman. Apparently there was still land to spare at the time of Cicero (*Leg. agr.* 2.25.66), and Di Stefano Manzella (1990:366-7) assumed that it was used for a land-grant to veterans of the triumvirs: this, however, was several (civil) wars after the time Faliscan had ceased to exist.

(f) Distribution of the speakers. As said above (§2.1.1-2), the ager Faliscus was a well-defined area with clear natural boundaries, with a major sites at Falerii and originally at Narce as well, and a number of smaller towns e.g. in the north at Corchiano, Vignanello, Grotta Porciosa, and in the south-east, e.g. at Rignano Flaminio. This changes abruptly after the war of 241: Falerii Veteres is reduced to insignificance and at worst depopulated, several of the smaller sites disappear, and the area becomes 'ruralized', perhaps on purpose: Roman Falerii Novi now emerges as the one dominant centre, and it may be presumed that this town had a largely or predominantly Latin-speaking population (§2.6.2). Half of the land becomes Roman property, with speakers of Latin settling among the speakers of Faliscan: the Roman area may even have cut the Faliscan area in two. This change in habitation pattern must have had severe consequences for the distribution of the speakers of Faliscan.

(g) Family and intermarriage. If what we know about the role of the family in Rome is applicable to the ager Faliscus, the family or clan must have been one of the most important social networks.[32] In the ager Faliscus the coherence of the family structure is in a sense underlined even further by the use of the family tombs (§2.3.1). Although it is hard to tell if family traditions included keeping to the old ways in matters of language too, there are signs of family mannerisms like the spelling *p* in the name *Umpricius* in a Latin inscription from Falerii Novi (Lat **219**). Related to the subject of family is that of intermarriage. The heterogeneous origins of the gentilicia found in the Faliscan texts show that Faliscan-speaking families probably intermarried with Etruscan-, Sabellic- or Latin-speaking ones, but these data cannot be taken at face value, let alone quantified (cf. §7.10.3). During the period when the ager Faliscus was divided into a Roman and a Faliscan part, from shortly after the war of 241 until the implementation of the *lex Iulia* at the end of the Social War, marriage with Roman or Latin citizens may have been restricted by the *ius conubii*.

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[31] Cristofani's (1984:30-1) estimates of the populations of a number of Etruscan cities are based on the size of these towns' urban area: according to these calculations, the inhabitants of Falerii Novi (*c.*38 ha) may have numbered slightly over 6,000.

[32] Terrenato (2007:13) in fact claims that "clan mentality in many cases came before civic loyalty and ethnic identity." This may well be correct, but in the absence of data on the subject from the ager Faliscus I cannot pursue this further.

2.8. Linguistic evaluation: Faliscan and its neighbours

2.8.1. Faliscan and Etruscan. As said in §2.4.2, I regard Faliscan and Capenate as the remains of a Latin once spoken throughout South Etruria, but which was replaced by Etruscan, except in the ager Faliscus and Capenas. It is surprising that a relatively small area like the ager Faliscus was able to preserve its linguistic independence, and as this autonomy was clearly not based on great military might or superior resources, it can only be explained by geographical position. Until the opening of the 'Sutri Gap' in the late fourth century, the *silua Cimina* must have formed a considerable barrier and may have significantly slowed the eastward spread of Etruscan influence from the great Etruscan centres of coastal South Etruria to the area.[33] From the south, the ager Faliscus was easily accessible, but here there were no major Etruscan centres until the emergence of Veii. Yet the physical barrier of the *silua Cimina* cannot by itself have proved insurmountable, and can in any case have had no real influence on the preservation of Latin in the ager Capenas. At least as important, therefore, must have been the strategic position with regard to the trade routes along the Tiber and to the interior. The economic importance of these routes may have been responsible not only for the area's independence, but may also have been a factor in the eventual ascendancy of the centrally placed Falerii.

In view of the rise and expansion of Veii in the sixth and fifth centuries, it remains to be seen whether the ager Faliscus could eventually have preserved its independent identity. Veii, located on the doorstep of the ager Faliscus and Capenas, became a dominant neighbour, not only economically and culturally, but also politically, and by the late fifth century had swallowed Capena and was encroaching on the ager Faliscus, founding or taking over Sutrium and Nepete. Yet even the cultural or political usurpation by Veii of the major southern site of the area, at Narce, did not lead to a Faliscan submission to Veii. Cultural identity may have played a part here, for the epigraphic material shows that Narce was Etruscan and Falerii was Faliscan at least as far as the language was concerned. I find it hard to imagine that the rise of Veii, partly at the cost of the ager Faliscus, would *not* have been accompanied by some form of friction or conflict in the sixth and fifth centuries, a conflict that took place beyond the reach or the interest of the Roman and Greek historians. These depict Falerii as the Romans encountered it, an ally of Veii in the wars of the late fifth and early fourth centuries. At that time both towns were forced to cooperate against Rome to protect their areas and trade-routes through the Tiber valley, and self-interest may have overcome any lingering disagreements.

[33] By then, Etruscan influence had long since reached the Tiber valley to the north of the ager Faliscus. It is an interesting fact that Sutrium, although located on the 'Sutri Gap', appears to have been founded and controlled from the south rather than from the west.

Veii was then removed from the board by Rome, with the effect of making the ager Faliscus into something of an 'independent agent' within South Etruria. For some reason the Romans chose to preserve the political independence of the ager Faliscus instead of settling it like the lands of Veii and its dependencies, and they continued to do so in spite of frequent Faliscan revolts, perhaps because subduing the area would have cost more trouble than occasionally defeating its probably not overly large military might. The ager Faliscus thus found itself in a more or less precariously independent position on the border between the Roman and the Etruscan spheres. Although politically its alliance with the Etruscan states continued, economically the area probably still depended largely on the now Roman south; culturally, it had been Etruscan to a large extent, but linguistically, the ager Faliscus had been brought back into the orbit of the Latin-speaking community.

2.8.2. Faliscan and the Sabellic languages. There most certainly were contacts with the Sabellic area: the Tiber crossings near Lucus Feroniae at the south end of the ager Capenas and near the Grotta Porciosa site at the north-eastern end of the ager Faliscus, which connected South Etruria with the Sabine- and Umbrian-speaking interior must have been important to traffic. Although reference to incursions has often been made, these appear to have been on a fairly small scale and appear to concern the ager Capenas more than the ager Faliscus. Most of the contacts were probably in the form of trade and transhumance farming. Although Sabellic epigraphic and linguistic features occur in several inscriptions (mostly from the ager Capenas, but MLF/Cap **474*** is purportedly from Falerii Novi), these are probably phenomena of interference rather than of borrowing: extensive linguistic influence from Sabellic languages is certainly absent, however intensive the contacts between the speakers of Faliscan and Sabellic languages may have been. For a further discussion, see §9.3.

2.8.3. Faliscan and Latin. The inhabitants of the ager Faliscus must have been in fairly frequent contact with Latium from the early days on, as is shown not only by the cultural peculiarities that the areas shared, but also by what is known of the trade routes along the Tiber and the areas they served. How these contacts were affected by the emergence of Narce and Veii is difficult to assess, especially where the linguistic side is concerned. It is noteworthy that a major morphological change like the replacement of the second-declension genitive singular ending *-osio* by *-i*, which must have taken place during the *floruit* of Veii, affected both Latium and the ager Faliscus (cf. §4.4).

Then, in the early fourth century, Veii was destroyed, and its dependencies Capena, Sutrium, and Nepete passed into Roman hands, the latter two now linked to Rome by the first stage of the Via Amerina. Although this must again have brought the inhabitants of the ager Faliscus into more frequent contact with speakers of Latin

as spoken in Latium (cf. §9.4.1), it did not result in a spread of this variant of Latin to the ager Faliscus, which together with its lively political autonomy preserved its cultural and linguistic independence while the ager Capenas became Latinized (§9.4.3). Yet in spite of the ager Faliscus adhering to its own form of Latin, important morphological changes that took place during this period again seem to have affected both Latium and the ager Faliscus, namely the replacement of the first-declension genitive singular ending *-as* by *-ai* (§4.2.2) and the replacement of the third singular perfect ending *-ed* by *-et* (§5.2.2*e*).

The outcome of the war of 241 must have changed this situation drastically. The historical and archaeological evidence points to a decline in population, and perhaps to a dispersion of the remaining speakers of Faliscan over farmsteads and townships that were insignificant in comparison to the new Roman centre of the area. Immigrants from Rome and Latium, and probably also from the Roman colonies at Capena, Sutrium, and Nepete, came to this new Falerii and to other parts of the area, taking out allotments and settling among the native population. New roads opened up what had been a fairly closed-off territory to traffic on a larger scale and over much greater distances than before. The ager Faliscus, which until the end of the First Punic War had been an autonomous force of local significance within the network of the city-states of South Etruria, now became an insignificant part of a rapidly expanding world of which Rome was at the centre.

All these factors would have been conducive to a speedy adaptation of Faliscan to mainstream Latin, while there seem to have been few factors that would have been an inspiration to the preservation of Faliscan. If Falerii Novi was a colony, contacts with the inhabitants of the remainder of the area may to some extent have been restricted by the regulations of the *ius commercii* and the *ius conubii*, but these can hardly have exercised any crucial influence. Traditions of family may have played some role in the preservation of Faliscan, but these must have been offset by the social uprooting following the war. Traditions of religion, too, may have played a role, but even though the cult of Juno may have been important to the Faliscan ethnic identity, religion was apparently not powerful enough to preserve its dialect.

With the loss of its political independence, the area lost an important possible rallying-point for the preservation of its cultural or linguistic identity. The Roman roads, which bypassed the native centres, took away its strategic position and commercial role, and even the name of the town after which the whole area was called had been usurped by the new Roman centre. Under these circumstances, the local dialect, too, was bound to disappear, especially as it does not appear to have had any specific status or function that could have ensured its survival: Faliscan does not appear to have been associated with the *carmina Fescennina*, or to have played a role in the cults that continued at Falerii Veteres, or to have been used for long in the administration of the new town (§9.4.1).

Faliscan seems to have disappeared from the written record during the first half of the second century, both in the Roman-controlled and in the 'independent' part, fated to dwindle into an obscurity of twenty centuries. Whatever non-standard linguistic features the area preserved after that date were now just part of a local variant of what now became 'rustic Latin', 'Falerian' rather than 'Faliscan' – *sic rure loquuntur*.

Chapter 3

Phonology

Faliscan phonology presents some very interesting features. First of all, the Faliscan material is relatively old in comparison to the inscriptions of the Latin and most of the Sabellic languages: most of it dates from before the middle of the third century. Second, the Faliscan material shows some very interesting developments, especially in the voiced aspirates (§3.2.8, §3.3.3, §3.5.2) and the diphthongs (§3.7).

This chapter opens with a few methodological considerations on the limitations of the Faliscan material and the status of Proto-Italic (§3.1). The arrangement of the remainder is more or less chronological. It starts with the developments of the Proto-Italic period, which Faliscan shares with the other Latin dialects and the Sabellic languages (§3.2); continues with the Proto-Latin developments, where Faliscan should show the same developments as Latin, but different ones from the Sabellic languages (§3.3), and ends with the developments of the Early, Middle and Late Faliscan periods (§3.4-7). A short conclusion is drawn in §3.8.

3.1. Methodological issues

3.1.1. Method and material. The phonology of Faliscan stands, in a sense, on a different level from the parts of speech that I discuss in chapters 4-7.

On the one hand, phonological developments can often be observed and defined much more clearly than e.g. the developments in morphology, where analogy may play a much larger role: phonemes, after all, although by definition *meaningful* sounds, do not themselves convey a 'meaningful concept' in the sense morphemes and lexemes do. For the same reason, the influence from other languages as a factor in a phonological development is less and different than, e.g., in the lexicon and especially the onomasticon: see, however, §3.8.

A problem, on the other hand, is that in the case of fragmentarily preserved languages there is often too little material for a comprehensive interpretation, especially in the case of diachronic developments. The Faliscan material can therefore often only be interpreted clearly against the background of a picture of the larger developments as they are known from Latin and the Sabellic languages. Since this study starts from the assumption that Faliscan is a Latin dialect, I have chosen in several cases to present the Faliscan material against the larger background of the developments as they are known to have taken place in Latin. The aim is then to show that the few Faliscan data tie in with what is known about the much better documented Latin, and are nowhere at odds with it. Wherever this is possible, the relevant data from the Sabellic languages are then reviewed for comparison: these usually show a different picture.

Another problem which applies especially to the Middle and Late Faliscan developments is the question of which inscriptions represent what can be called Faliscan and which do not, e.g., because they represent the Latin of immigrants from Rome or Latium. I have excluded on principle all inscriptions that I regard as Latin (Lat **217**, **218**, **219**, **237** and **238**, **240**, **250**, **251**, **268**, **291**, **296**, **377**, **393**, **456** and the Late Faliscan or Latin **214**), as well as those that I regard as Latino-Faliscan or Capenate, as sources for data on Faliscan phonology, and used these only as additional material or to highlight specific points, after the main developments of Faliscan have been made clear. The risk of a circular argument is great, however, for it is easy to exclude specific inscriptions as being Latin rather than Faliscan, and thus ending up using only those inscriptions that exactly confirm the preconceived idea about Faliscan that lead to the exclusion of the 'non-Faliscan' inscriptions in the first place: see §3.6.6.*1* for an illustration of this point.

3.1.2. The concept of Proto-Italic. As has been said in §1.4.1, 'Proto-Italic' is defined here as a chronological stage during which a set of phonological and morphological developments took place that *together* set off the Italic languages from the other IE families, all of which developments are assumed to have *preceded* any developments that were limited to either the Latin or the Sabellic branch of the Italic languages. As soon as either branch of the Italic languages shows independent developments, the Proto-Italic period must be regarded as closed and the Proto-Latin and Proto-Sabellic stage must be assumed to have begun. The initial stage of Proto-Italic must therefore coincide with (late) PIE, whereas the final stage of Proto-Italic constitutes the initial stage of both Proto-Latin and of Proto-Sabellic.

Since Proto-Italic is defined as a *chronological* stage in the development of the Italic languages, it must have had an existence in time and in place. However, as the Proto-Italic period is a linguistically defined period but is also prehistoric, ascribing dates to such a remote period is extremely difficult, if not impossible. Meiser's (1998:54) approximative dates of *c.*4000 to *c.*1800 BCE (apparently defined as starting with the breaking up of (Western) PIE and ending approximately 1100 years before the appearance of the first written documents) is as good a guess as anyone's.

To the Proto-Italic stage can (or rather, *must*) be ascribed *all* developments that occur in both the Latin and the Sabellic branches of the Italic language family, unless these must be ascribed to separate parallel development, either because they can be dated *absolutely* (by written evidence) or because they can be dated later *relatively* as having taken place *after* a development that is demonstrably post-Proto-Italic. The explanation of any feature that is found in only one Italic language or in only one branch of the Italic languages by a Proto-Italic development therefore implies that either the explanation is unsound or that the language in question cannot be regarded as Italic.

3.1.3. The PIE phonemic inventory. I end this section with a few short notes on the phonemic inventory of PIE and Proto-Italic as presented in fig.3.2. Firstly, it will be clear that I approach PIE and the developments of the IE languages from a laryngealist perspective. As a consequence, I have been reluctant to include */a ā/ (cf. Lubotsky 1989), and have not included */ī ū/ (cf. Beekes 1990:173-5). It goes beyond the scope of this study to review the whole laryngeal discussion: as far as the question of whether Faliscan is a Latin dialect or an independent Italic language is concerned, the laryngeals are of relatively minor importance, since they are assumed to have disappeared during the Proto-Italic period. Secondly, whether Proto-Italic had an inherited PIE phoneme */θ/ or the sound *[θ] was only a positional variant of */t d^h/ (cf. Meiser 1998:29) is in my view unclear, but for the scope of this study, this is irrelevant, since it disappeared during the Proto-Italic period, and no reflexes of words where it presumably occurred are found in the Faliscan material.

The PIE occlusive series can and perhaps should be reconstructed in an entirely different way than is done here, namely according to the glottalic theory. I mention this especially in view of Baldi & Johnson-Staver's (1989) glottalic reconstruction of the development of the voiced aspirates in the Italic languages:

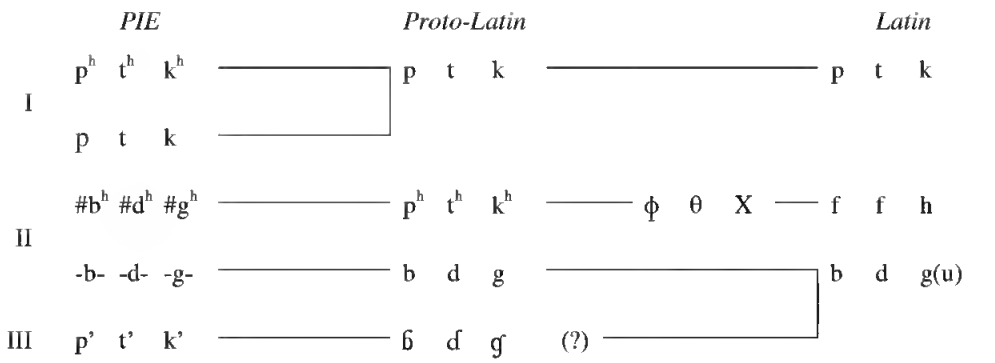

Fig.3.1. Glottalic reconstruction of the development of the voiced aspirates.
(After Baldi & Johnson-Staver 1989:96.)

I have not adopted this perspective, not because I think the glottalic reconstruction is wrong in itself, but because I wonder whether the distinction between a voiceless/voiceless aspirated, voiced/voiced aspirated, and glottalized series was indeed preserved until the Proto-Italic, let alone the Proto-Latin period, and had not developed and/or merged into different series before that date, within PIE itself. Stuart-Smith (2004:17-8) in fact notes that in the course of the development it would in any case be necessary to assume a stage where the voiced occlusives would have become voiced aspirated occlusives.

Reconstructed phonemic inventory of PIE (final stage) =
Reconstructed phonemic inventory of Proto-Italic, initial stage

↓

Reconstructed phonemic inventory of Proto-Italic, final stage =
Reconstructed phonemic inventory of Proto-Latin and Proto-Sabellic, initial stage

Fig.3.2. Development of the phonemic inventory of Proto-Italic.

3.2. Proto-Italic developments

3.2.1. From Proto-Italic to Proto-Latin. The phonological developments that can with reasonable certainty be ascribed to the Proto-Italic period have been summarized by Meiser (1986:37-8 from the perspective of the history of the Sabellic languages, 1998:54 from the perspective of the history of Latin). Of these, I discuss only those that are in some way relevant to the evaluation of the Faliscan material.[34] Since there is no doubt among scholars that Faliscan is an Italic language, Faliscan should be expected to show the same Proto-Italic developments and the same outcomes of these developments as Latin and the Sabellic languages. The Proto-Italic developments are therefore of relatively minor relevance to the question of whether Faliscan is a Latin dialect or a separate Italic language.

3.2.2. Presumed merger of the palatal and the velar series. It is a debated and debatable point if, beside a labiovelar series /$k^{\underline{u}}$ $g^{\underline{u}}$ $g^{\underline{u}h}$/, PIE had *both* a palatal or palatovelar series */ḱ ǵ ǵ^{h}/ *and* a 'true velar' series */k g g^{h}/.[35] Apart from the fact that such a triple-series system is debatable from a typological point of view, it is preserved in none of the IE languages: the distribution of palatals and velars throughout the IE languages appears to be complementary, the *centum*-languages (among which the Italic languages) having velars and labiovelars, the *satem*-languages, palatovelars and labiovelars. For discussions of this point, see Steensland 1973 (extensive) and Baldi & Johnston-Staver 1989:88-97 (from a glottalist perspective).

The rather slight Latin evidence for a Proto-Italic distinction between a palatovelar and a velar series is evaluated by Schrijver (1991:425-34). It consists of the fact that after a reconstructed velar */k/, but not after a reconstructed palatovelar */ḱ/, PIE */e/ usually appears in Latin as /a/:

PIE */ḱe/ → Latin /ke/ PIE */ke/ → Latin /ka/

The instances where Schrijver (1991:434) deems this probable are *calidus* ← PIE */kel-/, *candeo* ← PIE */(s)kend-/, *carpo* ← PIE */(s)kerp-/, *carro* ← PIE */kers-/, *scabo* ← PIE */skeb^{h}-/, and *scando* ← PIE */skend/, to which Rix (1996:160 n.9) adds *castrum* ← PIE */keg^{h}-/. The counterexamples are *cena* ← PIE */kert-/, and *scelus* ← PIE */skel-/, to which Meiser (1998:83) adds *celsus* ← PIE */kel-/, *cingo* ←

[34] Those discussed by Meiser, but not by me, are: *(1)* */ūi̯/ → /ī̯/ (e.g., in *pius*), *(2)* */gi̯/ → /i̯i̯/ (e.g., in *maius*), *(3)* */mi̯/ → /ni̯/ (e.g., in *uenio*), and *(4)* the developments of */θ/, namely */kθ/ → */ks/ (→ /s/) and */#kθ/ → /#s/. For the development of the accent, see §3.6.6.

[35] Meillet (1894:294-9) suggested that the velars (in effect, /k/) developed from a positional variant of the palatovelars that subsequently acquired phonemic status: PIE */#sḱ/ → */#sk/ (de-palatalization) → */#k/ (loss of movable /#s/).

PIE */keng-/, and, with velar */g/ and */g^h/, *gemo* ← PIE */gem-/ and *hedera* ← PIE */g^hed-/. The Italic evidence that can be added to this consists of the corresponding Sabellic forms, Oscan *castrous TB* 13 etc., Umbrian *kastruvuf TI* Va.13 etc., Oscan *kersnu* Cm 14 etc., Umbrian *śesna TI* Vb.9 etc., and Umbrian *śihitu anśihitu TI* VIb.59. If these differences can indeed be attributed to an opposition of a palatovelar and a velar series, the development */ke/ → */ka/ must have taken place before a merger of both series in Proto-Italic, and such a merger must have taken place at a very early Proto-Italic date, since a palatovelar-velar opposition is not reflected in any other Italic development.

Although therefore apparently irrelevant to the study of Faliscan, this point *is* in fact relevant to the discussion on the development of the voiced aspirates. If (Western) PIE did not have a separate palatovelar series, or if the PIE palatovelar series disappeared due to a PIE or early Proto-Italic merger of the palatovelar and the velar series, the (presumed) PIE distinction between */$ǵ^h$/ and */g^h/ is irrelevant to any further developments of the voiced aspirates. It is therefore impossible to ascribe the unexpected Faliscan reflexes *fifiked* EF **9**, *ff[.f]iqod* EF **1**, and *lecet* MF **88** (§3.3.3.2) to the fact that these forms contained an original PIE */$ǵ^h$/ (PIE roots */d^heiǵ^h-/ and */leǵ^h-/) as opposed to an original PIE */g^h/.

3.2.3. Developments of the laryngeals. A major development that can with certainty be ascribed to the Proto-Italic period is the disappearance of the laryngeals. For the Italic languages, the most detailed description of the way these phonemes disappeared and the traces they left behind is Schrijver 1991. Brief summaries of the major trends may be found in Meiser 1998:105-10, 1986:36. The list below is not a complete overview, but merely places the Faliscan lexemes and morphemes where a laryngeal may be reconstructed beside the reconstructed Proto-Italic developments:

PIE		**Proto-Italic (final)**	**Faliscan reflexes**
***/#h_1e/**	→	***/#e/**	
*/$ħ_1$eǵ-/		*/eg-/	*eqo* EF **1**, **467***, *eco* EF **3**, *eko* EF **6**, **7**; *eco* LF **378**, **383**
***/#h_2e/**	→	***/#a/**	
*/$ħ_2$eidh-/		*/aid̂-/	*efiles* MF **113**, **115**, *efile* MF **114**, *efi[les]* MF **116**
***/#h_3e/**	→	***/#o/**	
*/$ħ_3$eḱt-/		*/okt-/	? *oct-* MLF **353** (very dubious)
***/#HRC/**	→	***/#aRC/**	
*/$ħ_2$rǵn̥tom/		*/argn̥tom/	*arcentelom* EF **1**

***/#ĦRV/**	→	***/#RV/**	
*/ħ$_1$me/		*/mē/ (cf. §4.7.2)	*med* EF **1**, **9**; *met* MF **470***
*/ħ$_1$leud^{h}ero-/		*/lou̯ðero-/	*l]oifirtą* MF **41**, *loferta* LF **221**; *loifi̯rtato* MF **31**, *loifirtato* MF **32**
*/ħ$_1$reud^{h}o-/		*/rou̯ðo-/	? *rufia* EF **4** (see §3.7.2)
*/ħ$_3$rēǵ-/		*/rēg-/	*rex* MF **90**, perhaps also *ri̯ęx* MF **91** (very uncertain), *rę[x]* LF **249** [and *rex* LtF **231**]
***/CĦC/**	→	***/CaC/**	
*/d^{h}ħ$_1$-k-/		*/ɸak-/	*faced* MF **471***, *facet* MF **470***
*/pħ$_2$tēr/		*/patēr/	*pater* MF **62**
*/sħ$_2$kro-/		*/sakro-/	*sacra* MF **127**
***/Ceħ$_2$C/**	→	***/CāC/**	
*/keħ$_2$ro-/		*/kāro-/	*karai* EF **1**
? */meħ$_2$no-/		*/māno-/	cognomen *man[o]mo* MF **80**, *[m]ano[m]o* MF **149**; gentilicium *mania* LF **225**, *m[e]ania* LF **224**.

The word may have been a non-IE borrowing in PIE (cf. Schrijver 1991:143).

? */meħ$_2$tēr/		*/mātēr/	*mate* LF **222**

The /ā/ is often regarded as due to a PIE lengthened vowel (PIE */mātēr/ rather than */meħ$_2$tēr/), but can also be ascribed to a laryngeal (cf. Schrijver 1991:341).

***/Ceħ$_3$C/**	→	***/CōC/**	
*/deħ$_3$u-/ or */doh$_3$u-/		*/dōu̯-/	*douiad* EF **1** (see §5.3.1.*4*)
***/CiĦC/**	→	***/CīC/**	
*/uiħ$_1$nom/		*/u̯īnom/	*uino* MF **59-60**
*/uiĦros/		*/u̯īros/ → */u̯iros/	*duum]luiru* LF **243**, *duum[uir* LF **247**, *duu[muiru* LF **248**, *[duu]m̥-uiru* LF **249** (Latin borrowing?)
***/Ch$_2$ei̯C/**	→	***/Cai̯C/**	
*/lh$_2$eiuo-/		*/lai̯u̯o-	names: *leiuelio* MF **79**, *[leu]elio* MF **90**, *[leu]elio* MF **159**; *leuieis* Lat **251**, *leuia* LtF **327**, *leueli* MF **14**, *le[ueli]o* MF **146**; *leue[lia]* MF **147**

The PIE form may have been either */lh$_2$eiuo-/ or */leh$_2$iuo-/ (*EDL* s.v. *laevus*).

*/skħ$_2$eiuo-/	*/skai̯u̯o-/	names: *sceu̯a* MLF **312**, *sceiuai* LF **379**.

The PIE form may have been either */skh$_2$eiuo-/ or */skeh$_2$iuo-/ (Schrijver 1991:270).

? */CH̄iC/	→	***/CīC/**	
*/d^{h}h$_1$ilios/		*/ϕīl̥ios/	*fileo* MF **467***, *hileo* MF **146**, etc.
*/d^{h}h$_1$ilieh$_2$/		*/ϕīliā/	*filea* MF **14** etc.

Schrijver (1991:242) and *EDL* (s.v. *filius*) suggest either */d^{h}h$_1$ilios/ or */d^{h}eh$_1$ilios/ as the PIE form.

***/CRH̄C/**	→	***/CRāC/**	
*/prh$_3$-mo-/		*/prāmo-/	*pramom* EF **2** (a debated word, but probably related to Latin *prāndium*, §6.2.*59*)
***/CRH̄V/**	→	***/CaRV/**	
*/g^{h}rh$_2$-u-/		*/haru-/	*harịsp[ex* LtF **231**, *harisp[ex* LtF **232**
***/CH̄RC/**	→	***/CaRC/**	
? */b^{h}H̄rs/		*/ϕars/	*far* EF **1**

The /a/ may be of non-IE origin and not due to a laryngeal (Schrijver 1991:113-4).

Unclear are */sok^{u}(h$_2$)io-/ → *soç[iai]* EF **1**, *sociai* EF **4**, where the presence of the laryngeal is doubtful (cf. Schrijver 1991:249, De Vaan *EDL* s.v. *socius*), and *praụ[i]os* EF **1** (if connected to Latin *prāuus*): *EDL* (s.v. *prāvus*) gives no etymology for this word, but it seems likely that the /ā/ is due to a laryngeal: perhaps */preh$_2$-uo-/ → */prāu̯o-/?

The verbal roots reconstructed as ending in a laryngeal have not all been included in the list above, since their reflexes are sometimes different due to analogies or restructurations within the paradigms of the verb. They are: *(1)* */dh$_3$-/ in *porded* EF **1**, see §5.3.1.*14* (and *(2)* in the extended form of this root */deh$_3$u̯-/ or */doh$_3$u̯-/ in *douiad* EF **1**, see §5.3.1.*4*); *(3)* */kubh$_2$-/ (or */ḱubh$_2$-/?) in *cupat* MF **40** etc. and *cupa]nt* MF **80** etc., see §5.3.1.*2-3*; *(4)* */pi-ph$_3$-/ in *pipafo* MF **59**, *‹pi›pafo* MF **60**, see §5.3.1.*13*; *(5)* */prh$_3$-/ in *pe:para[i* EF **1**, see §5.3.1.*12*.

Laryngeals in verbal suffixes and endings that are attested for Faliscan are reconstructed for: *(1) seite* EF **4** (either *s[e]ite* or *s‹ie›te*), reflecting the old PIE optative */h$_1$s-ih$_1$-té/, used as subjunctive (cf. §5.3.1.*18*); *(2)* the primary ending of the first person singular PIE */-oH/ → Proto-Italic */-ō/, attested for Faliscan in *carefo* MF **59**, *carẹ[f]o* MF **60**, *pipafo* MF **59**, *‹pi›pafo* MF **60** (see §5.2.4*a*); *(3)* the first person singular perfect ending PIE */-h$_2$e/, which developed either into Proto-Italic */-a/ → */-ai̯/ (innovation) or into Proto-Italic */-h$_2$e-i̯/ (innovation) → */-ai̯/ (see §5.3.1*e*): note that the stage *-ai* is reflected only by Faliscan *pe:para[i* EF **1** (cf. Untermann 1968a:165-9).

Laryngeals in nominal endings that are attested for Faliscan are reconstructed for the endings of the first declension: nominative singular */-eh₂/ → /-ā/ (or */-h₂/ → */-a/, cf. §4.2.1), genitive singular */-eh₂s/ or */-eh₂es/ → */-ās/ (§4.2.2), dative singular */-eh₂ei/ or */-h₂ei/ → /-āi̯/ (§4.2.3), accusative singular */-eh₂m/ → /-ām/ (§4.2.2).

3.2.4. Voicing of /t#/ and subsequent drop of /i#/. The primary and secondary endings of the third person (see §5.2.4.*1-2*) show that these must have been subject to two successive developments, namely *(1)* voicing of */t#/, and *(2)* loss of */i#/ (cf. Meiser 1998:98, 73-4).

		voicing of /t#/		*loss of /i#/*	
sec. 3rd sg.	*/-t/	→	*/-d/	→	*/-d/
sec. 3rd pl.	*/-nt/	→	*/-nd/	→	*/-nd/
prim. 3rd sg.	*/-ti/	→	*/-ti/	→	*/-t/
prim. 3rd pl.	*/-nti	→	*/-nti/	→	*/-nt/

These endings are reflected in Early Faliscan *fifiked* EF **9**, *f[.f]i qod = fifiqo(n)d* EF **1** vs. Middle Faliscan *cupat* MF **40** etc., *cupa]nt* MF **80** etc. (For further attestations, see §5.2.4*1-b,e*.)

This development must belong to a period where the PIE accent had not yet been replaced by the Italic initial accent (§3.6.6), as */i#/ was preserved where it carried the accent in PIE or where it occurred in alternation with an accented */i#/ within the same paradigm (Rix 1996:158 n.7, Meiser 1998:74). It may therefore belong to an early phase of Proto-Italic.

3.2.5. Merger of */eu/ with */ou/. According to the generally accepted view, the inherited diphthong */eu̯/ merged with */ou̯/ already during the Proto-Italic period (cf. Pfister 1977:55, 69-70, Meiser 1998:59; Von Planta 1892:157-8). There are, however, several instances of *eu* in Latin and Faliscan that have led a number of authors (e.g. Pisani 1943:259, 1964:346, *LHS* pp.70-1, Wachter 1987:99, 374) to doubt this view and assume that */eu̯/ was preserved until the third century BCE. The instances are as follows (mainly from Blümel 1972:29-30):

Latin:

- *neuen : deiuo CIL* I^2.455 (Ardea, third century: sometimes, but in my view erroneously, regarded as Faliscan, as is explained in §18.3.2);
- *neuna · dono CIL* I^2.2845 (Lavinium, early third century);
- *neuna · fata CIL* I^2.2846 (Lavinium, early third century);
- *[---]euam* (beside *iouxmen*lta) *CIL* I^2.1 (Rome, sixth century?);
- *cozeulodorieso* (also given as *cozeui oborieso*) quoted by Varro (*L* 7.26) and *leucesiae* (also given as *leucesie*) quoted by Terentius Scaurus (*CGL* 7.28.11), both purportedly from the *Carmen Saliare*.

Faliscan:

- *euios* EF **1**: There is general agreement among the editors that *euios* is onomastic: it is therefore quite possible that *euios* is from another language altogether (cf. §7.1.1), as G. Giacomelli's (1963:41-2) interpretation of this form as Εὔιος shows, even if this interpretation may no longer be tenable (see §12.2).
- *euotenosio* EF **3** in *ecoquto*euotenosio*. In my view, this is to be read as *eco quto *e* (?) *uotenosio*, where *uotenosio* is the genitive of the name that appears in the vocative *uoltene* at the end of the text, and therefore to be read as *uo(l)tenosio* or *uo‹l›tenosio*: see §12.3.
- Safarewicz (1954:101-3) also pointed to *leueli* MF **14** and *heva* EF **9**, but in the former (as in *le[ueli]o* MF **146** and *leue[lia]* MF **147**) *eu* represents /ḛ.u̯/ ← /ai̯.u̯/, cf. *leiuelio* MF **79** (see §3.7.6), while the latter is now read as *tele*[1-2]*.

As far as I know, there have been no suggestions that there are similar problematic cases of *eu* in the Sabellic languages: Umbrian *sevakne TI* IIa.21 etc. represents /sēu̯akni/), Oscan *helleviis* Cp 36 etc. and *serevkid* Po 1, *σερευκιδ* Lu 62A.3 represent /hel°u̯is/ and /ser°u̯kid/, Volscian *deue* VM 2 and Umbrian *deueia TI* VIa.9, 10 represent a monopthongized reflex of */deiu̯-/, Samnite *evklúí* Sa 1A.3, 25, B.4 is a borrowing from Greek Εὔκλος, in Paelignian *peumpuni* Pg 26 the *eu* is a rather curious spelling for /ǒ/, and Praesamnitic *eyies* Ps 5 is now usually read as *efies*. The instances of *ev* and *eu* in Oscan *neypus* Po 68 (sometimes regarded as Etruscan, and not included in *WOU*), the name *meuies* Fr 16, and the abbreviation *ev* tPo 30, 32, 34, and perhaps also the Umbrian toponym *Meuania*, remain unexplained.

The only clear cases of a problematic *eu* are therefore *neuen* and *neuna*, equated with Latin *nouem* ← PIE */ħ₁neu̯n/ and *nōnus* ← PIE */ħ₁neu̯nos/ ever since Pisani (1943:259) and Vetter (1953:332-3, 1956) interpreted *neuen : deiuo CIL* I^2.455 as a dedication to the *di nouensides*. (For other interpretations, see §18.3.2.) There appears to be no way in which these forms can be explained as 'lawful exceptions' to the rule */eu̯/ → */ou̯/, due e.g. to a specific phonological context that prevented the operation of this merger.[36] There are therefore four possible solutions: *(1)* PIE */eu̯/ survived until the third century in (some dialects of) Latin (Pisani 1943:259; also Wachter 1987:99, 374); *(2) eu* is due to an analogical preservation (Safarewicz (1954:103), who suggested that *neuen* may have been preserved after *decem*); *(3) eu* is to be ascribed to an origin different from Proto-Italic */eu̯/ (Lipp (in Meiser 1998:59), who assumes that *eu* represents /ēu̯/); *(4) eu* is due to a secondary development (Steinbauer (in Meiser 1986:37), who ascribed the *eu* to a dissimilation of /ou̯/).

[36] The fact that in many of the forms quoted here *eu* may reflect /e.u̯/ rather than /eu̯/ (Blümel 1972:30, R. Giacomelli 1978:26-7) cannot constitute a counter-argument, as Proto-Italic */eu̯/ merged with */ou̯/ also in antevocalic position, cf. e.g. *nouus*, and *nouem* and *nōnus* themselves.

A different solution has been proposed by Schrijver (1991:452), who suggests that */eu̯/ and */ou̯/ merged into a neutral diphthong that could be realized as [eu̯], [əu̯], or [ou̯], and rendered both as *ou* and as *eu*.[37] I find this a rather sweeping assumption about the vowel system of the Italic languages just to explain three comparatively late forms of one word, but two points might be considered as evidence in its favour: *(1)* the earliest Etruscan rendering of this diphthong in onomastic borrowings from the Italic languages was *av* (cf. *lauv|cies* Etr **XXIX**), pointing to a central vowel as its first member: the spelling becomes *uv* only from *c.*500 onwards (Steinbauer 1999:37-9); *(2) podloucei CIL* I^2.2833 (sixth century) and *polouces CIL* I^2.548 (between 350 and 250?, cf. Wachter 1987:106-8), both from Greek Πολυδεύκης, may show that Greek ευ and Latin *ou* were still seen as equivalents: cf. the Greek tendency to render *Lucius* as Λεύκιος, although this could also be a 'learned reconstruction'.[38]

There is therefore in my view no compelling evidence that PIE */eu/ was preserved beyond the Proto-Italic period, let alone until the third century. *Neuen* and *neuna*, even taken together with the unclear *[---]euam* (beside *iouxmen|ta*), the quotations from the *Carmen Saliare*, and the unexplained Oscan forms, constitute too unreliable a basis for such an assumption in view of the overwhelming evidence in favour of a Proto-Italic merger */eu̯/ → */ou̯/.

3.2.6. Drop of intervocalic /i̯/ and subsequent contractions. The loss of intervocalic /i̯/ and the subsequent contractions of the surrounding vowels lie at the base of the eventual form of the Italic conjugational system and must have been of Proto-Italic date. The developments insofar as they have reflexes in the Faliscan material are:

1st conj.	*/-eh$_2$-i̯^{e}/$_o$-/	→ */-ā-i̯^{e}/$_o$-/	→ */-ā-^{e}/$_o$-/	→ */-ā-/
2nd conj.	*/-eh$_1$-i̯^{e}/$_o$-/	→*/-ē-i̯^{e}/$_o$-/	→ */-ē-^{e}/$_o$-/	→ */-ē-/

Faliscan forms that reflect these developments are *cupat* MF **40** etc. and *cupa]nt* MF **80** etc. (first conjugation, but from */kubh$_2$-e-i̯^{e}/$_o$-/ → */kubh$_2$-a-i̯^{e}/$_o$-/, see §5.3.1.*2-3*), and second-conjugation *saluete* EF **4**, *saluetod* EF **3**, *salueto* EF **4**, *tenet* MLF **361** (if indeed attested), and probably *lecet* MF **88** (see §5.3.1.*11*). (In *carefo* MF **59**, *care[f]o* MF **60**, /-ē-/ probably reflects */-eh$_1$-/ rather than */-eh$_1$-i̯^{e}/$_o$-/, see §5.3.1.1.)

Loss of intervocalic /i̯/ and subsequent contraction also affected the ending of the third declension nominative plural */-ei̯es/ → */-e.es/ → /-ēs/, attested for Faliscan in *efiles* MF **113**, **115**, *efil]es* MF **117**, *efile* MF **114**, and perhaps *salues* EF **3**.

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[37] Thurneysen (1887), whence also Von Planta (1892:115-6), assumed that in some contexts */ou̯/ developed to */au̯/ at a Proto-Italic date, but this is rather an attempt to explain instances of /a/ that are now mostly ascribed to a laryngeal origin. Cf. also Rix 1996:158.

[38] Pfister (1977:69), pointing to *polouces*, assumed that the merger of */eu̯/ with /ou̯/ took place "sehr frühe", but so late that it could include early Greek borrowings containing /eu̯/.

3.2.7. The developments of */l̥ r̥/. The reflexes of the sonantic liquids */l̥ r̥/ are the same in Latin and in the Sabellic languages, and therefore the result of a Proto-Italic development. (The sonantic nasals */m̥ n̥/ developed slightly differently in both branches, and their development must therefore be post-Proto-Italic: see §3.3.2.) The sonantic liquids developed as follows:

/r̥/ → /or/ (and /ur/) / __C	/r̥/ → /ar/ / __V
/l̥/ → /ol/ / __C	/l̥/ → /al/ /__ V

(Cf. Pfister 1977:44, 46-7, Meiser 1998:63-4 for Latin, and Von Planta 1892:31-5, Meiser 1986:37 for the Sabellic languages). Since these developments are Proto-Italic, the same developments can be assumed for Faliscan. In the Faliscan forms where sonantic liquids can be reconstructed, however, these occur side by side with a laryngeal, which influenced the outcome: PIE */h₂rǵntom/ → */argn̥tom/, whence *arcentelom* EF 1 (cf. Latin *argentum*, Oscan *aragetud* Cm 7 etc.) and */prh₃-mo-/ → */prāmo-/ *pramom* etc. EF **2** (cf. Latin *prandium*).

3.2.8. Developments of the voiced aspirates (I): Proto-Italic. The developments of the PIE voiced aspirates, */b^h d^h g^h $g^{\underline{u}h}$/,[39] are probably the most debated and complex subject of Italic phonology. The discussion concerns not so much the general trends and outcomes of these developments, as these are sufficiently clear, but the way in which these developments took place. This discussion is of special relevance for this study, as Faliscan seems to show some unexpected reflexes: an important argument for those who assign to Faliscan a more independent status, either within the Italic languages or within the Latin branch. Recent overviews of the developments can be found in the following publications: for the Italic languages in general, Stuart-Smith 2004; for Latin, Pfister 1977:145-50, Meiser 1998:101-5, and Eichner 1992:73-6; for the Sabellic languages, Meiser 1986:73-8; for Faliscan, Wallace & Joseph 1993. Note that in this section I discuss *only* the Proto-Italic stages of the development, or rather, I try to establish which stages of the development belonged to the Proto-Italic period, as this is relevant to the question at what stage Faliscan started to develop independently. For the Proto-Latin and Faliscan developments, see §3.3.3 and §3.5.2.

Broadly speaking, the developments of */b^h d^h g^h $g^{\underline{u}h}$/ are as follows:

(1) After a nasal, */b^h d^h g^h $g^{\underline{u}h}$/ lost their aspiration and merged with the corresponding voiced occlusive (Nb^h Nd^h Ng^h $Ng^{\underline{u}h}$/ → */Nb Nd Ng $Ng^{\underline{u}}$/): the disappearance of the voiced aspirates in this position *may* have preceded all other developments, although this is not certain (cf. Stuart-Smith 2004:211, Meiser 1998:104).

[39] As discussed in §3.2.2, if a separate aspirated palatovelar */ǵ^h/ is assumed to have existed in PIE at all, it must have merged with the aspirated velar */g^h/ during the (early) Proto-Italic period at the latest, as there is no evidence that */ǵ^h/ developed in a way different from */g^h/.

(2) Word-initially, the reflex of */b^h d^h $g^{u̯h}$/ is represented by *f-* in Latin, Faliscan, and in the Sabellic languages: this *f-* most likely represents a voiceless labiodental spirant /f/ (or perhaps a voiceless labial spirant /ɸ/: see §3.3.3).

(3) Word-initially, the reflex of */g^h/ (as well as of */$ǵ^h$/ → */g^h/) is represented by *h-* in Latin, in Faliscan, and in the Sabellic languages: this *h-* most likely represents a voiceless glottal spirant /h/ (or perhaps voiceless velar spirant /x/: see §3.3.3).

(4) Word-internally, the reflex of */b^h d^h $g^{u̯h}$/ is represented by *-f-* in the Sabellic languages and in Faliscan: in the Sabellic languages, this *-f-* most likely represents a voiced labial spirant /β/ (or a voiceless spirant realized as [β], see below). In Latin, on the other hand, the word-internal reflexes of */b^h d^h $g^{u̯h}$/ are *b d u* /b d u̯/, with /b/ in some environments also appearing as the reflex of */d^h $g^{u̯h}$/ (see Meiser 1998:104, Stuart-Smith 2004:41-5).

(5) Word-internally, the reflex of */g^h/ is represented both in Latin and in the Sabellic languages by *h-*: Faliscan apparently had a different development (§3.3.3).

(6) In Latin at least, (*/#$ǵ^h$R/ →) */#g^hR/ developed to /#gR/ (e.g. *glaber* ← PIE */g^hlh$_2$-d^h-ro-/, *gramen* ← PIE */$ǵ^h$rh$_1$-(s)-mn/): see Stuart-Smith (2004:152-3). This development is only of indirect relevance to the subject of this study.

These on the whole very similar reflexes point to a development that was at least partly Proto-Italic: on the other hand, the different word-internal reflexes of */b^h d^h $g^{u̯h}$/ in Latin show that the process cannot have been completed during the Proto-Italic period.

The development, or rather, the series of developments, that has to be assumed is a complex one and requires at least two major stages (cf. Picard 1994, Stuart-Smith 2004:195-224), since from occlusives, these sounds became spirants, and from voiced, they became voiceless at least in word-initial position. The discussion centres on the order in which these developments took place, and on which stages of these developments can be ascribed to the Proto-Italic period and which to the post-Proto-Italic period. Further points that have to be taken into account are how far back the distinction between the initial and the internal developments goes, and when the reflexes of */b^h d^h $g^{u̯h}$/ merged into one sound represented by *f*, a merger that in word-initial position took place in Latin, in Faliscan, and in the Sabellic languages, and in Faliscan and the Sabellic languages also in word-internal position.

The first stage in the development is usually assumed to be the change from voiced aspirated occlusives to spirants, and I see no reason to doubt this, since the Latin word-internal reflexes /b d u̯/ can be (and usually are) explained by successive Proto-Latin developments. In that case, it seems likely that they changed into *voiced* spirants */β ð γ $γ^{u̯}$/, if only as an intermediate stage: I greatly doubt whether they could have developed *directly* into voiceless spirants */ɸ θ x $x^{u̯}$/ (as was first proposed by Ascoli (1868).

The Latin word-internal reflexes /b d u̯/ show that the distinction between word-internal */β δ $\gamma^{u̯}$/ and their reflexes was preserved until the post-Proto-Italic period. It seems likely that the voiced quality of these Latin reflexes is a continuation of the voiced quality inherited from the Proto-Italic reflex, especially as there does not appear to have been a Proto-Latin revoicing to which it can be ascribed.

This is all the more likely as Rix (1957) has shown that there is evidence that the Sabellic word-internal reflex of */b^h d^h $g^{u̯h}$/, represented by *f*, was also voiced. This evidence consists in the first place of the relation between, on the one hand, Greek Σαύνιον and Σαυνῖται, and Latin *Samnium*, *Sabini*, and *Sabelli*, and on the other hand Paelignian and Samnitic *safinim* nPg 2, Sa 4, which together point to an original */saβen-/. Beside this, there is the variation of Samnitic *αλλιβα* nSa 1b (*alliba ST*) vs. *allifa* nSa 1c, of Oscan *alaβaternum* nCm 3a vs. *alafaternúm* nCm 3e and *alafaternum* nCm 3b-d,f-g, and of Oscan *[ϝ]enaϝrum* nSi 2a (or *[v]enavrum ST*) vs. Latin *Venafrum*.

To this, Meiser (1986:73-4) added the variation of Oscan *μεβιττηι* Lu 34 vs. *μεfιττηι* aLu 15, 33, [μ]*εfιττηι* Lu 32, *μεfιτει* Lu 16, *mefiteí* Hi 3, 4, and of *σταβαλανο* Lu 5 vs. *staflatas* Cp 24, as well as the fact that in the Pyrgi tablets the name *θefalriei* Cr 4.4,4-5 is transcribed in Punic as 𐤕𐤁𐤓𐤉 *tbry'*. Slightly less convincing, in my view, are his comparison of *Meuania* with Latin *Mefanus* and Etruscan *mefanatei* Co 1.28, *mefanateś* Co 1.3, and *mefanatial* Cl 1.1428-1429, and of *Scaeua* to Etruscan *scefi* Pe 1.630, 1.1211, *scefia* Pe 1.201 (cf. §7.7.57). The evidence is reviewed by Stuart-Smith (2004:84-91), who likewise decides in favour of *-f-* representing a voiced phoneme, namely a labial spirant /f/ with a realization [β] in voiced environments (i.e., in intervocalic position and adjacent to a liquid).

Taken by themselves, these instances do not prove that this voiced quality of word-internal *-f-* in the Sabellic languages was inherited from Proto-Italic. However, taken together with the reflexes of Latin, they are strong evidence that the reflexes of */b^h d^h $g^{u̯h}$/ and, by extension, of (*/#$ǵ^h$R/ →) */g^h/, as they were inherited by Proto-Latin and Proto-Sabellic from Proto-Italic were voiced. On this basis, it can safely be assumed that these *internal* reflexes were voiced spirants */β ð γ $\gamma^{u̯}$/ by the end of the Proto-Italic period.

What happened in word-*initial* position, however, is more of a question. In Latin, Faliscan and the Sabellic languages the reflex of */#b^h #d^h #$g^{u̯h}$/ is represented by *f-*, and that of */#g^h/ by *h-*. There is no evidence that *f-* ever represented a voiced phoneme in this position: also, there is no distinction between the reflexes of */#b^h #d^h #$g^{u̯h}$/ even in Latin. Therefore, at some point during the development of the voiced aspirates, a split between the developments in word-initial and in word-internal position must have occurred. The question is whether this split occurred already during the Proto-Italic stage or independently: since the reflexes in Latin, Faliscan, and the Sabellic languages are the same, the former possibility seems the more likely one.

If the reflexes of */#b^{h} #d^{h} #g^{h} #g$^{\mu h}$/ were still */#β #ð #γ #γ$^{\mu}$/ by the end of the Proto-Italic period (as they were in word-internal position), this would mean that the distinction between the word-initial and the word-internal developments, namely the devoicing and the merging of the reflexes of */#β #ð #γ$^{\mu}$/ into one sound that could be represented by *f*, must be ascribed to independent parallel developments in Proto-Latin and Proto-Sabellic. Alternatively, there may already have been a merger of */#β #ð #γ$^{\mu}$/ by the end of the Proto-Italic period (either only */#γ$^{\mu}$/ → */#β/, but perhaps also a merger of */#β/ and */#ð/), so that only the subsequent devoicing has to be ascribed to independent parallel developments in Proto-Latin and Proto-Sabellic. Although perhaps possible, I find this an uneconomic solution, and do therefore not adopt it. In my view, it is more economic to assume that the */#β #ð #γ #γ$^{\mu}$/ were devoiced to */#ɸ #θ #x #x$^{\mu}$/ by the end of the Proto-Italic period.

The next question is whether the merger of */#ɸ #θ #x$^{\mu}$/ was also Proto-Italic. This merger probably had two stages, namely */#x$^{\mu}$/ → */#ɸ/ (a merger made possible by the labial element of labiovelar */#x$^{\mu}$/), followed by */#θ/ → */#ɸ/ (as in the word-internal merger in Proto-Sabellic). There seems to be no arguments either for or against this merger being of Proto-Italic date, although it affects the development of (*/#g^{h}R/ →) */#g^{h}R/ → /#gR/ observable in Latin, which must have predated it. (This development probably (but not necessarily) predated the Proto-Italic devoicing of */#β #ð #γ #γ$^{\mu}$/ to */#ɸ #θ #x #x$^{\mu}$/: see Stuart-Smith 2004:152-3.)

Whether or not */#ɸ #x/ developed further to */f h/ already during the Proto-Italic period cannot be ascertained. As the development produced similar reflexes in Latin and in the Sabellic languages, it is more economic to ascribe the entire development to the Proto-Italic period: however, this does require a repetition of the Proto-Italic merger of */#ɸ #θ #x$^{\mu}$/ by the Proto-Sabellic word-internal merger of */β ð γ$^{\mu}$/. For this reason as well as for reasons of word-initial and word-internal parallellism, I prefer to assume that by the end of the Proto-Italic period the reflexes of */b^{h} d^{h} g^{h} g$^{\mu h}$/ were word-initial */#ɸ #x/ beside word-internal */β ð γ γ$^{\mu}$/.

The split between the word-initial and word-internal developments of the voiced aspirates caused a morphophonological anomaly in the reduplicative perfect of verbs with a root starting in an original voiced aspirate. Thus, e.g., by the end of the Proto-Italic period the present and the perfect of */d^{h}h$_{2}$k-/ must have been */ɸak-/ : */ɸeðak-/, regular from a phonological, but irregular from a morphological point of view. Generalization of the word-initial reflex would have given */ɸak-/ : */ɸeɸak-/, preserving the perspicacity of the paradigm, but producing a (then) abnormal word-internal */ɸ/, while generalization of the word-internal reflex would have given an even less appealing */ɸak-/ : */ðeðak-/. Meiser (2003:160-1, 178-80) sees this anomaly as the cause of the disappearance of the reduplicative perfect of roots starting in a voiced aspirate, at least in Latin: see §5.3.1.*6-7*.

In view of the voiceless quality of the reflexes in word-*initial* position, the question may be asked whether the voiced quality of word-*internal* */β ð γ $\gamma^{\underline{u}}$/ is a direct continuation of that of PIE */b^h d^h g^h $g^{\underline{u}h}$/ or the result of a Proto-Italic *re*voicing of an intermediate voiceless reflex (an idea going back to Ascoli 1868, cf. Eichner 1992:73 with n.54). The latter solution would mean that */b^h d^h g^h $g^{\underline{u}h}$/ or their reflexes */β ð γ $\gamma^{\underline{u}}$/ were devoiced in *every* position, the former, that they were devoiced in word-initial position only. Stuart-Smith (2004:195-224) is in favour of the former solution, noting that for phonetic reasons a devoicing is more likely to have taken place in word-initial position only. This would mean that the Proto-Italic developments of the voiced aspirates can be envisaged as represented in fig.3.3,A.

The latter solution, however, a devoicing in all positions followed by a voiceless stage and a later revoicing in word-internal positions, is invoked to provide an explanation for the development of the cluster */sd^h/ e.g. in Latin *uastus* (← PIE */ueh$_2$$sd^h$o-/), for if the reflex of */d^h/ had remained voiced, the expected outcome would be PIE */ueh$_2$$sd^h$o-/ → Proto-Italic */u̯āsd^{h}o-/ → */u̯āsðo-/ *[u̯āzdo-] → †*uadus* †/u̯ādo-/). (For a different solution (*/sd^h/ → */st^h/ → */st/), see Stuart-Smith 2004:42-3.) Also, such a revoicing can be connected with the voicing of intervocalic /s/, which according to some authors (e.g. Meiser 1998:95-6) can be ascribed to the Proto-Italic period (cf. §3.2.9). If this solution is maintained, the Proto-Italic development of the voiced aspirates can be envisaged as represented in fig.3.3,B.

I should stress that for the purposes of this study the exact outcome of the development at the end of the Proto-Italic period is of minor importance from a practical point of view, but of some importance from a theoretical point of view. Assuming that Faliscan is a Latin dialect, the differences between Faliscan and Roman Latin should be traceable exclusively to post-Proto-Italic and preferably to post-Proto-Latin developments. It is therefore important to reconstruct the various stages of the development as exactly as possible.

3.2.9. Proto-Italic voicing of intervocalic /s/? The voicing of intervocalic /s/, i.e., the creation of a positionally conditioned realization [z] for intervocalic /s/, is sometimes assumed to have taken place during the Proto-Italic period. Other than the possibility to link this voicing to a revoicing of (internal or intervocalic) voiceless spirants (see §3.2.8), there appears to no be reason to assume that this voicing was Proto-Italic, however: the fact that both Latin-Faliscan and Umbrian must have had [z] as the first stage of intervocalic rhotacism and that there are Oscan inscriptions where *z* or ζ is used to represent intervocalic /s/ (§3.5.3) do not require that the realization [z] existed already in the Proto-Italic period. Intervocalic voicing is a widespread and 'natural' phenomenon, and may very well have occurred independently in both branches of the Italic languages.

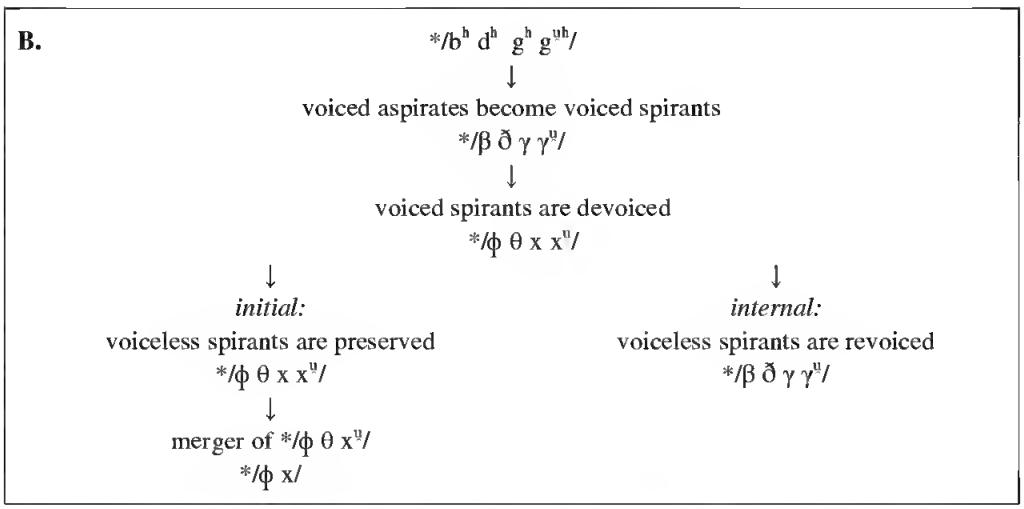

Fig. 3.3. Two scenarios for the Proto-Italic development of the voiced aspirates.

3.2.10. */p...k/ → */kʷ...kʷ/. Another development that can be ascribed to the Proto-Italic period is the assimilation */p...kʷ/ → */kʷ...kʷ/. In Faliscan, this development is attested in *cuicto* MLF **310** (and perhaps in *cuitenet* MLF **361**), reflecting PIE */pnkʷ-to-/ → */kʷn̥kʷ-to-/. This development is observable also in Latin (*quinque*, *coquus* etc., Meiser 1998:97-8), and must be ascribed to the Proto-Italic period as it is the source of the o-vocalism of Sabellic */pompe/ (e.g. Oscan *pomtis TB* 14, *púmperia(s)* Cp 28 etc., Umbrian *pumpeřias TI* IIb.2, and perhaps *puntis TI* III.4, *puntes TI* III.9, 10, and, in the onomasticon, in Paelignian *ponties* Pg 5, Oscan *púntii s* Po 1, *punti e is* Cm 28, πομπτιες Me 1, πομπτοιες Me 3). In view of Oscan *pettiur* Sa 17, Umbrian *petur- TI* VIb.11 (← PIE */kʷetu̯ōr/), this vocalism can have developed only *between* labiovelars (Meiser 1986:41, cf. Untermann 1957a:187).

3.3. Proto-Latin developments

3.3.1. Proto-Latin. Like the concept of Proto-Italic discussed in §3.1.2, the concept of Proto-Latin assumes that there was a chronological stage in the development of the Italic languages during which a set of phonological and morphological developments took place that *together* set off Latin (in its broadest sense) from the Sabellic languages. Meiser (1998:54) suggests that this stage can be set, broadly, between *c.*1800 and *c.*700 BCE, i.e., during the last 1100 years before the earliest texts.

If Faliscan is a Latin dialect, as I assume, it should be expected that Faliscan shared all Proto-Latin developments, as well as the possible outcomes of these developments: where there are differences between Latin and the Sabellic languages, Faliscan should be expected to side with Latin. As said in §1.5, many scholars regard Faliscan as a language *close* to Latin. In the context of the successive stages of the Italic languages, I can interpret this only as meaning *(1)* that Faliscan is assumed to have shared some but not all developments of Proto-Latin, and *(2)* that the developments shared by Latin and Faliscan must be assumed to *precede* any developments that occur *only* in Latin or *only* in Faliscan.

3.3.2. The development of */m̥ n̥/. As was said in §3.2.7, the developments of the sonantic liquids are the same in Latin and in the Sabellic languages and can therefore be ascribed to Proto-Italic, while the developments of the sonantic nasals are different in both branches and must therefore be ascribed to the post-Proto-Italic period. In Proto-Latin, the development was */m̥/ → */em/ and */n̥/ → */en/. In the Sabellic languages on the other hand the development was */n̥/ → /an/ in initial syllables and */n̥/ → /en/ elsewhere (Untermann 1957a:188): there are no certain instances of the Sabellic reflexes of */m̥/.

The Faliscan material shows the Proto-Latin development in initial syllables *(1)* in Proto-Italic */kᵘn̥kᵘtos/ (cf. §3.2.10.*1*) → Proto-Latin /kᵘenkᵘtos/, attested in *cuicto* MLF **310** (and perhaps in *cuitenet* MLF **361**?), *(2)* in Proto-Italic */n̥ð(e)ro-/ → Proto-Latin */enf(e)rā(d)/, attested in *ifra* MF **40**, *(3)* in Proto-Italic */tn̥-ē-/ → Proto-Latin */tenē-/ → *tenet* LF **361**, and *(4)* in Proto-Italic */kn̥sōr/ → Proto-Latin */kensōr/ → *cen]lso* LtF **231**, *censo* LtF **232**, *[---]sor* LtF **232**, *ce(n)s]or* (?) LtF **233** (in Faliscan, the word is perhaps a Latin loan, cf. §6.3).

Attestations of the same development in medial and final syllables are *(1)* Proto-Italic */argn̥tom/ → Proto-Latin */argentom/, whence *arcentelom* EF **1**, and *(2)* the accusative of the consonantal stems Proto-Italic */-m̥/ → Proto-Latin */-em/, probably attested in *arute* MF **269** and *larise* MF **270**, MF **371**, **372**, which I regard as accusatives in *-e(m)* used as nominatives in Etruscan-Faliscan languages contacts (see §4.5.3 and §9.2.2.*4*).

3.3.3. Developments of the voiced aspirates (II): Proto-Latin and Faliscan. As discussed in §3.2.8, I assume that by the end of the Proto-Italic period the reflexes of */b^h d^h $g^{ʷh}$/ were */ɸ/ in word-initial position and */β ð $γ^ʷ$/ in word-internal position; the reflex of (*/ǵh/ →) */gh/ was /x/ in word-initial position and /γ/ in word-internal position. These reflexes therefore form the basis of the Proto-Latin and the Proto-Sabellic development.

(1) Development in word-initial position. Both in Proto-Latin and in Proto-Sabellic the labial spirant */#ɸ/ is assumed to have developed into a labiodental spirant /#f/, and the velar spirant */#x/, to have developed into a glottal spirant /#h/, but at what stage this should have happened is unclear. Stuart-Smith (2004:45-8, 59-61) leaves the possibility open that in Latin and Faliscan *f-* and *h-* may still have represented /#ɸ/ and /#x/ during the earlier stages at least, and there appears to be no evidence either for or against this assumption.

Since the development in Proto-Latin and Proto-Sabellic shows the same outcome, Faliscan should be assumed to show the same development and have *f-* and *h-* in initial position. This is indeed the case, but the picture is obscured by the fact that in Faliscan *f-* sometimes occurs where */#g^h/ (or */#ǵ^h/) is reconstructed, and *h-*, where */#d^h/ is reconstructed. This has lead to a number of sometimes very implausible suggestions with regard to the development of the voiced aspirates in Faliscan. In my view, the forms where *h-* occurs for an expected *f-* are due to a Middle and Late Faliscan development /#fV/ → /#hV/, whereas the forms where *f-* occurs for an expected *h-* are hypercorrect forms due to the same development. This is discussed in §3.5.2.

The regular Faliscan development of the original voiced aspirates in word-initial position is as follows:

PIE	**Proto-Latin**	**Faliscan**
***/#b^h/**	**/#ɸ/**	**/#f/**
*/b^hHrs/ or */b^hars/	*/ɸars/	*far* EF **1**
*/b^her-/	*/ɸer-/	possibly *fertrio* Cap **391**, and *f* MF **58**, MLF **352**, Cap **392** (if = *Fertor)*
	? */ɸa(r)βar-/	*fafarn̥* MF **136**, *faf* MF **139**

If this name is connected to the potamonym *Farfarus*, the Latin form of this name, *Fabaris*, shows that the *f* reflects an earlier */b^h/ (cf. §6.5.*1*, §7.8.1.*57*).

PIE	**Proto-Latin**	**Faliscan reflex**
***/#d^h/**	***/#ɸ/**	**/#f/**
*/d^heiǵ^h-/	*/ɸei̯γ-/	*fl.fl̥iqod* EF **1**, *fifiked* EF **9**
*/$d^h$$h_2$k-/	*/ɸak-/	*faced* MF **471*** and *facet* MF **470***

*/d^{h}h$_{1}$ilios/	*/ɸīl̥ios/	*fileo* MF **471***, *hileo* MF **146**
*/d^{h}h$_{1}$ilieh$_{2}$/	*/ɸīl̥iā/	*filea* MF **14** etc.
? */d^{h}ermo-/	*/ɸermo-/	*firmio* MF **54**, *fir·mia* MLF **302**

It is not certain that the name *Firmius* is connected with *firmus* (cf. §6.3.*27*).

PIE	**Proto-Latin**	**Faliscan reflex**
***/#g$^{u̯h}$/**	***/#f/**	**/#f/**
? */g$^{u̯h}$red^{h}snom/	*/ɸresno-/	*frenaio* (=*frena‹r›io*?) MF **471***

It is not certain that the name *Frenaeus/Frenarius* is connected with *frenum* (§7.8.1.*65*, §6.2.*29*).

The following forms in *f-* have not been included: *(1)* the unclear *fitaidupes* EF **1** and *(b) f-* in *fasies* MF **41**, *felicinate* MF **42**, *fulonia* MLF **313**, which are of Etruscan origin. Further instances of word-initial *f-* (and *h-*) are discussed in §3.5.2.

Slightly more complex is the development of */g^{h}/ (and */ǵ^{h}/). Word-initially, the expected reflex of these phonemes is *h-* /#h/, and this is found in:

PIE	**Proto-Latin**	**Faliscan reflexes**
***/#g^{h}V/**	***/#xV/**	**/#h/**
*/g^{he}/$_{o}$-/ (or */ǵ^{he}/$_{o}$-/)	*/xei̯-ke/ (loc.)	*heç* MF **88** etc. (see §6.2.*33*)
*/ǵ^{h}r̥h$_{2}$-u-/	*/xaru-/	*hariṣp[ex* LtF **231**, *harisp[ex* LtF **232**

It is not completely clear whether *haruspex* is in fact a Faliscan word, since it occurs in a context where Latin influence might already be assumed.

A case where the development is in accordance with the previous examples, but not in accordance with the Latin development, is

(? */#ǵ^{h}/ →) */#g^{h}/	***/#x/**	**/#h/**
? */ǵ^{h}eu̯-/	? */xu-/	*hutɪ[.]ilom* EF **1**

Since Herbig (*CIE* 8079), *hutɪ[.]ilom* has usually been derived from (the zero-grade of) the root */ǵ^{h}eu̯/ 'to pour'. If this derivation is correct, Faliscan shows a different reflex from Latin, which has /#f/ in *fundo* ← */ǵ^{h}und-/ and all other derivations from this root. This /#f/ is usually ascribed to a separate development (*/#ǵ^{h}u/ →) */#g^{h}u/ → */#fu/,[40] which assumes that the development of */#g^{h}u/ was similar to that of */#g$^{u̯h}$/. Since there are no other words that go back to */#ǵ^{h}u-/ → */#g^{h}u/, it cannot be checked in how far this development was a 'regular' one. I doubt whether, as Stuart-Smith (2004:206) suggests, the Faliscan form can be interpreted as having had the *same* development as Latin, with a subsequent development /#fV/ → /#hV/: it would then be the earliest attestation of this development, for which see (see §3.5.2).

[40] This idea is ascribed to Ernout, but I have not been able to trace it further than the short note in *DÉ* p.208 where he discussed the origins of Latin *f-*.

In word-initial position therefore Faliscan shows the same reflexes as Latin and the Sabellic languages, with the sole exception of *huti̯[.]ilom*, *if* this is indeed connected with */ǵʰeu-/, where the development differs from that of Latin.

(1) Development in word-internal position. In word-internal position, the developments of Faliscan and Latin were different. First, the reflexes of */β ð γ^{u}/. In Latin, the reflexes of */β ð γ^{u}/ normally appear as *b d u* /b d u̯/ with a 'fortition': on this subject, see Stuart-Smith (2004:203-6). In Faliscan, however, the reflex of */β ð γ^{u}/ is always /f/, as it is in the Sabellic languages, and the Faliscan development will have been similar to the one in Proto-Sabellic (see Meiser 1986:73-8). There is good evidence, however, that the Sabellic reflex was voiced (see §3.2.8), while for Faliscan such evidence would consist entirely of the name *ruvries* in Etr **XIX** = Fa 3.2 as a rendering of Italic */ruβr-/ ← */ruðr-/ (cf. Stuart-Smith 2004:60). In view of the fact that in Latin, word-internal *-f-* probably represented a voiceless sound (Stuart-Smith 2004:46), I do not think that the voiced or voiceless quality of the Faliscan reflex can be established.

PIE	**Proto-Latin**	**Faliscan reflex**
***/bʰ/**	***/β/**	**/f/**
*/-bʰ-/	*/-β-/	*carefo* MF **59**, *carę[f]o* MF **60**, *pipafo* MF **59**, *‹pi›pafo* MF **60**

The future suffix *-f-* is an analogical Latin-Faliscan formation after the imperfect suffix */-bʰ-/ → */-β-/, cf. §5.2.1.2. The different reflexes in Latin and Faliscan show that its creation must precede the separate developments of */-β-/ in Latin and Faliscan.

*/tibʰeri̯o-/	*/tiβeri̯os/	*tif* MLF **460**

This assumes that *tif* reflects a name like Latin *Tiberius* (Faliscan **Tiferios*). The Latin counterpart is attested in a Faliscan inscription as *tiperilia* LF **229**.

PIE	**Proto-Latin**	**Faliscan reflex**
***/dʰ/**	***/ð/**	**/f/**
*/h₂eidʰ-/	*/ai̯ð-/	*efiles* MF **113**, **115**, *efile* MF **114**, *efi[les]* MF **116**

Efiles may be a calque on Latin *aediles*, but is in that case still illustrative of the development, as it represents an adaptation of the Latin form.

*/h₁leu̯dhero-/	*/louðero-/	*loifi̯rtato* MF **31**, *loifirtato* MF **32**, *l]oifirtą* MF **41**, *loferta* MF **222**
*/h₁reudʰo-/	*/rou̯ðo-/	*ru̯fia* EF **4** (dubious)

In both words, Latin has a reflex *b* due to the Latin development of */ð/ → /b/ after /u/ (Meiser 1998:104). The connection of *ru̯fia* with */rou̯ðo-/ is not without problems: see §3.7.2.

*/n̥dʰ(e)ro-/	*/n̥ð(e)rā(d)/ (abl.)	*ifra* MF **40**

In Latin, *infra* is problematic, as the expected form would be †*indra*, not *infra*. Latin *infra* has been explained both by assuming that the word was reanalyzed as a compound */en+ð(e)rā(d)/, so that /ð/ would develop as if it were in initial position,[41] and by assuming that the word reflects dialect Latin: see §6.2.*37*.

In a number of other, mainly onomastic forms, the origin of the *f* is not clear: *(a)* fragmentary text: **[3-5]uf[1-4]ui[..]m* EF **1** (often read after Vetter as *loufir*, *loufom*, or *roufom*), *[---]çfli[---l---]afc[---]* MF **107**, abbreviated *ef* LtF **205** *(ef(iles)*? or *effodio*?); *(b)* of unknown (probably Italic) origin: *ofetios* EF **4**, *ofete* EF **4**, *oufilio* MF **48**, *aufilio* MF **49**, *aufilio* MF **50**, *aufi[lio* MF **53**, *oufilio* MF **275**, *oufilio* MF **276**, *aufilo* MLF **348**, *oufilo* MF **470***; *ofiti* or *fofiti* MF **58**; *(c)* of Etruscan origin: *[---]fate* MLF **285** (genitive of a toponymic name in *...fas*), *polafio* (=*pol<fa>io*?) MLF **353**.

Faliscan therefore has a different reflex than the one usually found in Latin. There is some evidence for the occurrence of *-f-* in Latin as well. The epigrapic evidence consists of *trifos* (or *tribos*, cf. Vine 1998:261) = *tribus* in the fifth-century Garigliano inscription, to which can be added the gloss "rienes quos nunc uocamus antiqui *nefrundines* appellabant quia Graeci *νεφρούς* eos uocant" Fest. 341.35-343.1L = "renes antiqui vocabant *nefrundines*, quia Graeci eos *νεφρούς* dicunt" Paul. *Fest.* 342.13-14L and the few words in the Latin vocabulary with *-f-* such as *af*, *bufo*, *furfur* (?), *rufus*, *scrofa*, and *uafer*. These words are often ascribed to 'dialect influence', although to which dialect in particular is hardly ever made clear: it is very well possible that they were borrowed from a Sabellic language (thus e.g. Coleman 1990).

On the basis of this evidence, the development of word-internal */β ð γ^{u}/ appears to be the most crucial phonological difference between Latin and Faliscan. The Faliscan development appears to have been very similar to the Proto-Sabellic one (see above): the voiced labiovelar spirant */γ^{u}/ and the voiced dental spirant */ð/ merged with the bilabial spirant */β/; this bilabial spirant */β/ then may have developed into a labiodental spirant that was probably voiceless, /f/. I can see no evidence that there were any other dialects within the Latin group that shared this development: in Latin, the spirants underwent a 'fortition', */β/ and */ð/ merging with the corresponding occlusives /b/ and /d/, and */γ^{u}/ with /u̯/.

There appears to be no way to date these different developments apart from the fact that they must have preceded the earliest epigraphic texts, where the reflexes of both developments are already present. If this difference in development is comparatively recent, it might point to a period where Faliscan was isolated from the rest of the Latin-speaking area, perhaps by the spread of Etruscan (cf. §2.4.2).

[41] Note that such a re-analysis would appear to be possible only at a stage when the word-internal and word-initial reflexes of the voiced aspirates where still similar, i.e., at the latest at the Proto-Italic stage when word-initial */θ/ corresponded to word-internal */ð/.

The Faliscan development of (*/ǵʰ/ →) */gʰ/ shows even more surprising reflexes. Whereas in Latin and in the Sabellic languages (*/ǵʰ/ →) */gʰ/ developed to a spirant that could be represented by *h* (in Latin probably /h/, in the Sabellic languages perhaps voiced [ɣ]), the Faliscan reflex appears to be /g/:

PIE	**Proto-Latin**	**Faliscan reflexes**
(? */ǵʰ/ →) */gʰ/	***/ɣ/**	**?**
*/dʰeiǵʰ-/	*/ɸeiɣ-/	*fifiked* EF **9**. *f[.f]i̯qod* EF **1**

The use of *k* and *q* points (at least at first sight) to an occlusive, /g/. This /g/ can be explained through analogy with the present */dʰingʰ-/ → Proto-Latin */fing-/, where */g/ was the regular development of (*/ǵʰ/ →) */gʰ/ after a nasal (§3.2.8). The use of *k* and *q* is therefore not necessarily a ground to regard *fifiked* and *f[f]i̯qod* as perfects of /dʰ hɪk-/ instead (cf. §5.3.1.*6*). Latin, too, has several words derived from */dʰeiǵʰ-/ where the reflex is /g/, namely *figulus*, *figura*, and *effigies*. For *figulus*, the /g/ is explained by assuming not */dʰigʰelos/ but */dʰigʰlos/ as the original form, which would have developed to */ɸiglos/ and thence, with anaptyxis, to */ɸig°los/. *Figura* and *effigies* have likewise been explained through analogy (see *EDL* s.v. *fingo*).

(? */ǵʰ/ →) */gʰ/	***/ɣ/**	**?**
*/leǵʰ-/	*/leɣ-/	*lecet* MF **88**

Here, too the evidence points to a reflex /g/. The verb is not attested elsewhere: Latin only preserve the related nouns *lectus* and *lectica*, and South Picene *veialt* MC.1 represents a different formation */leɣi̯-ā-t/. Explaining /g/ by analogy seems to be impossible in this case: there does not appear to be any model for it. In Meiser's view (2003:68 n.118) *lecet* still represents /leɣet/: note that if in *Middle* Faliscan *c* could still represent /ɣ/, then it is logical to assume that Early Faliscan *k* in *fifiked* EF **9** and *q* in *f[.f]i̯qod* EF **1** likewise represented /ɣ/. Yet I very much doubt whether this is feasible for an inscription dating from the late fourth or early third century at the earliest.

On the basis of these forms, G. Giacomelli (1963:125) assumed that PIE intervocalic (*/ǵʰ-/ →) */gʰ-/ developed in Faliscan into /g/. The same conclusion is drawn by Stuart-Smith (2004:58, 62, 63-4) with barely a comment apart from noting that Faliscan is unique among the Italic languages in showing this reflex. I cannot convince myself that this is the right solution. Within 'regular' Latin, a development of word-internal */ɣ/ → /g/ would be understandable: it would be a 'fortition' like the one in the word-internal development of */β ð/ to /b d/. However, in Faliscan, word-internal */β ð/ did *not* develop into /b d/ but into /f/ (there is no instance of the reflex of word-internal */ɣʷ/), which would make a development */ɣ/ → /g/ even more irregular. Since *fifiked* and *f[.f]i̯qod* can be explained by a very plausible analogy, this leaves only *lecet* as evidence: I find this a very narrow basis on which to assume a development that not only runs counter to the developments within Faliscan itself, but has no parallel in any of the Italic languages either.

An unexplained instance of word-internal *h* is the gentilicium *marhio* LF **336**. This is in all probability an onomastic borrowing (G. Giacomelli 1963:204, Stuart-Smith 2004:58), cf. Campano-Etruscan *ma·r·hie·s·* Cm 6.1 and Oscan *marahis* Cm 14.C6, *μαραhις* Lu 2 etc.

3.3.4. Other possibly Proto-Latin developments. The following developments cannot be dated with certainty but may have taken place before the earliest inscriptions:

***(1)* /e/ → /o/ before velar /l/.** In Latin, /e/ regularly developed to /o/ before a velar /l/ (Pfister 1977:56, Meiser 1998:82). An example of this is the frequent Faliscan name *Volta* and its derivations (see §7.7.1.*84-85*), from Etruscan **Velte/*Velθe*. Early Faliscan *uo(l)tenosio* (or *uo‹l›tenosio*) and *uoltene* EF **3** show that this process was already under way by the time of the earliest inscriptions. On the other hand, *ueltur* MF **266**, MLF **339** has an *e*, suggesting that this was a recent onomastic borrowing, or that the name was kept in its Etruscan form. In Latin, the /o/ developed further to /u/, but this is not observable in Faliscan: *Volta* still occurs as *uoltai* in LF/Lat **214** (probably *c.*150) and in the abbreviation *uo* Lat **251** (late second century). In *feliçinate* MF **42**, Faliscan reflects Etruscan *Felicinat-*, while Latin *Fulginas* and *Fulginiae/Fulginium* reflect the development /el.C/ → /ol.C/ → /ul.C/.

(2)* */ri/ → */r̥/ → /er/ between dentals.** In Latin, /ri/ between dentals (in effect, in between /t/ and /t s n/) developed to a secondary */r̥/ and thence to /er/ (Pfister 1977:57-8, Meiser 1998:80), cf. *tertius* as the reflex of PIE/Proto-Italic */tri-t(i)i̯o-/. The development may be attested for Faliscan in the name *Tertineius* (*tertinei* MLF/Cap **474, *tertineo* LF **213**), if this is connected with the ordinal. The development did not take place in the Sabellic languages, cf. Oscan *trístaamentud* Po 3 vs. Latin *testamentum* (← */terstāmentom/ ← Proto-Italic */tristāmentom/), and *trstus* (= *tr‹í›stus*?) Cm 14 vs. Latin *testis* (← */terstas/ ← Proto-Italic */tristas/).

(3) reduction of consonant groups. Note the developments of the following consonant groups:

- */nts#/ → /ns#/ in *aruz* MF **257**. *Aruz* in all probability represents /arruns/ rather than /arrunts/, the name having been adapted to Faliscan morphology (cf. §9.2.2.*1*). If so, the name shows the Latin development of /nts#/: in Umbrian, the cluster developed into /f#/ via */nss#/ (Meiser 1986:98-100).
- */rs#/ → */rr#/ (→ /r#/) in *far* EF **1**, as in Latin (Meiser 1998:116), and in the Sabellic languages (Umbrian *far TI* Vb.10, 15, Oscan *far* Cp 37).
- */nkt/ → /nxt/? In Latin, the /k/ in this group may well have been reduced to /x/, as is shown by the frequency of *quintus/Quintus* (although *Quinctius* regularly keeps its *c* in the inscriptions in *CIL* I^2). Faliscan, however, shows *cuicto* MLF **310** (and *cuitenet̨* MLF **361**?), with omission of *n*: see §3.5.7*a*.

- ? */rkn/ → /rn/ in *urnam* EF **1**, *ụrneḷ[a* EF **1**, if these words are connected to Latin *urceus* and go back to */urknā/ (cf. Meiser 1998:122).
- */dm/ → /mm/ in *umom* EF **2** if, as seems likely, this word reflects an earlier */udmom/ that occurs in Hernician *udmom* He 2 (cf. *caementum* from */kaid̯-mentom/, Meiser 1998:121).

In view of Latin *cella* and Oscan *kellaked* Sa 10, 11, Faliscan *cela* MF **12**, **83**, **84**, MLF **285** will have had /ll/, which is unexplained (cf. *EDL* s.v. for suggestions); for the *ll* in *putellio* see also §3.5.5.*3*.

3.4. The Faliscan phonemic system

The developments described in the preceding sections, which all precede the Early Faliscan inscriptions, resulted in a phonemic system as represented in fig.3.4.

[a]) Very rare, see §3.6.1. – [b]) Not attested.

Fig. 3.4. The phonemic inventory of Early Faliscan.

This system as a whole does not differ greatly from that of Latin (cf. Meiser 1998:52): the main difference from that of the Sabellic languages is the preservation of the labiovelar series, which in the Sabellic languages had merged with the labial series at the Proto-Sabellic stage (see Meiser 1986:79-92), and the structure of the vowel system, which in the Sabellic languages had undergone some major changes at the Proto-Sabellic stage (the 'Proto-Sabellic vowel shift', see Meiser 1986:39-54).

The phonemic differences between Faliscan and Latin lie mainly in the phonotactics, notably the occurrence of word-internal /f/ (§3.3.3). There may also have been phonetic differences in the realizations of some of the phonemes (see §3.5.1 and §3.6.1).

The system presented here underwent changes during the Middle Faliscan period in the vowels due to the monophthongization of the diphthongs (§3.6.1, §3.7).

3.5. The Faliscan consonants

3.5.1. The consonant system of Faliscan. After the changes brought about by the disappearance of the voiced aspirates and their subsequent changes to a labiodental spirant /f/ and a glottal spirant /h/, the consonant system of Faliscan must have been as represented above in fig.3.4. A few remarks with regard to individual consonants:

(a) Most consonants directly continue the corresponding consonants of PIE and Proto-Italic. The exceptions are, of course, /f/ from PIE */b^h d^h $g^{\underline{u}h}$/ and /h/ from PIE */g^h/ (and */$ǵ^h$/), cf. §3.3.3.

(b) The Faliscan alphabet has no *b* (§11.2.3-4) and /b/ must in fact have been one of the rarest phonemes in Faliscan. As PIE */b^h d^h/, which in Latin constituted the main source for word-internal /b/, became /f/ in Faliscan (§3.3.2), Faliscan /b/ can only reflect PIE */b/ (which was itself very rare), as in *cupat* MF **40** etc. (← PIE */kubʰ$_2$-/ or */ḱubʰ$_2$-/) and probably in *pipafo* MF **59**, *‹pi›pafo* MF **60** (← PIE */pi-bʰ$_3$-/ ← */pi-pʰ$_3$-/), or, in the onomasticon, a /b/ in (onomastic) borrowing, as in *batio* MLF/LtF **359** and *blaisiís* Sab **468***, or a /b/ that was due to secondary developments, as in *pi(s)* LF **242** ← */du̯is/ (cf. 3.5.6.2).

(c) The only labiovelar that is attested for Faliscan is /$k^{\underline{u}}$/, spelled as *cu* (§11.2.4.2), occurring *(1)* in *-cue* MF **80**, *-ҫue* MF **158**, *-cuę* MF **170**, *-cue* MLF **313** = Latin *-que*, *(2)* in *cuicto* MLF **310** (and perhaps *cuitenęt* MLF **361**) = Latin *Quinctus*, and *(3)* in *cụestod* LF **242**, *cues[tor]* LF **243**, *c]ues[tor* LF **245**, *cue[stor* LF **247** (perhaps a borrowing from Latin) = Latin *quaestor*: another instance, *(4) cua* MF? **129** = Latin *quartus* etc., is very doubtful (§6.3.*63*). *Cu* also occurs in the Etruscan name *θanacuil* MF **49**, *tanacu[il]* MF **101**, *θan‹a›cuil* MLF **347**. There is no Faliscan reflex of */$g^{\underline{u}}$/; the aspirated labiovelar */$g^{\underline{u}h}$/ may be reflected in *frenaios* MF **471*** (see §3.3.3.*1*). In spite of this, it is quite clear that Faliscan preserved the labiovelars, as opposed to the Sabellic languages, where the labiovelars merged with the labials */$k^{\underline{u}}$ $g^{\underline{u}}$/ → */p b/.

(d) The realization of the consonantal phonemes can in many cases not be ascertained. I have assumed here that /f/ was realized as voiceless labiodental spirant, as in Latin (§3.5.8, §3.3.3). The /h/ may have been realized quite strongly, not as the weak *Hauchlaut* of Latin, since there are no Faliscan instances of omission of *h-* (§3.5.2).

Syllable-final nasals were often omitted in writing (§3.5.7*a*), indicating that they were realized as a nasalization of the preceding vowel (/Vn/ [Ṽ]/); similarly, /k/ was sometimes omitted in syllable-final position before a dental (§3.5.7*c*), which might point to a realization [x] in this position. The fairly frequent omission of /t/ and /d/ in word-final position (§3.5.7*c*) might point to a realization as a weak dental or alveolar tap [ɾ] n this position: the same may be true of /r/ in word-final position (§3.5.7*b*). Word-final /s/ is omitted in writing virtually everywhere, and may have been realized as a weak glottal sound, [ʰ] or [ʔ] (§3.5.7*d*).

3.5.2. The Middle Faliscan development /#fV/ → /#hV/. As mentioned in §3.3.3, Faliscan has several forms that do not show the regular reflexes of the voiced aspirates, but instead show *f-* where *h-* would be expected, or, conversely, *h-* where *f-* would be expected. This has been the subject of a number of discussions, especially as the Latin grammarians quote similar forms (see below), which suggests that this variation was not limited to Faliscan. A good summary of the difficulties involved is given by Wallace & Joseph (1991). Basically, four solutions have been proposed:

(1) separate development of Faliscan and rural Latin.[42] Campanile (1961:3-9) rather vaguely regarded the *f-/h-* variation as an illustration of the differences between urban and rural Latin: his list shows that he equated the etymologically unexpected forms with rural Latin. More explicit is R. Giacomelli (1978:9-22, later (2006:99) abandoning the idea), who assumed a development whereby in rural Latin */#bʰ #dʰ/ developed into a sound represented by *h-*, while */#gʰ/ (and */#ǵʰ/, §3.2.1) developed into a sound represented by *f-*, i.e., the opposite situation of the one in Roman Latin. The confusion found in the Faliscan material (and presumably also in the forms quoted by the Latin grammarians) could then be interpreted as switching between informal and formal language. Although I agree that a geolinguistic distinction may be involved, which *from a Roman point of view* may have been regarded as a distinction between formal/informal language, this assumes that Faliscan was an 'informal Latin', which *from the point of the Faliscans* it clearly was not: futhermore, there appears to be no reason for a Faliscan to switch between an urban Roman and a local style before the war of 241 (§9.4). Wallace & Joseph (1991:88-9) point out that, if this variation is ascribed to an early different development of Faliscan, the Early Faliscan material would be expected to show this development, which in fact it does not (see §3.3.3).

[42] According to Wallace & Joseph (1993:88), this idea goes back to Meillet (1933:98-9), but Meillet's formulation is vague: "Ces correspondances [*between* f *and* h] s'expliquent mal à l'epoque historique: elles doivent remonter au temps où le latin avait des spirantes *φ* (spirante bilabiale), *þ*, *x*, dont aucune n'était stable et qui ont abouti à *f* (labiodentale) et à *h*, après diverses hésitations dont les parlers latins ont gardé trace de manières diverses. L'innovation phonétique essentielle est que les spirantes *f* [*sic*] (bilabiale), *þ* et *x*, n'ont pas persisté; il n'est resté que *f* (labio-dentale) et *h*, avec quelques flottements dans la répartition."

(2) phonetic (?) confusion. Hiersche (1965) suggested that the variation was in fact due to a phonetic confusion between a voiceless bilabial spirant ([ɸ]) represented by *f-* and a voiceless velar spirant ([x]) represented by *h-*. It is very questionable whether these were in fact the sounds represented by *f-* and *h-* in Middle Faliscan (Stuart-Smith 2004:60-1), and Hiersche's arguments are not convincing. A similar suggestion was made by Stolte (1926:42).

(3) merger. Untermann (1964:178) suggested that the sounds represented by *f-* and *h-* merged, but did not elaborate this suggestion. It is apparently also the solution proposed by Wachter (1987:504-6), who assumes that both developed into "einen gerundeten Hauchlaut" (1987:505). This, too, had been suggested by Stolte (1926:42). It comes in fact close to the Hiersche's idea, the difference being that the merger would operate on the phonemic level, and Hiersche's confusion on the phonetic level.

(4) influence from Etruscan. G. Giacomelli (1963:126, 1978:515), Pfiffig (1969:44), Pisani (1978:45), and R. Giacomelli (1979:153) assumed that the Faliscan variation was due to a development /#fV/ → /#hV/ that is attested for Etruscan. This seems to be impossible, however: the attestations of the Etruscan variation *f-/h-* (including at least one hypercorrect form, *ferclite* Cl 1.835 = Ἡρακλεῖτος) show that this variation was limited to the north and north-east of the Etruscan-speaking area, and occurred only from the third century onwards, later than the development started in Faliscan (cf. Rix 1984:221, Steinbauer 1999:63). The Etruscan inscriptions from the agri Faliscus and Capenas in fact show no trace of this variation, which would be expected if there were some connection between the Faliscan and the Etruscan developments. Note that this solution assumes an Etruscan influence that is close to Pisani's Italic *Sprachbund* (cf. §1.3.2.*1*), for which I can see no evidence in Faliscan (§9.2.2).

By far the most satisfying solution is the one proposed by Wallace & Joseph (1991) and defended by Joseph & Wallace (1993), namely a development /#fV/ → /#hV/ that took place from the fourth century onward (the first instance that can be linked to this development is late fourth-century *foied* MF **59-60**). As they note, such a development is 'natural', and quite common, occuring for instance in Spanish (*ferrum* → *hierro*, *filius* → *hijo*), and, as said above, in Etruscan.

Such a development would lead to *f-* representing [h], an etymologically justified but phonetically anomalous spelling. The forms where *h-* occurs instead of an etymologically justified *f-* (ultimately going back to PIE */b^h d^h $g^{u̯h}$/) would then be a 'phonetic' spelling. This '*h-* for *f-*' is in effect attested with certainty only in *hileo* MF **146** beside *fileo* MF **470***, *filea* MF **14** (and the abbreviated instances, all of which have *f-*: see §6.3.*24-25*). The forms with *f-* instead of an etymologically justified *h-* (ultimately going back to */g^h/ or */$ǵ^h$/), would then be hypercorrect. This '*h-* for *f-*' is attested in *fe* MF **56**, *fe* **305** beside *hec* MF **88**, **95**, **146**, **158**, LF **223**, *he[* MF **150**, *he* LF **220**, **221**, **224**. Another instance, where the form with the regular *h-* is not attested,

but which is derived from the same root as *hec*, is *foied* MF **59-60**, corresponding to Latin *hodie*. Note that in both cases the etymologically correct form is better attested than the 'unexpected' form, indicating that the etymologically correct spelling was in fact 'regular' and the other 'irregular' (or, in the case of *f-* for *h-*, 'wrong' from an etymological point of view).

Beside these lexical forms, there are a number of onomastic instances with *f-/h-* variation where it cannot be established whether this variation represents 'regular *f-* and secondary *h-*' or 'regular *h-* and hypercorrect *f-*'. Thus, there is *firmio* MF **54** and *firmia* **302** beside *hirmia* MF **18**, *hirmeo* MF **19**, *hirmio* MF **213**. This name has been connected to the adjective *firmus* (Proto-Latin */ɸermo-/ ← PIE */d^{h}ermo-/): if this is the case, the forms with *f-* are regular and those with *h-* secondary. On the other hand, the name has also been connected with Etruscan *Hermena* (cf. *hermana* MF/Etr **264**) in which case the *h-* may be regular and the *f-* hypercorrect.

Another instance is the name *Folcosius/Holcosius*, in the forms *fulczeo* LF **329**, *folcozeo* LF **330**, *folcuso* LF **331** and *folcosio* LF **333** beside *holc[osi]* MF/LtF **140** and the unclear **olcuzeo* LF **332**. In this case, neither *Folcosius* nor *Holcosius* is attested elsewhere: the closest parallel is Latin *Holconius*.

Other onomastic forms with *h-* that may be illustrative of this development are *hadenia* MLF **360** (connected to *Fadenius*?), *hap* MF? **46** (an abbreviated form of *Fabius*?), *haθi* MF **13** (connected to *Fadius*?), *hescuna* MLF **346** (connected to the toponym *Fescennium*?), and perhaps also *hac****na* MF **89**.

The phonological development as described above is limited to word-initial antevocalic position, but there are two hypercorrect instances where *h* is written for *f* in other positions, namely *hlauelea* LtF **325** = Latin *Flauilia*, and perhaps also in *ohi*[---]* LtF **300**, if this is the praenomen *Aufilus/Oufilus*. Both these instances are probably erroneous extensions of the custom of writing *h* for *f* to positions where this was not due to a regular development: both instances are from Latino-Faliscan texts written in the Latin alphabet, perhaps by people not well acquainted with the rules of Faliscan orthography.

The only point on which I do not entirely agree with Wallace & Joseph is their explanation of how it was possible for the variation to occur: they assume that the variation reflects dialectal variants *within* Faliscan. Although possible, I do not altogether relish this idea. In my view, it may well be possible to ascribe the distribution of the two variants to the influence of the written form, where the spelling with *f-* was maintained even though the realization had changed from [f] to [h]: I already mentioned the fact that the etymologically correct forms outnumber the other forms. The spelling might further be influenced by the fact that the words always occur within well-established formulas (*filius/filia* in the formula of filiation, and *hec* in the formula *hec cupat/cupant*), which may further have influenced the spelling.

There is some evidence for the same variation in Latin. The Praenestine inscriptions have *f-* for *h-* in *foratia CIL* I^2.166, and, in Greek names, in *felena CIL* I^2.566, *feliod CIL* I^2.1446 = *Heliod(orus)*, and probably *fercle CIL* I^2.564 (if to be read thus) = *Hercules*. The Latin grammarians, too, mention a variation between *f-* and *h-*:

> "nos non tam propter illas causas quas supra proposuimus ⟨harenam dicimus⟩, quam propter originem uocis, siquidem, ut testis est Varro, a Sabinis *fasena* dicitur, et sicut *s* familiariter in *r* transit, ita *f* in uicinam adspirationem mutatur. similiter ergo et *haedos* dicimus cum aspiratione, quoniam *faedi* dicebantur apud antiquos; item *hircos*, quoniam eosdem aeque *fircos* uocabant. nam et e contrario quam antiqui *habam* dicebant nos *fabam* dicimus" (Velius Longus *CGL* 7.69.6-10)
>
> "quam Falisci *habam*, nos *fabam* appellamus, et quem antiqui *fariolum*, nos *hariolum*" (Ter. Sc. *CGL* 7.13.8).
>
> "*ircus* quod Sabini *fircus*; quod illic *fedus*, in Latio rure *hedus*: qui in urbe, ut in multis a addito *haedus*" (Varro *L* 5.79)
>
> "Faliscos Halaesus condidit: hi autem immutato *h* in *f Falisci* dicti sunt, sicut *febris* dicitur quae ante *hebris* dicebatur, *Formiae* quae *Hormiae* fuerunt, ἀπὸ τῆς ὁρμῆς: nam posteritas in multis nominibus *f* pro *h* posuit" (Serv. *in* Verg. *A.* 7.695), cf. "uenerat Atridae fatis agitatus Halaesus, a quo se dictam terra Falisca putat" (Ov. *Fast.* 4.73-4); "oppidum Formiae, *Hormiae* dictum, ut existimauere, antiqua Laestrygonum sedes" (Plin. *NH* 3.59), and "*Formium* oppidum appellatur ex Graeco, uelut *Hormiae*, quod circa id crebrae stationes tutaeque erant, unde proficiscebantur nauigaturi." (Paul. *Fest.* 73.19-22L)
>
> "*faedum* antiqui dicebant pro *haedo*, *folus* pro *holere*, *fostim* pro *hoste*, *fostiam* pro *hostia*." (Paul. *Fest.* 74.9-10L)
>
> "*horreum* antiqui *farreum* dicebant a farre." (Paul. *Fest.* 91.6L)
>
> "*horctum* et *forctum* pro *bono* dicebant." (Paul. *Fest.* 91.14L); "*forctes*, frugi et bonus, siue ualidus" (Paul. *Fest.* 74.14L)
>
> "*Fordicidis* boues *fordae*, id est grauidae, immolabantur, dictae a fetu." (Paul. *Fest.* 74.1-2L), vs. "*horda* praegnans, unde dies, quo grauidae hostiae immolabantur, *Hordicidia*." (Paul. *Fest.* 91.17-8L)
>
> "*hanula* parua delubra, quasi *fanula*." (Paul. *Fest.* 91.25L)

In my view, this material is of some interest as a possible illustration of the development described above, but not of much practical use. The linguistic context in which these forms were found by the authors is unknown, and the attributions to the *antiqui*, the Sabines, or the Faliscans, appear to be quite arbitrary. At best, it looks as if the grammarians and glossographers were aware of a (chronological and/or geographical?) variation between *f-* and *h-* within their Latin sources, and simply ascribed the variant that was not the usual one in Roman Latin to an (unspecified) older stage of Latin, or to dialects on its margin. Note, for instance, that where they describe this variation as a chronological development, Velius Longus, Terentius Scaurus, and Festus regard *f-* as the older stage (although Terentianus also notes that the reverse is true in the case of *haba*), while Servius clearly regards *h-* as older, even stating that "pos-

teritas in multis nominibus *f* pro *h* posuit": a difference that is clearly due to the fact that Velius, Terentianus Scaurus, and Festus try to explain forms with a non-standard *f-*, while Servius tries to explain a non-standard *h-*. It also explains why the Faliscans can be credited on the one hand with *haba* instead of *faba* (Terentianus Scaurus) but on the other hand are said to have derived *Faliscus* from *Halaesus* (Servius, Ovid).

Interestingly, in the cases where this can be established, the grammarians' 'standard form' appears to be the etymologically correct one: in *fordus* and *for(c)tis*, the *f-* goes back to */#b^h/, while in *haedus*, *hariolus*, *holus*, and *hostis*, and perhaps also in *hircus* and *hostia*, *h-* goes back to */#g^h/ or */#$ǵ^h$/; *faba* may be an old borrowing (Proto-Italic */fafā/, *EDL* s.v.). If due to a (dialectal) development /#fV/→ /#hV/, *haba*, *hordus*, *horctus* would directly reflect this development, while *faedus*, *fariolus*, *fircus*, *folus*, *fostis*, and *fostia* would be hypercorrect. In none of these cases did the form that resulted from the development become standardized in Roman Latin, and they were therefore in effect 'irregular'.[43] The etymologies of *Formiae* and *harena* are unknown or unclear: *horreum* and *farreum* are unrelated, but show that a variation *f-/h-* was sufficiently well-known to allow Festus to use it as an 'etymology'.

This material indicates that the development was not limited to Faliscan, but occurred in other Latin dialects as well, since it would hardly be feasible that all these forms were in some way derived from Faliscan sources. The fact that the Faliscans are singled out at all as a dialect in which the grammarians detected this variation may simply be due to the fact that in the case of the Faliscans the variation was better known, as it affected the names of the people itself (note the connection made between *Falisci* and *Halaesus*) and of their two main towns, *Falerii* and *Fescennium*.

3.5.3. Rhotacism and allophones of /s/. Word-internal rhotacism took place in Latin somewhere before the end of the fourth century (Pfister 1977:145-7, Meiser 1998:95-6). In the Sabellic languages, word-internal rhotacism took place only in Umbrian, probably at the same time as in Latin (Meiser 1986:240-1). In a few southern Oscan inscriptions, intervocalic /s/ is rendered by *z*: the *Tabula Bantina* has *angetuzet*, *censazet*, *egmazum*, *eizac*, *eizasc*, *eizazunc*, *eizeic*, *eizeis*, *eizę[i]s*, *eizoic*, *eizuc*, *ezum*; beside this, there is *ειζιδομ* Lu 5, *ϝενζει* Lu 31 The first stage, voicing of intervocalic /s/ to [z], may go back to the Proto-Italic stage (§3.2.9).

If word-internal rhotacism took place in Faliscan at the same time as it did in Latin, Early Faliscan should be expected to show an unrhotacized /s/, but there are unfortunately no attestations of /s/ that do not remain unrhotacized later. (*kaisiosio* EF 7) or do not appear in post-rhotacism (the ending *-osio* in *kaisiosio* EF **7** and *aiṃiosio* EF **467***). In Middle and Late Faliscan, rhotacism might be expected, but the only

[43] An exception might be *hīlum* (cf. also *ni-hil*), if this is identical with *fīlum* (probably from Proto-Italic */fī(s)lom/ ← PIE */g^{uh}iH(s)lom/ (*EDL* s.v. *fīlum*).

form that can be connected to rhotacism is *carefo* MF **59**, *carę[f]o* MF **60**, probably from Proto-Italic */kas-/ ← PIE */kh₂s-/. Since these attestations are from the late fourth century, it can on this basis be assumed that intervocalic rhotacism took place before that date in Faliscan, as it did in Latin.

This view has been attacked by Bonfante (1966), who assumed that Faliscan shows voicing of intervocalic /s/ to [z], but not a fully rhotacized /r/, regarding *carefo* as a calque on Latin *carebo*. This is largely based on the observation by Sittig (1932) and Belardi (1964) that the form of the *r* in *carefo* MF **59** and *carę[f]o* MF **60**, , is not only different from the other *r* in these inscriptions (Я), but unique and designed especially with the aim of representing [z]. Even apart from the general unlikelihood that a special sign would be developed to denote a positional variant of /s/ where the *lettre morte z* might have been used, this statement is erroneous: the shape of *r* occurs also e.g. in MF **101**, where it is in fact used for *a*, Я, just as the other type of *r*, Я, could be (see §11.2.4.*2*). Unfortunately, this erroneous statement has been repeated by several authors, even R. Giacomelli (1978:44) and Stuart-Smith (2004:63 with n. 67).

The Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions also show a number of forms with an unrhotacised *s*. In several other instances, *s* represents /ss/, as in *keset* LF **242** *kese[t* LF **243** = /gessēt/, and probably in the names *fasies* MF **41** (cf. Latin *Fassius*), *ruso* MLF **318** (cf. Latin *Russo*), and perhaps in *mesio* MF **148** (cf. Latin *Messius*). *Larise* MF **270** represents the Etruscan name *laris*, either with an epenthetic [e] or used as the basis for an accusative *larise(m)*, see §9.2.2. In the verbal form *esú(m)* Cap **389**, **404**, **465**, the /s/ is preserved by analogy with the rest of the paradigm.

In several onomastic instances, the spelling *s* may indicate that the name was a recent onomastic borrowing, or it may have been preserved simply because it was the traditional way of spelling the name: note that for most Faliscan instances there is usually an unrhotacized parallel from the Latin onomasticon. The spelling *s* is in fact standard in the name *Caesius* and its derivations (as it is in its Latin counterpart *Kaeso*), *caisioi* MF **20** etc. and *cesįe* MF **257**, *cesies* MF **265** (for all derivations, see §7.7.1.*18* and §7.8.1.*33*). Other instances are *uisni* MF **82** (Latin *Visinius*), *mesio* MF **148** (if reflecting *Maesius*), *folcuso* LF **331**, *folcosio* LF **333** (see below), and *nomesina* MF **272**, MLF/Etr **289**, *numesio* LtF **377**, *[.]osena* MLF **206**.

Already from the Early Faliscan period onward, there are instances where *z* is used instead of *s*. This usage has been discussed by Bonfante (1966), R. Giacomelli (1978:32-43), and Wachter (1987:43-50), while Van Heems (2002) discusses a very similar variation in the Etruscan inscriptions from Volsinii. Basically, there are three possibilities: *(1) z* is a *lettre morte* within the Faliscan alphabet that can be used indiscriminately instead of *s*; *(2) z* denotes one specific realization of /s/ and therefore represents the same phonetic value in every instance, and *(3) z* can denote various realization of /s/ and may therefore represent various phonetic values, depending on

the context. If *z* represents a realization of /s/ different from [s], the only ones that can be considered are [ᵗs] and [z], as appears from the values of *z* in the other languages of ancient Italy. The instances are the following:

(a) Word-initial: lexical or semi-lexical: *zextos* EF **1** and *zextoi* LF **330**; *zot* MLF **285**; *zenatuo* LF/Lat **214**; onomastical: *zaconiọ* MF **153** and *zaconiai* MF **154**; *zuconia* MF **271** and perhaps *zu[con]leo* MF **56**; *zeruatronia* MF **272**; *zertenea* LF **221**. The idea that *z-* may have represented [ᵗs] is difficult: there are no other signs of affricates in Faliscan or Latin, and as a phonetic tendency such a 'strengthening' of /#sV/ would be in contrast with the 'weakening' of /#fV/ to /#hV/ (§3.5.2). Bonfante (1966) suggested that *z* represented [z], attributing the instances in word-initial position to a voicing of /#sV/ in *saṇdhi* /V#sV/. This can apply only to the cases of *mama zextos* EF **1**, *poplia* | *zuconia* MF **271**, *lete zot* MLF **285**, *uipia : zertenea* LF **221**, and *de* | *zenatuo* LF/Lat **214**; in the case of *folcozeo* | *zextoi* LF **330**, it is possible only if it is assumed that in Faliscan /s#/ was reduced completely to zero (which I do not, see §3.5.7*d*). For the cases where a *saṇdhi* is impossible, namely *uel zu[con]leo* MF **56**, *folcozeo* | *zextoi* LF **330**, and *cauio : nomeslina : maxomo* | *zeruatronia* MF **272** (where there must have been a 'pause' between the two names, 'Gavius Nomesina Maxumus; Servatronia'), an analogical spread of either the realization [z] or of the spelling *z-* has to be assumed.[44] (Van Heems (2006) notes the same problem in the Etruscan inscriptions from Volsinii.). It is possible that in some of the cases of *z-*, it can be ascribed to Etruscan influence: note that in the cases of *zuconia* MF **271**, *zu[con]leo* MF **56**, and *zertenea* LF **221** the *z-* is also found in the Etruscan form of the name (*Zuχ-*, *Zertn-*).

(b) Word-internal: only onomastical: *fulczeo* LF **329**, *folcozeo* LF **330**, and **olcuzeo* LF **332** vs. *folcuso* LF **331** and *folcosio* LF **333**. In these instances, it is not unreasonable to assume that *-z-* represents [z], as Bonfante (1966) proposed. After rhotacism, intervocalic /s/ in onomastic borrowings from a non-rhotacist language such as Etruscan may well have been realized as [z].

(c) Word-final: *aruz* MF **257**, *morenez* MF **269**, and perhaps *ạcṛẹz* MF/Etr **67**. In *aruz*, *-z* could potentially represent /-ts#/, with *aruz* representing /arrunts/, but in view of the fact that the name is always adapted to Faliscan morphology (gen. *ar]uto* MF **169**, *aruto* MF **257**, **266**, *aronto* MF **265**; acc. *arute* MF **269**?), it is more likely that the nominative was /arruns/. However, *-z* may have represented a realization of /s#/ that was 'stronger' than the weakened /Vs#/ of Faliscan (§3.5.7*d*), i.e., [s] instead of [ʰ]: in the case of *aruz*, because /s/ followed a consonant rather than a vowel, in the cases of *morenez* MF **269** and *ạcṛẹz* MF/Etr 67, because these words are 'Etruscoid' forms in *-(i)es* (§9.2.2.2*c*), where *-s* was usually written rather than omitted (§3.5.7*c*).

[44] In *[---]: zaconiọ* MF **153** and *[---]: zaconiai* MF **154**, the preceding word is missing.

(d) unclear cases of *z* are: *e**azieputilepe* EF **4**, probably *calin[---]lrezo[---]* MF **57** , *me[.]uelau[.]suae rfa zeuoc*na* MLF/Etr **357**.

All in all, I see no reason to question the idea that Faliscan had complete intervocalic rhotacism, probably at the same time as Latin and Umbrian. The use of *z* instead of *s* may have served to represent the realisation of intervocalic /s/ as [z]: in word-initial and word-final position, its use seems to be due to Etruscan orthographic influence and represents [s] rather than [z] or [ᵗs].

3.5.4. /t/ realized as [d]? Just as *s* is sometimes replaced by *z*, so *t* is sometimes written as *θ*. Since *θ* properly belongs to the Etruscan and not to the Faliscan alphabet (§1I.2.4), this spelling can be regarded as influenced by Etruscan in every case. This is most clear in the cases of *θania* MF **81**, *θanacuil* MF **49**, and *arθ[3-5]rẹ* MF/Etr **267**, where the use of *θ* is in all probability due to the fact that in Etruscan these names were written with *θ*. In the cases of *[---]nθia* MLF **212**, *senθia* MLF **362**, *uolθeo* MF **276**, and *salθan* MF/Etr **77**, however the /t/ could potentially represent a specific realization of /t/ after a nasal or a liquid. In that case, a voiced realization [d] seems the most likely possibility. The *θ* could then be regarded as a graphical variant of *d*: in fact, in MF **276**, and perhaps also in MF **49** (which is known only from apographs), the *θ* has the shape ↀ, and these instances have in fact been read as *uoldeo* and *danacuil* by the earliest editors. Similarly, in my suggested reading *haθi* MF **42** the *θ* could represent a [d] due to intervocalic voicing. On the other hand, a voiced realization of /t/ represented by *θ* is hard to envisage in *uesθi* MF **83**. I am inclined to regard all instances of *θ* as due to Etruscan orthographic influence.

3.5.5. Palatalizations. In a number of instances, palatalization of liquids and nasals has been proposed: the point is elaborated by R. Giacomelli (2006:91-3), who regards these palatalizations as one of the 'volgarismi' observable in Faliscan.

The data, unfortunately, are unclear. I regard a palatalization certain in the case of /di̯/, where palatalization is well-attested especially for Latin: the other instances of palatalization are uncertain at best: note that they all involve cases of /Ci̯V/, where the Faliscan spelling in such groups frequently employed *e* instead of *i*, implying that the group was /CiV/ rather than /Ci̯V/.

(1) Palatalization of /di̯/ → /i͡i/ or /i̯/. The only instance is *foied* MF **59-60**, which, seeing that it goes back to */hō(d)+di̯ē(d)/, may reflect either the palatalizaion of /Vdi̯V/ or of /#di̯V/. The palatalization of /Vdi̯V/ must have preceded the Latin development of /ð/ → /d/ in view of the reflex *medius* (← PIE */med^{h}i̯o-/) instead of †*meius*; the palatalization of /#di̯V/ can be placed in the late fourth century (Meiser 1998:111). This is the only palatalization observable in the Faliscan material that may be considered phonemic rather than phonetic.

(2) Palatalization of /s̯i̯/ → /i̯i̯/. The palatalization of /s̯i̯/ → /i̯i̯/ has been proposed by Pisani in the case of his development of /-os̯i̯o/, and is apparently adopted by Meiser (1998:117). If occurring at all, which I doubt very much, it must have occurred later than the fourth-century word-internal rhotacism in Latin, which changed many of the names in /-Vs̯i̯o-/ to /-Vr̯i̯o-/ (cf. *Papisius*, *Valesios*, and *Fousios* as the older forms of *Papirius*, *Valerius* and *Fūrius*) but apparently spared the morpheme /-os̯i̯o/ (or its reflex */-es̯i̯e/). For more detailed discussion of this issue, see §4.10.

(3) Palatalization of /l̯i̯/ (→ /i̯i̯/ or /i̯/)? The idea of a Faliscan palatalization of /l̯i̯/ goes back to Herbig (1914b:251), who interpreted *tito polafio* MLF **354** as *tito pola fio* ('Titus Pola jr.'), with *fio* "wohl sicher über *fi̯i̯ius aus *fil'ius": it was adopted by Pisani (1962:59), G. Giacomelli (1963:246) and Orioles (1972:78-9). In view of the fact that when the word is written in full, it is always spelled with *e*, *fileo* MF **470***, *hileo* MF **146**, *file* (abbr.) MLF **308**, as well as other instances of antevocalic *e* for *i* (§3.6.2) it is unlikely that the word was pronounced [fīljo] at all: it was in all probability realized as [fīʎo]. Hirata (1967:68) plausibly connected *polafio* to gentilicia in *Polf-/Pulf-*, in which case it could be an error for *pol‹fa›io* with a suffix as in *latinaio* MLF **210**, *uoltaia* MF **196**, and *açiuaiom* Cap **465**. In any case, there is no evidence to assume a palatalization here.

Prosdocimi (in G. Giacomelli 1978:508) pointed to *seruio* Lat **250**, which represents the name of the consul of 106 BCE, Q. Seruilius Caepio, as a confirmation of Herbig's idea, but in my view this is simply an error for *serui‹li›o*, not an attestation of a palatalization, as M. Mancini (2002:27 with n.25) rightly notes. Even if it is regarded as a palatalization, it occurs in an inscription that is almost 50 years later than any datable inscription that is possibly Faliscan, and it cannot be assumed that it represents Faliscan, or even a Faliscan feature that entered local Latin. It can certainly not be used as an argument to assume a Faliscan feature that is not attested otherwise.

R. Giacomelli (2006:91-3), however, accepts the cases of *polafio* MF **354** and *seruio* Lat **250** as evidence. He also adduces *lullio* MF **207** and *putellio* MF **152** (cf. also *uoll̯ia* MF **47**) and regards these rare geminated spellings as indicative of a palatalization: note that these forms would point to [ʎː] rather than to the [i̯] of *polafio* and *seruio*.[45] He is certainly right in pointing out the rarity of such geminated spellings in Faliscan (§11.2.5.5), and palatalization may explain them, but it goes too far, in my view, to compare them to the Oscan spellings such as *tti* and *nni* representing palatalized /t/ and /n/ respectively, and to regard the Faliscan spelling as a 'sabinismo-oschismo'.

[45] Why he also adduces "*malio* [MF **39**] ~ lat. *Mal(l)ius*", "*tali* [MF **84**, uncertain] ~ lat. *Tallius*", and "*tulo passim* ~ lat. *Tull(i)us*" (2006:92) is unclear: *Mallius* and *Tallius* do not appear to be evidence for a palatalization, and *Tullius* is a patronymic derivation from *Tullus* (§7.5, §7.7,1.*76*, §7.8.1.*156*), not a different spelling that could represent a palatalized /l/.

(4) Palatalization of /rḭ/ → /i̯i̯/ or /i̯/? The evidence for this consists of the gentilicium *clipeaio* MF **470*** beside *clipiaṛ[io]* LF **230** (where the earliest editors read *clipiai[*) *clipeaṛ[io]* LtF **231** and *cl[i]peario* LtF **233**, and *frenaio* MF **471***, which would be expected to be formed with the same suffix /-āri̯o-/ (*Clipearius* 'Shieldmaker', *Frenarius* 'Bridler'). The forms in *-aio* could then point to a palatalization of /ri̯/. On the other hand, either form could of course just be an error for *clipea‹r›io* and *frena‹r›io*: it is also possible that *frenaio* was formed not with /-āri̯o-/ at all, but with a suffix as in *latinaio* MLF **210**, *uoltaia* MF **196**, and *aciuaiom* Cap **465**.

(5) palatalization of /ni̯/ → [ɲ]? The evidence for this consists of two gentilicia of Etruscan origin ending in *-no* where Latin has *-nius*: *ueicọno* MF **88** (and perhaps also in *tuconu* MF **85**, if read as *t u(e)conu*) beside Latin *Veconius* and *Viconius* (§7.8.1.*174*) and *precono[---]* MLF **361** beside Latin *Praeconius* (§7.8.1.*126*). To this could be added *aino* MFL **352** (§7.8.1.*8*) if this is indeed an adaptation of an Etruscan name in *-na* (cf. *eina* MF **57**), and *uelmilno* MLF **316** beside *uelmineo* MLF **305**, **307**, **309**, **310**, **312**, **313**, and *uelmineọ* MLF **308**, *uellmineo* MLF **315**. In these forms, *-no* could potentially represent [-ɲo̯] with a palatalized /n/, as is suggested by R. Giacomelli (2006:93). In my view it is more likely that *aino*, *ueicọno*, and *precono* were derived in another way than in Latin, i.e., not adapted as *-na* → *-nius* but simply thematized as *-na* → *-nus* (§7.8.2.2) and that *uelmilno* is an error for *uelmiln‹e›o*: the inscriptions of this group contain several errors.

3.5.6. Minor developments. Two other developments that appear to have taken place during the historic period are the following:

(1) Closing (and lengthening?) of /e/ before /n/. In Latin, /e/ was closed to /i/ before /n.s n.f n.x/, probably at least partly during the historical period (Pfister 1997:100, Meiser 1998:78-9, 81). The same development can also be observed in Faliscan *(1)* in *ifra* MF **40**, representing */infrā/ (or possibly /īnfra/) ← Proto-Latin */enð(e)rā(d)/ ← /n̥ð(e)rā(d)/ and *(2)* in *cuicto* MLF **318** (and perhaps in *cuiteneṭ* MLF **361**) representing */kᵘinkto-/ (or */kᵘīnkto-/) ← Proto-Latin */kᵘenkᵘto-/. In Latin, the vowel preceding the /n/ was lengthened as well as a compensatory lengthening due to drop of the nasal, followed by a restoration of the nasal /VN.C/ → /V̄.C/ → /V̄n.C/ (Pfister 1997:100, Meiser 1998:78-9). As explained in §3.6.1, it cannot be established whether the vowel was lengthened in Faliscan as it was in Latin, although this does not seem unlikely if Latin lengthening was a compensatory lengthening due to the omission of the nasal (see §3.5.7*a*).

(2) /#du̯V/ → /#bV/. In Latin, /#du̯V/ became /#bV/ by the middle of the third century: *du-* still appears as an archaism in *duonoro CIL* I^2.9 and *duelonai CIL* I^2.581,2 and in Plautus, e.g. *arte du̯ellica Epid.* 450. In Early Faliscan, there are likewise instances of *du-* in *duenom duenas* EF **3**. Although the reflex of /du̯eno-/ itself does not

appear in Middle or Late Faliscan, there are now two instances of *pi(s)* in LF **242** that correspond to Latin *bis* /bis/ ← *duis* /duis/ ("*duis* ... pro δίς ponebatur", Paul. *Fest.* 58.17L). Assuming that these words reflect Faliscan and do not represent Roman Latin (and I see no reason why they should, cf. §1.3.2.*2*), they show that the same development took place in Faliscan.

3.5.7. Omission of syllable- and word-final consonants. The general tendency to drop of syllable- and word-final consonants reflects a tendency to form 'perfect syllables' of the type CV by a reduction of the elements of the coda (cf. Venneman 1988:21-27). The results of such a reduction can be phonemic, or be limited to the phonetic realization of the consonants involved (e.g., by weakening them or, in the case of nasals, by substituting a nasalized lengthened vowel for the consonant). In Faliscan, this reduction affected mainly nasals, and, to a degree, liquids, although reduction of other syllable- and word-final consonants, especially /s#/, is also well-attested. Note that I prefer to use the term 'omission' (which refers to the representation of a sound in writing) rather than 'drop' (which refers to the reduction of a phoneme to zero). In many cases, it may be assumed that the phoneme was not reduced to zero altogether, but still maintained some form of phonetic realization, and that there was a synchronic variation in its realization. In these cases it would be unjustified to speak of 'drop' of the consonant, only of its omission in writing.

(a) Nasals. The omission of a syllable-final nasal is especially frequent in Faliscan (for attestations, see fig.3.5): in fact, its omission is about as frequent as its being written out. The omission represents a reduction of the nasal consonant with a transfer of the nasal quality to the preceding vowel, which was in all probability lengthened. The frequency of the occurrence may also be illustrated by the fact that it may be found already in Early Faliscan, if *salueto* EF **4** is read as *salue(n)to* or *salue(n)to(d)* (cf., however, §5.2.4*b*), or if *ofetios* EF **4** is regared as related to the potamonym *Ufens* (cf., however, §3.7.2 and §7.2.2).[46]

Omission of /m#/ may be related to the length of the preceding vowel. In the Early Faliscan period *-m* is written throughout, both where the ending is /V̄m#/, as in the first-declension accusative singular *urnam* EF **1**, and probably also *eitam* EF 5 (and in *arcentelom hutį[.]ilom* EF **1** if this is interpreted with Peruzzi (1964a:163-4) as a second-declension genitive plural), and where the ending is /Vm#/, as in the second-declension accusatives and neuter nominatives, **[0-2]e[1-3]tom* EF **1**, *arcentelom hutį[.]ilom* EF **1**, *duenom* EF **4**, *propramom* EF **2**, *[u]mom*, *umom*, *umǫ[m]* EF **2**, and

[46] A prehistoric *phonemic* drop of /n#/ occurred in the nominative singular of the ōn-stems, as in *apolo* MF **65**, *cupi‹d›o* MF **62** and perhaps also in *quto* EF **3**, if representing /gŭtō/ or /gŭttō/ (note, however, the *uariae lectiones quton* and *qutoṇe*). This development was of Proto-Latin date: in the Sabellic languages, these nominatives were recharacterized by the addition of /-s#/ with subsequent assimilations of the resulting cluster /-ns#/: see §4.5.1.*3*.

possibly *ui[no]m* EF **1** (if to be restored thus). However, in the Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions *-m* is always omitted after a short vowel, in the accusatives *uino* MF **59-60**, *mạcistratu* LF **242**, and also in *arute* MF **269** and *larise* MF **270**, MF **371**, **372**, which I regard as accusatives in *-e(m)* used as nominatives (§9.2.2). In the genitive plural, it is written in *tulom* MF **72** and *aḍiuaiom* Cap **465***, but omitted in *[fel]ịcinatiu* LF **384**.

The /n/ can also be omitted in the word-final clusters /nd#/ and /nt#/, occurring in the secondary and primary endings of the third plural. This is already found in the Early Faliscan inscriptions, *f[.f]ịqod* EF **1** = *f[.f]ịqo(n)d* and possibly also in **[3-4]*ad* EF **1**, if this is a plural **[3-4]*a(n)d*. For Middle and Late Faliscan there are the instances *ẓot* MLF **285**, and *cupat* MF **146**, *cupạt* MF **158**, *cupat* LF **223**, and perhaps *cupa[?t]* MF **95** (if this is indeed a plural), vs. *cupa]nt* MF **80**. Latin parallels for such forms are *dedrot CIL* I^2.378, *emerut CIL* I^2.1513, and *sut CIL* I^2.1824. Omission of /n/ in the cluster /ns#/ occurs in *aruz* MF **257**, cf. Latin *aros CIL* I^2.208 I.

(b) Liquids. The omission of syllable- and word-final liquids is rarer than the omission of syllable-and word-final nasals. However, as in the case of syllable-final nasals, omission of syllable-final *l* is found already in Early Faliscan, namely in *uotenosio* EF **3**, if, as seems likely, this is the same name as *uoltene* in the same inscription. In Middle Faliscan, the omission is limited to a few cases of omission of syllable-final *r*, in *ma(r)cena* MF **269**, *aca(r)celini* LF **222**, *ma(r)ci* LF **222**, and probably also *se(r)torio* MLF/Cap **476***, and of one instance of omission of syllable-final *l*, in *uo(l)tiliạ* LF **223**, vs. an overwhelming number of instances where syllable-final *r* and *l* are written out. Further instances may be the names *fafarṇ* MF **136** and *faf[---]* MF **139**, if they are related to the potamonym *Farfarus*. In view of the Latin form of the potamonym, *Fabaris*, this need not necessarily be an instance of the omission of a syllable-final liquid. Latin, too, shows instances of omission of syllable-final *r*: *mamor CIL* I^2.2, *dosuo CIL* I^2.270, *asom CIL* I^2.560 (and perhaps *prosepnai CIL* I^2.558, cf. Wachter 1987:115-6), and, from the second century BCE, *controuosias CIL* I^2.584,2, *suso CIL* I^2.584,7, 8, 15.

In word-final position, too, omission of a liquid is rare: *uxo* MF **17**, *mate* LF **221,** *uxo* LF **222,** *uxo* LF **242**, *mino* LtF **173**, *cen]lso* LtF **231**, and *censo* LtF **232** vs. *ux or* MF **41**, *uxor* MF **42**, *pater* MF **62**, *uxor* MF **101**, *uxor* MF **265**, *ueltur* MF **266**, *[u]xor* MLF **301**, *ueltur* MLF **341**, *p[reto]lr* MLF/LtF **241**, *[pre]tor* LF **247**, *pre]tor* LF **248**, *cen]lsor* LtF **231**, and *cen]lsor* LtF **232**. It may already occur in Early Faliscan, if *quto* EF **3** represents /gŭtor/ or /gŭttor/ (§6.2.*31*). In Latin, too, the omission of word-final *-r* is rare, occurring only in *marma CIL* I^2.2 (vs. twice *marmar* in the same inscription), *uxo CIL* I^2.1829 (vs. 31 instances with *-r*), and in *censento CIL* I^2.583,77 and *rogato CIL* I^2.583,78: on the other hand, it appears to have been almost regular in the names *Maior* (*maio CIL* I^2.76, 161, 233, 329, 344, 347, 2471, 2482 vs. *maior CIL* I^2.1340) and *Minor* (*mino CIL* I^2.126, 139, 194, 197, 198, 330, *m]ino* 77 vs. *minor CIL* I^2.271): cf. Latino-Faliscan *mino* LtF **173**.

Fig.3.5. Omission of syllable- and word-final nasals in Faliscan texts.

A special case are the instances where /r#/ is represented by *-d*. This occurs three times in Late Faliscan, twice in *[.]a · protacio · m · f · maḍistratu | keset · cuestod · pi · pretod · pis* LF **242** and once in *la · cotena · la · f · pretod · de | zenatuo · sententiad · uootum | dedet* LF/Lat **214**, while Latin has a parallel in *opeinod deuincam ted CIL* I^2.547. In the cases of LF/Lat **214** and *CIL* I^2.547, this was often ascribed to a *saṇdhi* development of /r#d/, but LF **242** (published in 1990) now shows that this explanation is difficult, if not impossible. Neither does it seem likely, as has sometimes been assumed, that it is simply an error.

Combined with the omission of /r#/ and /r.C/, I think it likely that /r/ was realized at least in word-final position, and probably also in syllable-final position as a rather weak sound, probably an alveolar flap [ɾ], as Peruzzi (1997:64-5) suggests (although I do not adopt his suggestion that this is due to Umbrian influence). In the written form of the word, this flap could then be represented by the etymologically justified *-r*, by the phonetically close *-d*, or be omitted entirely.

Another interesting solution has been proposed by M. Mancini (2002:40), who rejects Peruzzi's idea of an alveolar flap, and suggests instead that the spelling with *-d* was meant to represent the Latin realization of /r#/, which presumably was 'stronger' than the Faliscan realization (although I cannot see why this spelling should be an instance of code-switching between Faliscan and Latin). This would tie in with the possibility that there were likewise attempts to render the realization of Etruscan /s#/, which was apparently stronger than the Faliscan realization (§3.5.7*d*): see §9.2.2.*1*.

(c) Occlusives. The omission of occlusives can be divided into two cases: omission of syllable-final /k/ before a dental and word-final /t/ and /d/.

Omission of syllable-final /k/ before a following dental can be observed in *lete* MLF **285**, *let* MLF **361**, and in *sesto* LF **329** (beside *zextoi* LF **330** from the same tomb), perhaps also in *fita* EF 1 (cf. §5.3.2.*1*) and possibly in *cuitenet* MLF **361**, if this should be connected with the name *Quinctus* (which, however, appears in *cuicto* MLF **310**. Omissions as in *lete* have only one parallel in Latin, *uitoria CIL* I^2.550 from Praeneste, but on the other hand were common in Umbrian, where they were due to a development */kt/ → /xt/ (cf. Meiser 1986:92-3, 179). It seems not unlikely that a similar development was responsible for the Faliscan and Praenestine forms. In that case, *cavies : uhtav[---]* Etr **XLV** from Lucus Feroniae, which has been regarded as showing Sabellic influence in *uhtav[---]*, may represent a local pronunciation.

Word-final occlusives were something of a rarity in the Italic languages: the only ones regularly encountered are /d#/ and /t#/: of these, /d#/ disappeared in Latin during the first half of the third century (after long vowels), and this disappearance is observable also in Faliscan. In the case of the ablative in *-d* and the adverbs derived from such ablatives, /-d#/ is written out in the Early Faliscan ablative *pramod*, *pramod*, *propramod* EF **2** and in Middle Faliscan, *foied* MF **59-60**, but *ifra* MF **40** ← */enf(e)rā(d)/. The forms *sententiad* and *rected* in LF/Lat **214** are archaisms, compa-

rable to Latin *sententiad*, *oquoltod*, *poplicod CIL* I^2.581,8, 10, 15 (186). The secondary ending of the third singular was originally also /-d#/, but this was later replaced by /-t#/ (§5.2.4*e*). In Faliscan, this is attested in the Early Faliscan forms *porded* EF **1** and *fifiked* EF **9** and Middle Faliscan *faced* MF **470***, and on the other hand Middle Faliscan *facet* MF **471*** and Late Faliscan *keset* LF **242**. This replacement had been ascribed to the disappearance of /d#/, but this seems hardly likely, since its replacement, /t#/, could also be omitted: at best, the disappearance of /d#/ may have been a factor that contributed to the replacement. Latin forms that show omission of /-d#/ are *kapia CIL* I^2.1, *dede CIL* I^{2}47*b*, 377, 380, 477, 2438 (although in some of these forms it may be /-t#/ rather than /-d#/ that is omitted). A special case is Middle Faliscan *met* MF **470*** (cf. Early Faliscan *med* EF **1**, **9**). This form may point to a loss of voice in /d#/, but is in my view perhaps rather a ('hypercorrect') form influenced by the immediately following *facet*, which is the earliest Faliscan form that shows the replacement of the secondary ending /-d#/ in the third singular perfect, indicating that /d#/ in /mēd/ had already been weakened or dropped.

In the ending of the third singular, /-t#/, and of the third plural, /-nt#/, the /t#/ could regularly be dropped: *(1) cupat* MF **40**, *cupa* MLF **305**, *cupa* LF **221**, and probably *cup[a]* MF **161** vs. *cupat* MF **220**, *cupat* LF **224**, and probably *c]up[at]* MF **159**; this has also been suggested in the case of *i*ice* LF **309**, **315**, but I very much doubt that this is a verb. The forms *cu[pa]* LF **226** and *cuba* LtF **326** show that in the ending of the third plural, both /n/ and /t#/ could be dropped. Such forms are also known from Latin: *probauero CIL* I^2.22, *dedero CIL* I^{2}61, *dedro CIL* I^{2}379, *probaru CIL* I^{2}1635, *courauro CIL* I^{2}2542.[47]

(b) Sibilant. The omission of *-s* was a stock feature of Middle and Late FaliscanFaliscan, and can in fact be regarded as one of the better known features of Faliscan. As said in §1.4.4, however, it is also a feature of Latin in general, and cannot in itself be used as a certain sign that the inscription in which is occurs is Faliscan.

In the Early Faliscan inscriptions, *-s* is always written out and never omitted: *zextos* EF **1**, *praụ[i]os* EF **1**, *lartos* EF **6** and *apolonos* EF **10**, *ceres* EF **1**, *fitaidupes* EF **1**, and (after a long vowel) *titias ... duenas* EF **3**. However, from the Middle Faliscan period onward, there is an overwhelming tendency to omit *-s*. The number of instances is so large, in fact, that it is not practical to present all instances in tabular form, as I have done in the other cases of omission that are discussed in this section. Omission of *-s* after a short vowel occurs in 107 inscriptions: MF **12**, **19**, **39**, **40**, **48**, **49**, **50**, **51**, **52**, **54**, **56**, **79**, **80**, **88**, **89**, **90**, **94**, **95**, **97**, **100**, **105**, **137**, **141**, **142**, **143**, **146**, **147**, **148**, **149**, **151**, **152**, **153**, **159**, **162**, **164**, **175**, **178**, **181**, **193**, **195**, **197**, **259-260**, **265**, **272**, **275**, **276**, **376**, **470***, **473***; MLF **206**, **210**, **211**, **305**, **307**, **308**, **309**, **310**, **312**, **315**, **316**, **318**, **319**, **324**, **346**, **348**, **349**,

[47] Latin also has forms of /nt#/ where the /t/ is dropped, but not the /n/: *coraueron CIL* I^2.59, *curarun CIL* I^2.1616, *dan CIL* I^2.1618, *dedron CIL* I^2.30, *tabificanque CIL* I^2.2540*c*.

350, **351**, **352**, **354**, **355**, **358**, **359**, **360**, **363**, **364**, **464**, MLF/Cap **476***; LF **213**, **220**, **223**, **224**, **225**, **226**, **228**, **231**, **242**, **244**, **329**, **330**, **331**, **332**, **333**, **335**, **336**, **378**; LtF **171**, **215**, **223**, **290**, **341**, **377**; Cap **388**, **391**, **420**, **433**, **435**, **462**. These yield a total of 164 cases of omission in the second-declension nominative singular ending *-o(s)*, 8 instances in the third-declension genitive singular ending *-o(s)*, 2 instances in the third-declension genitive singular *-e(s)* (which could potentially represent /-ēs/ ← */-eis̯/, see §4.5.2), and I instance in the third-declension nominative singular ending *-e(s)* (§4.5.1.*5*) or 175 instances in all. Against this, there are only a 3-6 instances from 2-5 inscriptions of *-s* being written out: *cauios frenaios* MF **471*** and *cauios* LF **382**, and perhaps also *pạrtis* MF **79** (this may be an abbreviated or syncopated form, and occurs side by side with *leiuelio*), and in two instances from the ager Capenas, *írpios* Cap **389** and *pacios* Cap **392**, where Sabellic influence is clearly present (§9.3.2). This means omission of *-s* after a short vowel outnumbers the writing out of *-s* in the same position by 29 to 1: in other words, the cases where *-s* is written out after a short vowel are *c.*3% of the total. After a long vowel, however, the instances of omission are noticeably fewer: *cra* MF **59-60**, and *efile* MF **116** (if this is not simply an error for *efile‹s›*), and probably *canumede* MF **62**, vs. *efiles* MF **113**, *efiles* MF **115**, *efil]es* MF **117**, and *aiedies* Cap **390**. A distinct category are the Etruscoid forms in *-(i)es* (§9.2.2.2*c*), where the *-s* is usually written out: *l[oc]ies* MF **12**, *fasies* MF **41**, *ulties* MF/Etr **64**, *calitenes* and *cesies* MF **265**, *ueneliẹs* MF **258**, *petrunes* LF **226**, *plenes* LtF **231** and *morenez* MF **269** and *ạcṛẹz* MF/Etr **67**, vs. *satelie* MF **42**, *cesịe* MF **257**, and *tulie* LF **383**, and perhaps *acre* MF/Etr **279**, *ame* MF/Etr **280**, *ame* MF/Etr **282**. This may imply that in Etruscan forms and names the /s#/ was realized 'more strongly' than in Faliscan (§9.2.2.*1*).

Omission of word-final *-s* occurs with quite some frequency also in Latin, as the indices to the *CIL* I^2 or to Wachter 1987 show: note also the weakness of /s#/ in Republican Latin quantitive poetry. There is no single area within Latin in its broadest sense where the frequency of the omission is as high as in Faliscan: even in the ager Capenas the frequency is much lower (omission in Cap **388**, **391**, **420**, **433**, **435**, **462** vs. *írpios* Cap **389** and *pacios* Cap **392**). In spite of this, I very much doubt whether the omission of *-s* was phonemic, that is, that e.g. the second-declension nominative singular ending had become /-o#/ in Middle Faliscan: even during the Middle Faliscan period it was possible to write *-os*, as in *cauios frenaios* MF **471***. I assume that the omission of *-s* represents a realization as a weak glottal sound, [^{h}] or [^{ʔ}], much like syllable- and word-final /s/ is realized in Andalusian Spanish (e.g. *estamos* /estamos/ [e^{ʔ}tamo^{ʔ}]). The great number of instances of omission of /s#/ may in fact have been due to an orthographic convention: it may have been the case that in the ager Faliscus, the convention was *not* to write this weak sound, while in Latium the rule appears to have been to write it as *-s* in spite of its weak realization. This is borne out by the fact that Latin inscriptions from the ager Faliscus generally have *-us* as the ending of the second declension nominative singular, with *-u* appearing only in Lat **251**: see §3.6.6.*1*.

3.6. The Faliscan vowels

3.6.1. The vowel system of Faliscan. The vowels that Proto-Latin inherited from the final stage of Proto-Italic are /a e i o u/ and /ā ē ī ō ū/ (cf. Meiser 1998:55-7, 60-2). Of these, the short vowels /e i o u/, and in some cases /a/, were normally inherited from PIE: the Proto-Italic developments of the laryngeals added new /a/'s (§3.2.3), and the Proto-Italic developments of */l̥ r̥/ added new /e/'s, /o/'s and /u/'s (§3.2.7), and the Proto-Latin development of */m̥ n̥/ added new /e/'s (§3.3.2). The long vowels are generally due to Proto-Italic developments of */VH/ and */RH/ (§3.2.3) and early contractions after the loss of intervocalic /i̯/ (§3.2.6), although in a few cases the long vowel goes back to a lengthened PIE vowel, as in */pʰ₂tēr/, */mātēr/, */ħ₃rēĝ-s/.

Insofar as this can be ascertained, the vowel system described here was also the one found in Early Faliscan. It should be noted that in Faliscan and Capenate inscriptions the quantity of the vowel is not indicated anywhere: this is only done in *uootum* LF/Lat **214**, and *uiitam* and *aastutieis* Lat **217** in two Latin inscriptions from Falerii Novi. The quantities of Faliscan vowels can therefore only be inferred *(a)* from etymologies, *(b)* from developments that affected *only* long or *only* short vowels, *(b)* from corresponding words or names in other Italic languages where the quantity of the vowel is known, either because it is expressed in writing or because it can be established in other ways (e.g., in the case of Latin, through quantitative verse).

During the Middle Faliscan period several changes took place that not only changed individual vowels, but also affected the Faliscan vowel system itself.

As a result of the Middle Faliscan monophthongization of the diphthongs (§3.7), three new long vowels were added: *(1)* /ē̯/, both from /ei̯/ and from /ei̯/ ← /oi̯/ (§3.7.5), *(2)* /ē̯/ ← /ai̯/ (§3.7.6), and *(3)* /ō̯/, both from /ou̯/ (including /ou̯/ ← Proto-Italic */eu̯/, §3.2.5) and from /au̯/ (§3.7.2, §3.7.4). These new vowels must have had phonemic status, cf. such (unattested) pairs as */fīliē̯/ 'sons' and */fīliē̯/ 'daughters'. The emergence of these long vowels also changed the vowel system as a whole by introducing more degrees in openness, especially in the front vowels.

Among the short vowels, a new sound /e̯/ appears (§3.6.2). This is most clearly observed in the tendency to spell antevocalic /i/ as *e*, and /e/ before /r.C/ as *i*. Although there are therefore two different spellings, these in all probability represent the same sound, antevocalic *e* expressing 'an /i/ that is more open than a normal /i/' and *i* before /r/, 'an /e/ that is more closed than a normal /e/'. That this sound is not merely a positional variant, but must have had phonemic status is shown by the fact that there are instances of *e* for *i* and *i* for *e* in other positions as well, showing that in Faliscan /e/ and /i/ were merging into /e̯/. There may have been similar merger of /o/ and /u/, but the indications for this are few (§3.6.3).

a

Fig. 3.6. The Middle and Late Faliscan vowel system.

The dotted circles accompanied by a vowel sign in bold case represent the letter by which the encircled sounds could be represented. For digrams to denote /ę/, /ę̄/ and /ǭ/, see §§3.7.2-6. For the merger of /i/ and /e/ into /ę/, see §3.6.2; for the possible merger of /o/ and /u/ into /ǫ/, see §3.6.3. For ə, see §3.6.6.

The Faliscan vowels are represented by the signs *a e i o u*, as follows (cf. fig.3.6):

- *a* represents *(1)* /a/ as in *far* EF **1** (← PIE */a/?), *pater* MF **62** (← PIE */h₂/), *arcentelom* EF **1** (← PIE */h₂r/); *(2)* /ā/ as in *mater* LF **221** (← PIE */ā/?), *karai* (← PIE */eh₂/), *pramo-* EF **2** (← PIE */rh/).
- *i* represents *(1)* /i/, as in *pipafo* MF **59**; *(2)* /ę/ ← /e/ as in *loifirtato* MF **32** (see §3.6.2); *(3)* /ī/ as in *uino* MF **59-60** (← PIE */iH/);
- *e* represents *(1)* /e/ as in *eqo* EF **1**, *arcentelom* EF **1** (← PIE */n̥/); *(2)* /ę/ ← /i/ as in *fileo* MF **471*** (§3.6.2); *(3)* /ē/ as in *rex* MF **90** (← PIE */ē/); *(4)* /ę̄/ ← /ei̯ oi̯/ (§3.7.5); *(5)* /ę̄/ ← /ai̯/ (§3.7.6);
- *o* represents *(1)* /o/ as in *euios* EF **1** (← PIE */o/); *(2)* /ō/ as in *carefo* MF **59** (← PIE */oH/); and *(3)* /ǭ/ ← /au̯ ou̯/ (§3.7.2, §3.7.4);
- *u* represents *(1)* /u/ as in *cupat* MF **40** (← PIE */u/); and *(2)* presumably /ū/ (← PIE */uH/ (no attestations); *(3) u* is also used where *o* would be expected (§3.6.3)

The signs *i* and *u* are also used to denote the second element of the diphthongs *ai ei* (*oi* is not attested) and *au ou* respectively.

Beside these vowel notations, there are a few Capenate instances of the Sabellic signs *í* and *ú*, representing (Sabellic) /e/ and /o/ respectively: see §9.3.2.

3.6.2. Middle and Late Faliscan variation of *i* and *e*. As said in §3.6.1, there are a number of instances where there is variation in the spelling between *e* and *i*. The clearest instances are those where antevocalic *i* is written as *e*. (For the cases where antevocalic *e* represents a monophthongized diphthong, see §3.7.7).

- *fileo* MF **471***, *hileo* MF **146**, *filea* MF **14**
- *fulczeo* LF **329**, *folcozeo* LF **330**, **olcuzeo* LF **332** vs. *folcosio* LF **333**
- *ḥiṛṃeo* MF **19** vs. *hirmia* MF **18**, *firmio* MF **54**, *fir·mia* MLF **302**, *hirmio* LF **213**
- *zu[con]leo* MF **56** vs. *zuconia* MF **271**,
- **(*)coṇẹo* LtF **290** and *peṭṛoṇẹo* MF **473*** (cf. the regular derivation of Etruscan gentilicia in *-u* : Latin *-onius*)
- *zertenea* LF **221** (cf. Latin *Sertinius*)
- *uecineo* LF **220**, **224**, **225**, *uecinea* LF **223**, *uecin[e]a* LF **221** (cf. Latin *Vicinius*)
- *anileo* or *manileo* MLF **355** (cf. Latin *Annilius* or *Manilius*) and *hlaulelea* LtF **325** (cf. Latin *Flauilia*)
- ? *pauiceo* MF **12**
- unclear are *[---]leo* MF **153**, *[---]l[e]a* MF **155**, *[---]oxie[.]eai* MLF **310**, *[....]nea* LtF **301**
- in the patronymic adjectives *iu]nẹo* MF **141**, *ịuneo* MF **151**, *iuneo* LF **220** and *uolteo* MF **275**, *uolθeo* MF **276**, the *e* probably stands for [ẹ] not for [ę̄] (§7.5.2)
- the gloss *Struppearia* (§6.6.6) may represent the same tendency.

The, reverse, *i* for antevocalic *e*, is found in

- *clipịaṛ[io* LF **230** (vs. *clipeaio* (*clipea‹r›io*?) MF **470***, *clipeaṛ[io* LtF **231**, and *cl[i]peario* LtF **233**, cf. Latin *clipeus/clupeus*).

The phenomenon thus occurs both during the Middle and Late Faliscan periods, and also occurs in Latino-Faliscan (*hlaulelea* LtF **325**, and probably **(*)coṇẹo* LtF **290**). Interestingly, there are no instances from the Capenate or Latin inscriptions, with one clear exception, namely the spelling *Feronea* for *Feronia* in all instances of this name in the dedications from the shrine at Lucus Feroniae: *feroneai* Cap **434**, *fe]ronea* Cap **431**, *feronea* Cap **433**, and *fero]ṇea* Cap **437**. This may have been a local custom, especially since antevocalic *i* is never written as *e* in other Latin inscriptions from the area.

Although these instances can be explained as /i/ having a more open realization [ɪ] before a vowel, comparable to e.g. Latin *fileod CIL* I^2.2658 and *fileai CIL* I^2.52, they may be part of a larger tendency, since there are instances where *e* occurs instead of an expected *i* in other positions than antevocalic, in *zertenea* LF **221** (instead of *zertinia*) and *upreciano* MLF **363**, *upreciano* MLF **364** vs. *u]mpricius* Lat **219**, and *fle* LF **332** = *fe(leo)*. Wachter (1987:126, 488-9) regards such instances of *e* for *i* as indicative of a generally more open pronunciation of short /i/ as opposed to /ī/.

The 'reverse', *i* for original /e/, is found, apart from the already named *clipiaṛ[io* LF **230**, only in *loifiṛtato* MF **31**, *loifirtato* MF **32**, and *loifirtạ* MF **41**. Here, however, the *i* represents a more closed /e/ before /r.C/, as in Latin *stircus CIL* I^2.401 and *mirqurios CIL* I^2.553 (cf. Meiser 1998:81): in these cases, therefore, the tendency to realize /e/ as [ɪ] is a conditioned variant and not free as in the cases described earlier in this section.

Another instance may be the name *Firmius* in *ḥirmia* MF **18**, *ḥiṛṃeo* MF **19**, *firmio* MF **54**, *hirmio* LF **213**, *fir·mia* MLF **302**. Although this name is consistently spelled with *i*, it may be related either to *(a)* the Etruscan gentilicium *Hermana*, occurring in the area in *hermana* MF **264** (cf. *her* Etr **VI-VII**) or *(b)* to the adjective *firmus*, where the *i* reflects an older /e/ (*/fermo-/ ← Proto-Latin */ɸermo-/ ← PIE */d^{h}ermo-/) and Latin apparently standardized the variant with the closed form of the /e/.[48] Counterexamples are *loferta* LF **222**, and *mercui* MF **113-126**, *zertenea* LF **221**, *tertineo* LF **213**, *tertinei* MF **473***, *fertrio* Cap **391**, and *se(r)torio* MLF/Cap **476***.

Other instances are hard to distinguish, in view of the fact that the material is onomastic rather than lexical: it is therefore hard to tell whether a name like *pupelio* MF **149** represents *Pupilius* (in which case it would be an instance of variation between *e/i*, but could also be interpreted as a case of a 'non-reduced' vowel, cf. §3.6.6.*1*) or *Pupellius* (in which case it is not an illustration of a variation between *e/i*).

Probably Sabellic rather than Latin-Faliscan is *írpios* Cap **389** and the name of the *Hirpi Sorani* known from literary sources (cf. §2.3.4, §6.6.5), probably derived from a Proto-Sabellic */herpo-/ ← Proto-Italic /xerk^{ʷ}o-/ (← PIE */g^{h}er(s)k^{ʷ}o-/?). The instances where the variation *e/i* may be due to vowel-reduction in unstressed medial syllables are discussed in §3.6.6.

3.6.3. Middle and Late Faliscan variation of *u* and *o*. Beside the variation between *e* and *i* described in the preceding sections, there are cases of variation between *o* and *u*. This tendency, however, is much less clear: in a number of cases the variation is due to influence from Etruscan orthography, and it does not only involve /o/ but /ō/ as well. The instances where the variation *o/u* may be due to vowel-reduction in unstressed medial and final syllables are discussed in §3.6.6.

In some cases, the *o* is simply a preservation of the /o/ while in Latin this (later) changed into /u/. Examples are *zot* MLF **285** and perhaps *sot* LtF **172** vs. Latin *sunt* (still *sont CIL* I^2.1529), and the name *Publius/Publia*, which in Faliscan is always written with *o* (13 attestations, see §7.7.1.*50*), as in older Latin, e.g. *popliosio CIL* I^2.2832a (cf. §18.3.3.*1*).

[48] Cf. perhaps Umbrian *ferim-e TI* III.16 and Oscan *fi]r[i]mens* Po 2 (cf. *WOU* s.vv.).

The spelling *u* for /o/ mostly appears in contexts where orthographic influence from the *o*-less Etruscan alphabet can be assumed. Thus e.g. *cutri* MF **200** vs. Latin *Cotrius*, *puponio* MF **54** vs. *Pomponius* (but cf. §7.7.1.*51*) and on the other hand *ortecese* MLF **339** vs. Etruscan *urtcsnas* Etr **XXXV**, *polafio* (=*pol‹fa›io*) MLF **354** vs. Etruscan *Pulfna*. Etruscan gentilicia in *-u* are usually adapted to *-ōnius*, as in Latin (§7.8.2.*4*), e.g. *zuconia* MF **271** and *zu[con]leo* MF **56** (and perhaps also *su[con ---]* MF **191**) vs. *larisa zuχus* Etr **XXXII**): for further instances, see §7.8.2.*4*. G. Giacomelli (1963:84) in fact interpreted *cicoi* MF **40** as a rendering of an Etruscan **Cicui*, the feminine form of *Cicu*.

The anaptyctic vowel in the Etruscan name *Arnθ* is once written as *o* in *aronto* MF **265**: elsewhere it is always written as *u* in *aruz* MF **257**, *aruto* MF **257**, **267**, *arute* MF **269**, and the derivations *arutielia* MF **96** and *arutlo* MF **195**. The spelling elsewhere is also *u*, except in Oscan *αρροντιες* tLu 1. This may be due to words like *zo(n)t*, where /ont/ could realized as [õt] and perhaps even already as [ũt], but the correct (historical) spelling was *o(n)t*: this spelling may have been transferred (as a hypercorrect spelling) to the /u/ in /arrunt-/, where *u* was the historically correct spelling.

The use of *u* for /ō/ in *petrunes* LF **226** vs. *petṛọṇẹọ* MF **473*** is probably best explained by an Etruscan intermediary (cf. also the Etruscoid ending *-es*, see §9.2.2.*2c*). However, Wachter (1987:412-3) points to the fact that in Latin inscriptions from the area of the Lacus Fucinus, /ō/ is represented by *u* several times: *dunom* VM 3, *semunu* Pg 9, *ptruna* Pg 52, *apunies* Pg 53, *peumpuni* Pg 26, *fadatruni* MV 2, *uicturie CIL* I^2.2486. The origin of the *u* in these names may therefore go back further, to the original Sabellic form. Another such case is the exceptional Latin *terebuni CIL* I^2.312 vs. *Trebōnius* (cf. Wachter 1987:187).

A difficult case is *fulczeo* LF **329**, *folcuso* LF **331**, and **olcuzeo* LF **332** vs. *folcozeo* LF **330**, *folcosio* LF **333**, and *holc[osi]* LtF **140**, where there is variation both in the first and in the second syllable, and there is no equivalent name in Etruscan or Latin: the only closely related names are Etruscan *Hulχena* and *Hulχnies*, and Latin *Holconius* (§7.8.1.*64*). Both *u*'s are probably best ascribed to Etruscan influence in spelling. The *u* in the first syllable could conceivably be ascribed to a Late Faliscan closing of /olC/ → /ulC/, but this closing is not attested for Faliscan (§3.3.4.*1*). The *u* in the second syllable was in all probability long (cf. Latin names in *-ōsius/-ōrius* and *-ōnius*), and can therefore not be ascribed to reduction of a medial vowel: its omission in *fulczeo* LF **329** must therefore be due to an error (*fulc‹u›zeo* or *fulc‹o›zeo*), not to syncopation.

Unclear is the relation of the Faliscan gentilicium *pupelio* MF **149**, *pu]pel[i---]* MF **150**, *pup[elio* MF **151** to Latin *popil[i]* Lat **295**, *popili* Lat **296**, *popili* Lat **478*** (all imports): the *u* could be due to Etruscan influence, but at least in Latin there appears to have been a quantitative difference between the gentilicia in *Pŏp-* and those in *Pūp-* (Schulze 1904:213), and the two gentilicia may therefore be unrelated. The same is

true in the case of *pupiias* MLF **304** (praenomen or gentilicium?) and the abbreviated gentilicium *popi* Cap **420**.

Finally, *posticnu* MLF/Cap **474*** may be a rendering of a Sabellic first-declension nominative singular **posticnō* (see §9.3.2).

3.6.4. Variation between *i* and *u*. In Latin, there is a tendency to variation between *i* and *u* in pairs such as *libet/lubet*, *clipeus/clupeus* (in later centuries also spelled *clypeus*), probably pointing to a realization [ü] (Meiser 1998:80). There is no sign of this variation in Faliscan, where the gentilicium *Clipearius* (which apparently does not occur elsewhere, §7.8.1.*42*) is always spelled with *i* (*clipeaio* (=*clipea‹r›io*?) MF **470***, *clipiaṛ[io* LF **230**, *clipeaṛ[io* LtF **231**, *cl[i]peario* LtF **233**). Faliscan does show a related development, however, in the development of the diphtong /ou̯/ to /oi̯/ in *loifiṛtato* MF **31**, *loifirtato* MF **32**, and *l]oifirtą* MF **41** (see §3.7.3).

3.6.5. Anaptyxis. As in Latin, there are very few instances of anaptyxis: a difference from Sabellic languages like South Picene, Paelignian and Oscan, where its occurrence was regular. One instance is the Etruscan name *Arnθ*. In Etruscan, this name is occasionally spelled with an anaptyctic *u*: *arunθ* Ar 1.7, *arunθia* Vt 1.73, Ar 1.53, *arunθial* AS 1.236, *arunθia[* Ar 0.3, *arutia* Pe 1.846 (Latin alphabet), *aruzinale* OA 0.1, *arunzina* Cr 6.2. In the Italic languages, the name only occurs in its anaptyctic form, due to the phonotactic impossibility of a cluster /rnt#/ or /rnts#/ → /rns#/: in Latin, as *Arruns*, in Oscan in the gentilicium *arruntiis* Po 58, αρροντιες tLu 1. In Faliscan, the name occurs as *aruz* MF **257**, *aruto* MF **257**, **267**, *arute* MF **269**, and the derivations *arutielia* MF **96** and *arutlo* MF **195**, and once as *aronto* MF **265** (§3.6.3). Another instance may be Vetter's interpretation of *putellio* MF **152** if this is derived from */pu-tlom/: see §63.*62*. In the gloss *cenaculum* (§6.6.*1*) the spelling with an anaptyctic vowel probably reflects the regular Latin spelling of this word.

3.6.6. Developments of vowels due to stress. The change from the PIE tonal accent to a (heavy) initial stress in all likelihood occurred during the Proto-Italic period (cf. Meiser 1998:66). The developments of the vowels due to this initial stress are of later date, however: both the weakening of vowels and the syncopation in medial and final syllables do not seem to have taken place before the sixth century and to have been completed by the fifth (Rix 1966, Meiser 1998:66-7).

There are hardly any indications of vowel-weakening or syncopation in Faliscan, and Faliscan is indeed notorious for *not* having vowel-weakening (a point that is repeated from author to author). This idea, however, is mainly based on the form *cuncaptum* in LF/Lat **214**: this inscription was discovered very early in the history of Faliscan studies and attracted considerable attention at the time, but it is unclear in how far it actually represents contemporary Faliscan. That there has never been a serious

attempt to contradict this view is due to the scarcity of material that could shed some light on the subject. Early Faliscan inscriptions pre-date the developments that can be ascribed to stress, and Early Faliscan forms like *pe:para[i* EF **1** corresponding to Latin *peperi* are therefore in no sense an argument against (or for) Faliscan having ever had weakening. In view of the fact that both Latin and the Sabellic languages (and, for those willing to accept an Italic *Sprachbund*, Etruscan) show extensive evidence of various forms of weakening and syncopation in medial and final syllables, it would *a priori* be very surprising if Faliscan did not show features of such developments.

(1) Weakening of vowels. In the Middle Faliscan material, there are simply very little forms where weakening could be expected at all. Only a small part of the material is lexical, and here there are simply no the instances are:

(a) maximo MF **89** beside *max]om[o]* MF **90**, *maxom[o]* **98** and *[m]ano[m]o* MF **149** (*man[o]mo* MF **80** and *[---]a*ome* MF **156** (if interpreted as *m]axome*) cannot count as counterexamples). Unfortunately, MF **89** is known only from an apograph: if it is indeed attested, it shows a reduction of the original medial vowel, as in Latin.

(b) harisp[ex LtF **231** and *harisp[ex* LtF **232**: in this case, the form may be due to weakening /u/ → /i/ that is also found in open syllables in Latin (Meiser 1998:68). The form can also be explained as formed after compounds, e.g. the priestly title *pontifex*, especially as Latin *haruspex* shows no reduction of the vowel.

(c) pipafo MF **59**, *‹pi›pafo* MF **60**, an athematic laryngeal stem, would be expected to have /a/ as a result of the laryngeal developments: in Latin, this /a/ was this was reduced in medial syllables: cf. *bibĕre*, *dăre* and *dăbo* beside *reddĕre*. If in the Faliscan forms the *-a-* represents /a/, it shows no reduction, having perhaps been preserved due to a paradigmatic analogy: there are other explanations of this form where the *a* is regard as /ā/ (§5.3.1.*13*).

The remainder of the material is onomastic, where it is difficult to establish whether the forms with medial *i* show a reduction of another vowel or not (cf., for instance, *pupelio* MF **149**, which represents either *Pupellius* or an 'unreduced' *Pupilius*). Excluding these instances, as well as the instances where the name is patronymic and formed with a suffix *-ilius* or an Etruscan name adapted to a Latin-Faliscan *-inius*, this leaves only the possibility that *ueicono* MF **88** is connected with *uecineo* LF **220** etc. and with *[u]eculia* MF **88**. It seems unlikely that such a connection existed, however.

In the Latin inscriptions, a lack of reduction appears to be attested in *cuncaptum* LF/Lat **214** (mid-second century) but this form may represent a learned reconstruction. The same can be true of *falesce* Lat **218** (late second century) which may be reconstructed after *Falerii*, and of the *e* in the gloss *decimatrus* (§6.6), where some MSS have *decematrus*, which may have been reconstructed after *decem*. The only clear forms that can be interpreted as instances of vowel reduction in the area are Latin *aciptum*, *quolunda*, and *saipisume* in Lat **217** (late second century).

Weakening or reduction of vowels in *final* syllables, however, is well-documented, since it affected several nominal endings.

The best documented instances are those of /o/ in the endings of the second-declension nominative singular /-os#/ and the second declension accusative singular and neuter nominative singular /-om#/. Here, the Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions generally have an unreduced *-o*, or, rarely *-os*. The exceptions are the genitive plural *[fel]ịcinatiu* LF **384** (beside *aḍiuaiom* Cap **465** and probably *tulom* MF **72**), which shows that the /-ōm/ had been shortened to /-om/, and the unexplained *tuconu* MF **85**. Beside the instances of /o/, Faliscan also has a genitive in *-e(s)* in *[---]fate* MLF **285**, which may represent a non-reduced /-es/ (§**4**.5.2).

The Latino-Faliscan and Capenate inscriptions likewise generally have nominatives in *-o*: the instances are *[---]ilio* LtF **215**, *clipeaṛ[io* LtF **231**, *cḷ[i]peario* LtF **233**,*(*)coṇẹo* LtF **290**, *ṃunio* LtF **377**, *genucilio* Cap **434** and *donom* Cap **430**. The exceptions are the verbal form *esú* Cap **389**, **404**, **465**, where *ú* probably represents the Sabellic vowel /o/, the unexplained *cl · anu* or *clanu* Cap **397**, which may be an abbreviation, and the unclear *muruḷ[?---]* LtF **173**.

The oldest Latin inscriptions from the area also still have *-os* in *loucilios* Lat **268** (fourth century) and *fourios* Lat **216** (*c.*220?). From the late third century onwards, however, they generally have *-us*: *spurilius* Lat **237** (after *c.*240), *spurilius* Lat **238** (after *c.*240), *calpurnius* Cap **432** (before 211), *[---]rcius* Cap **435** (before 211), *egnatius* Lat **291** (second century), *lectu(s)* (twice) and *amplius* Lat **251** (late second century), *latrius* Lat **218** (*c.*125), *u]mpricius* and *[?]aburcus* Lat **219** (*c.*120-50), *fuluius* Lat **250** (106), *didius* and *uettius* Lat **455** (*c.*100-50). Beside this there are the forms in *-um* in *sacru(m)* and *cuncaptum* LF/Lat **214** (mid-second century), *gonlegium*, *aciptum*, and *opiparum* Lat **217** and *donum* Lat **218**. (*Dono* Cap **431** and *dono[?]* Cap **433** may be a datives in /-ō/). The only exception is *zenatuo* LF/Lat **214**, which may be illustrative of the tendency found in Latin to preserve /o/ after /u/, /u̯/, or /k^{u}/ longer than elsewhere (Meiser 1998:84).

This picture seems straightforward, but the problem is that this is a case of the problem that was touched upon in §3.1.1. The distinction between Latino-Faliscan and Capenate on the one hand and Latin on the other depends upon whether or not the inscriptions in question show dialect features that are compatible with those attested for Faliscan. In several cases, the ending of the second-declension nominative is in fact the only feature in the inscription on which this distinction is based.

(2) Syncopation. The only clear instance of syncopation in a Faliscan word is:

- *maximo* MF **89**, *max]om[o]* MF **90**, *ṃaxoṃ[o]* **98**, where the original form is probably */mag-isVmo-/ (cf. Cowgill 1970:125).

The other instances all appear to be irregular:

- *arutlo* MF **195** must represent a syncopated form *aru(n)t(e)lo* of a name like *Arruntulus*: it may also represent an orthographic shortening.
- *reiclio* MF **99** (cf also *reiç[lio]* MF **98** and *reị[cli.]* MF **100**) is most likely a syncopated form for *reic(i)lio* = *Raecilius* (§7.8.1.*132*).
- *uisni* MF **82** is a syncopated form for *uis(i)ni* or *uis(e)ni* if this name is connected to *Visinius* (§7.8.2.*177*).
- *neln* LtF **300** (and *nel[n---]* LtF **299**) with the surprising cluster /ln/ is probably due to syncopation. What the non-syncopated form would have been is unclear.
- *[---]lnia* MF **146**, although fragmentary, may be an instance of syncopation.
- *[---o]stro* LF **244** and *[---]ostr[o* LF **245** may contain a syncopation and represent *...ost(e)ro*: see also §6.2.*94*.

There are two cases where a vowel is omitted that may have been long, namely *fertrio* Cap **391** for *Fertōrius* and *fulczeo* LF **329** (beside *folcosio* LF **333**, *folcozeo* LF **330**, *folcuso* LF **331**, **olcuzeo* LF **332**) for *Folcōsius*. In these cases the omission of the vowel may present a graphical contraction or an error rather than syncopation.

All in all, the instances of syncopation in internal syllables appear to show that the phenomenon *did* occur in Middle and Late Faliscan, but irregularly.[49]

Syncopation of short vowels in *final* syllables occurred as a regular development in Proto-Sabellic (Meiser 1986:59-60) but not in Latin or Faliscan. The one Faliscan instance is *partis* in *leiuelio pạrtis* | *uolti* MF **79**, where the ending appears to show not only a syncopation, but also combines this with a very rare preservation of *-s* (§3.5.7*d*). The gentilicium is without parallels, and it may be that the form is incomplete. This syncopation (if it is one) can be compared to the incidental Latin instances *uibis CIL* I^2.552, *mercuris CIL* I^2.563 and *caecilis CIL* I^2.1028.[50]

Resuming the point that was made at the beginning of this section, I believe that there are indications that Faliscan *did* have stress-related treatment of vowels: if weakening is attested only dubiously, it is clear from the syncopation that stress did affect the vowels. Material for this in internal syllables is rare. The fact that the clearest instances of stress-related vowel-weakening occur in Latin inscriptions from the area is of course not a ground to assume that the phenomenon was due to Latin influence in the area, but rather to the fact that the Latin inscriptions contain more lexemes than the Faliscan inscriptions, which mainly consist of onomastic data.

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[49] In *feliçinate* MF **41** and *[fel]ịcinatiu* LF **384**, Faliscan has *Feliginas*, while Latin has *Fulginas* and the toponym *Fulginiae/Fulginium*, where the *u* shows that the syncopated form had existed early enough to have developed as /elC/ → /olC/ → /ulC/ (cf. §3.3.4.*1*).

[50] Note that *far* EF **1** is not an instance of syncopation (which in a pre-fifth century text would have been surprising in any case): Umbrian *farsio TI* VIb.2 etc. points to a Proto-Italic */βars/ (Meiser 1986:154, 174), since */βarVs-/ would have given **farfio* (Schrijver 1991:113-4).

3.7. The Faliscan diphthongs

3.7.1. General. At the end of the Proto-Italic period, the following diphthongs were present in Proto-Latin: */au̯ ou̯ ai̯ ei̯ oi̯/, and at least two long diphthongs, */āi̯ ōi̯/, which may already have been shortened everywhere except in the endings of the first- and second-declension dative singular (cf. Meiser 1998:60): for the possibility of a Faliscan diphthong /ŭi̯/, see §3.7.8. In Faliscan, the short diphthongs were all monophthongized during the Middle Faliscan period, earlier than in (Roman) Latin, where this happened during the late third and the first half of the second centuries.

A problem in the description of the Latin diphthongs is that there seems to have been a considerable difference between rural and urban Latin, or rather, a difference between rural and *urbane* Latin that was exaggerated by the Latin authors on language. These regarded a diphthongal pronunciation as 'correct' and belonging to the better layers of urban society, and associated the monophthongal pronunciation with rural or lower-class Latin (cf. R. Giacomelli 1978:25-31, 2006:75-7). The degree to which a monophthong was acceptable, however, appears to be very much connected to *when* that particular diphthong was monophthongized: authors do not comment on the monophthongization of /ou̯/ → /ū/, which was completed by the end of the third century, and hardly on the monophthongizations of /oi̯/ → /oe̯/ → /ū/ and /ei̯/ → /ī/, which belong to second century, but they *do* comment on /ai̯/ → /ae̯/ → /ę̄/ and /au̯/ → /ǭ/ (see Blümel 1972:10-4, 28-9, Pfister 1977:63-4, 68-9, also Rocher 1928): what they describe or prescribe is in fact the *status quo* of the early first century BCE.

3.7.2. The development of /ou̯/. The diphthong /ou̯/ had its origins both in PIE */ou/ as well as in PIE */eu/, which merged with */ou/ during the Proto-Italic period: as I said, I do not adopt Schrijver's suggestion (1991:452) that Proto-Italic */eu̯/ and */ou̯/ merged into a neutral diphthong that could be realized as [eu̯], [əu̯] or [ou̯] (§3.2.5).

In the Middle Faliscan inscriptions, /ou̯/ is spelled both as *ou* and as *o* (for attestations, see fig.3.7), which points to a monophthongization /ou̯/ → /ǭ/ during the Middle Faliscan period. The same monophthongization took place in Latin, where /ǭ/ had developed further to /ū/ at least in Roman Latin probably by the end of the third century: the earliest instance of the spelling *u* seems to be *luciom CIL* I^2.9 (cf. Blümel 1972:32-3, Meiser 1998:59-60). There are no indications that /ǭ/ developed to /ū/ in Faliscan as well: Herbig's (*CIE* 8225) and Vetter's (1953:302) suggestion that Middle Faliscan *nut*[---]* MF **103** was a form of *nutrix* was rightly rejected by G. Giacomelli (1963:82-4). Peruzzi (1964d:312) assumed that *nutṛ[---]* was a *Luxuslehnwort* from Roman Latin, but even in that case it would *still* be the earliest instance of *u* for original /ou̯/. Latino-Faliscan *ṛufi* in LtF **292** is uncertain, and if to be read thus, reflects second-century Latin.

Early Faliscan has no attestations of /ou̯/: Vetter's *l[o]ufl[ir* (1925:27-8), *lou̯f[ir* (1939:156), and *louf[i]r* (1952:280) in EF **1** are untenable (§12.2, see also §3.7.3). There appear to be two problematic instances of this diphthong in EF **4**, namely the woman's name *rufia* (read by Vetter (1939:151, 1953:258) as *rofia*) and the man's name *ofetios* (cf. also *ofete* in the same inscription?), connected with the potamonym *Ufens* by Vetter (1953:286-7). These forms presuppose a monophthongization of /ou̯/ already during the *Early* Faliscan period, far earlier than the other Faliscan and Latin monophthongizations: note that this leaves unexplained why the diphthong could still be written as *ou* in Middle Faliscan. Reading *rufia* also requires a development /o̯/ → /u/ that is not attested for Faliscan and even in Latin is not attested before *c.*200. If *rufia* (or *rofia*) is connected to *rufus* ← Proto-Italic */rou̯ðo-/ ← PIE */ħ$_1$reud^{h}o-/), it can only be a misspelling for *r‹o›ufia* (or *ro‹u›fia*). The alternative is to connect *rufia* to the Proto-Italic */ruðro-/ ← PIE */ħ$_1$rud^{h}ro-/) that underlies Latin *ruber*, but then the name would be **rufra* or **rufria* (or is *rufia* is an error for *ruf‹r›ia*?).[51]

In neighbouring languages, *ou* was monophthongized even earlier than in Faliscan and Latin: South Picene has one instance of *túta*s TE.5 (beside *toúta* TE.7 and *toútaih* RI.1), which dates from the sixth or the first half of the fifth century. In Umbrian and Volscian, */ou̯/ had been monophthongized to *o* /o/ before the time of the earliest inscriptions (Meiser 1986:122-4). In Etruscan, where the diphthong occurs almost exclusively in (onomastic) borrowings from the Italic languages, it is first rendered as *au* or *av* (cf. *lauvlcies* Etr **XXIX** from Civita Castellana) and from the early fifth century onwards as *uv* (Rix 1984:205-6, Steinbauer 1999:39).

3.7.3. The development */lou̯β-/ → /loi̯β-/. A different development of /ou̯/ is found in the word corresponding to Latin *liber-* (← PIE */ħ$_1$leu̯d^{h}ero-/). There are three Faliscan attestations of the spelling *oi*, namely *loifirtato* MF **31**, *loifirtato* MF **32**, and *l]oifirtą* MF **41**. These correspond to the Latin forms "a *loebeso*, *Liberum*" (Varro *L* 6.1) and "*loebesum* et *loebertatem* antiqui dicebant *liberum* et *libertatem*" (Paul. *Fest.* 108.5-6L): although these may be learned reconstructions (thus Blümel 1972:25), an intermediate stage /oi̯/ is in any case likely to explain */ou̯/ → /ī/ in Latin *līber*, *lībertas*, etc. The development is assumed to have been */ou̯/ → /oi̯/ between /l/ and labial (Pfister 1977:70, Meiser 1998:87),[52] in all probability related to the variation, in Latin, between *u* and *i* in pairs such as *lubet/libet* and *clupeus/clipeus* (cf. §3.6.4).

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[51] Cf. Umbrian *rofu TI* VIIa.3, *rofa TI* VIIa.6 with */rōf-/ ← Proto-Italic */rou̯ð-/, but *rufrer TI* VIa.14 with */rufr-/ ← Proto-Italic */ruðr-/, and the Etruscan onomastic borrowings with *ruvf-* reflecting */rou̯f-/ in Ta 1.216, 6.12, AT 1.4, 12, 49, 107, 108, 111, Vc 6.6, AV 6.2, and with *rufr-* reflecting */rufr-/ AT 1.7, 8, 9, Pe 1.150, OB 3.2 (and *ruvr-* Etr **XIX** = Fa 3.2).

[52] There appear to be no other words that show this development, cf. *glūbo* ← Proto-Italic */glou̯β-/ ← PIE */gleub^h-/ and *lūbricus* ← Proto-Italic */slouβriko-/ ← PIE */sleub^h-/: apparently the development did not take place when the /l/ was preceded by another consonant.

Interestingly, this development of */ou̯/ appears to have been restricted to Latin and Faliscan: Paelignian has *loufir* Pg 11, and Oscan, *lúvfreís* Fr 5, and perhaps Samnitic *l?]úvfríkúnúss* Sa 4, all with /ou̯/.[53] Paelignian *lifar* Pg 9 is unclear (cf. *WOU* s.v.): it has been interpreted as a Latin borrowing 'Liber' (Vetter 1953:149), but more plausible is the interpretation as a Paelignian passive verb equivalent to Latin *libet/lubet* (thus e.g. Jiménez-Zamudio 1986:43).

In view of this difference between Latin and Faliscan on the one hand and the Sabellic languages on the other hand, the spelling *o* in Faliscan *loferta* LF **221**, and possibly also in *lo[---]* MF **155** ? and *lo* MF **165** is surprising. R. Giacomelli's hope (1978:29) that *loferta* could be shown to be earlier than *l]oifirtạ* seems unlikely to be fulfilled, as *loifiṛtato*, *loifirtato*, and *l]oifirtạ* are from tombs at Falerii Veteres and *loferta* from a tomb near Falerii Novi that also yielded several Latino-Faliscan inscriptions. Pisani (1964:337-8, 342) suggested that the two spellings distinguished a noun *loferta* from a woman's name *l]oifirtạ* = *l]oifirta(s)*, gen. *loifiṛtato*, *loifirtato*, but this explains little, as both would still be derived from the same Proto-Italic */lou̯ðero-/. He seems to suggest that *loferta* is in fact a hypercorrect form due to confusion between the (exceptional) /ou̯/ → /oi̯/ and the (normal) development /oi̯/ → /o̯/ → /ū/: unfortunately, there are no Faliscan attestations of the latter development, although it is very likely to have existed (cf. Blümel 1972:19).

3.7.4. The development of /au̯/. The diphthong /au̯/ occurs in Faliscan only in the Italic name *Paula*, the Etruscan name *Aulena* (from the praenomen *Aulus*) and in names whose origin is unclear (see fig. 3.7). The Middle Faliscan co-occurrence of *Aufilus/Aufilius* and *Oufilus/Oufilius* shows that /au̯/ could be confused with /ou̯/, implying that, like /ou̯/, /au̯/ was monophthongized to /o̯/. The only clear instance of the spelling *o* for /au̯/ is Late Faliscan *pola* LF **227**, however: the spelling of this name with *o* is so frequent throughout Central Italy (see Kajava 1987:50-9) that the name *Pola/Polla* may perhaps have led a life of its own, independent from the adjective *paulus/paullus*. (Note also *polae* in Lat **251** beside *claudia* in Lat **393**.)

In Latin, too, /au̯/ was monopthongized to /o̯/, a change associated by both ancient and modern authors with rural or lower-class Latin. The date of this merger is unclear: the earliest instance seems to be *pola* (!) in *CIL* I^2.379 from Pesaro,[54] from the first half of the second century, and there appear to be indications for its presence in Plautus as well (see Pfister 1977:68-9, Meiser 1998:61-2). On the other hand, the Roman upper class still favoured the pronunciation [au̯] well into the first century CE, as the story of Vespasian's *plostrum* (Suet. *Vesp.* 22) shows.

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[53] Umbrian *vufiune TI* Ia.20, *uofione TI* VIb.19 is sometimes also derived from this root, but the derivation is in my view too unclear to count as an example: see *WOU* s.v.

[54] Beside *pola*, the *cippi Pisaurenses* also have *pisaurese CIL* I^2.378 and *lolucina CIL* I^2.371.

Fig.3.7. The spelling of /au̯/, /ou̯/, and /o̯/ in initial syllables.

3.7.5. The developments of /ei̯/, /oi̯/, and /ōi̯/. There are comparatively few data on the developments of /ei̯/, /oi̯/, and /ōi̯/ in Faliscan, as opposed to Latin (cf. Blümel 1972:15-28, Pfister 1977:64-8, Meiser 1998:58-9, 70-3). In Latin, monopthongization of */ei̯/ to /ē/ took place during the third century: the resulting /ē/ was then closed to /ī/ by the middle of the second century (Blümel 1972:15-6, Meiser 1998:58).

In Middle Faliscan, */ei̯/ was monophthongized to /ē/, as is shown by *hec* /hēk/ ← */hei̯-ke/, which is consistently spelled with *e* (for attestations, see fig.3.8). The other instances are from the onomasticon, and depend on the dubious connections between *ueicono* MF **88**, *[u]eculia* MF **81**, and *uecineo* LF **220** etc. (cf. §7.8.1.*162,172-174*, and on the interpretation of forms that may show monophthongization of antevocalic /ai̯/ and /ei̯/ (see §3.7.6). There are no Faliscan texts that show a further closing of /ē/ to /ī/: as in Latin this merger took place around the middle of the second century, even the Late Faliscan texts are simply too early for this.

Fig.3.8. The spelling of /e̯i̯/, /o̯i̯/, /ę̄/, and /ī/ in initial syllables.

The development of /oi̯/ in Faliscan is likewise badly documented. In Latin, /oi̯/ generally merged with /ei̯/ in (closed) internal and final syllables, and subsequently shared the development /ei̯/ → /ę̄/ → /ī/ (Meiser 1998:70, 72). This implies that it had reached the stage /ei̯/ probably somewhere during the first half of the third century (see above). In initial syllables, however, /oi̯/ developed, through an intermediate stage /oę̯/ that was preserved in some words (cf. perhaps the unclear *poe[* MF? **130**?), to /ū/ (for the material, see Blümel 1972:16-28).

The only Faliscan instances of *oi* in initial syllables are secondary: *loifiṛtato* MF **31**, *loifirtato* MF **32**, *l]oifirtą* MF **41** with /oi̯/ ← /ou̯/ (§3.7.3) and *foied* MF **59-60** with /oi̯ē/ (/o.i̯ē/?) ← */o.di̯ē/ (§3.5.5.*1*). I do not adopt M. Mancini's idea (2002:28-33) that *lete* MLF **285** represents /lētę̄/, the monophthongized form of a locative */loi̯tāi̯/. Beside these instances, *oi* and *oe* appear only as archaisms in Latin inscriptions from Falerii Novi and Lucus Feroniae (see fig.3.9).

The other instances are all from case-endings. The second-declension nominative plural ending /-oi̯/ (§4.3.6) is found in monophthongized form /-ē/ in *lete* MLF **285**: this can be compared to *socie CIL* I^2.5 (early third century) from the area of the Lacus Fucinus and *ploirume CIL* I^2.9 (*c.*200) from Rome.

The instances of a non-monophthongized *-oi* are usually interpreted as datives, but sometimes as genitives (§4.4.4). If these forms are datives, as seems likely in the case of *titoi* MF **113**, **116**, **118**, **122**, *[t]i̯toi* MF **119**, *[ti]i̯toi* MF **120**, *[ti]toi* MF **121**, *[t]i̯to[i]* MF **115**, and *tito‹i›* MF **114**, *-oi* represents the long diphthong /-ōi̯/ (§4.3.2). Where these forms can be interpreted as genitives, as seems possible or probable to me in the cases of *cicoi* MF **40**, *titọi* MLF **305,** *zextoi* LF **330**, *caisioi* MF **20**, and *tiroi · colanioi* MF **69-71**, and possibly also ******oi* LF **333** and *eiṃoi* MLF **293**, *-oi* represents either the long diphthong /-ōi̯/ or disyllabic /-o.ī/ or /-ō.ī/, as is explained in §4.4.4. Note that these forms show that, unlike /-oi̯/, the long diphthong /-ōi̯/ (like the long diphthong /-āi̯/ in the first-declension dative, cf. §3.7.6), was not monophtongized.

Of the neighbouring languages, South Picene shows preservation of *-eí* and *-uí* (/-ōi̯/) in endings. Umbrian shows monophthongization of */ei̯/ to /ę̄/ and of */oi̯/ to /ǭ/: in final syllables, however, both */oi̯/ and */ōi̯/ were monophthongized to /ę̄/ (cf. Meiser 1986:122-3, and 66-68 on Proto-Sabellic */ōi̯/). Monophthongization of */oi̯/ in closed final syllables can also be observed in Volscian (*uesclis* VM 1) and in Marsian (*i]ouies · puclę[s]* VM 4). All these monophthongizations took place before the time of the first inscriptions. For Etruscan *ei* and *ui*, see Steinbauer 1998:35-7.

3.7.6. The developments of /ai̯/ and /āi̯/. The Italic diphthong /ai̯/ developed during the Proto-Italic period from inherited */h$_2$ei̯/ (§3.2.3); under specific, morphologically conditioned circumstances, the long diphthong /-āi̯/ developed from */-eh$_2$i̯/ (cf. §4.2.3.). Proto-Latin and Proto-Sabellic therefore inherited both */ai̯/ and */-āi̯/. The diphthong /ai̯/ also occurs in the onomasticon, where it can of course be of non-Italic (e.g., Etruscan or Greek) origin. In the Faliscan inscriptions, as in Latin, there are clear signs of monophthongization of /ai̯/ in initial syllables. As in the treatment of /ei̯/ and /oi̯/, I shall follow the relevant developments in Latin first, since these are better documented than the ones in Faliscan. (An overview of the relevant material may be found in Blümel 1972:9-13).

In initial syllables (which is virtually the only position where the diphthong is attested for Faliscan), Latin originally shows a spelling *ai*, with a new spelling *ae* appearing from the early second century onwards, first in *aedem CIL* I^2.581,1 (186), and, from the first half of the second century onwards, a new spelling *e*, in *cedito* and *cedre CIL* I^2.366 from Spoleto, *cesula CIL* I^2.376 from Pesaro, *grecia CIL* I^2.350 from Praeneste, *pretod CIL* I^2.365=LF/Lat **214** from Falerii Novi, and *fedra CIL* I^2.1413 from Rome.

The problem lies in what phonemic or phonetic reality these various spellings represent. According to the usual interpretation (Pfister 1977:62-3, Meiser 1998:58, 61-2), *ai* represents the diphthong /ai̯/, *ae*, a more open diphthong /ae̯/, and *e*, a monophthong /ę̄/. This monophthong is often regarded as dialectal and/or due to substratum influence, and not part of Roman Latin or upper-class Roman Latin, since Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.7.18), Terentianus Scaurus (*CGL* 7.16.5-6), and Marius Victorinus (*CGL* 6.32.4) apparently describe the sound as (still?) a diphthong.

Blümel (1972:9-15) argued at some length that already *ae* represents the monophthong /ę̄/. There seems to be no compelling evidence for this, however: also, in a development /ai̯/ → /ę̄/, an intermediate stage is thoroughly plausible, and it seems likely that the *ae* represents this stage at least in the earlier instances. On the other hand, the monophthongization to /ę̄/ may have taken place quite early, depending also on the interpretation of the datives in *-a* as representing /-ę̄/ (see below), of the cases where the form with *e* became the standard form (cf. Pfister 1977:62, Meiser 1998:62), and of the rendering of Latin words in Greek and Greek words in Latin (cf. Blümel 1972:11-2).[55] The testimony of the ancient authors on the persistence of /ae̯/ cannot be decisive, except for what they regarded as standard Latin, and even then they may be describing a wished-for state based on the *status quo* of the second or first century BCE rather than the actual situation.

In Faliscan, there are likewise three ways of spelling this diphthong, namely *ai*, *ei* and *e* (for the instances, see fig.3.9.). The spelling *ai* clearly represents the diphthong /ai̯/, but already during the Middle Faliscan period the predominant spellings are *ei* and *e*, so that already in Middle Faliscan *ai* must have become a 'historical' spelling: there are in fact no instances of *ai* from inscriptions that are with certainty Late Faliscan. The Middle Faliscan spelling *ei* may represent a different diphthong, and the spelling *e*, a monophthong: this means that already during the Middle Faliscan period *ei* must *also* have become a 'historical spelling': it is in fact the spelling that is least used. As in the case of Latin, it is not clear *which* diphthong and *which* monophthong are represented by *ei* and *e*. In my view, there are two possibilities:

[55] It is remarkable how soon the introductions of *ae* and of *e* follow each other: this either points to a quick development of /ae̯/ → /ę̄/, or to the introduction of the monophthongized vowel from other languages or dialect, or, in case *ae* already represents /ę̄/, of the spelling *e* from other orthographical traditions.

Fig.3.9. The spelling of /a̯j/ and its reflexes in initial syllables.

(1) The spelling *ei* represents essentially the same sound as Latin *ae*. Faliscan would then have indicated the changed quality of the diphthong by changing the *first* letter of the digram (*ai* → *ei*), and Latin, by changing the *second* (*ai* → *ae*): alternatively, the Latin diphthong may be thought of as /ae̯/ and the Faliscan diphthong, as /ę̯i̯/. The Faliscan spelling may have been influenced by the spelling of Etruscan, where *ai* was replaced by *ei* during the fourth century (Steinbauer 1999:34-5), but the use of *ei* to denote the reflex of /ai̯/ is also found in Latin *ceisia CIL* I^2.559 from Praeneste and *queistores* (beside *uicturie*) *CIL* I^2.388 from Trasacco. If the Faliscan diphthong represented by *ei* was (approximately) the same as the one in Latin, the monophthong represented by *e* may well have been /ę̄/.

(2) The spelling *ei* represents a more closed diphthong than Latin *ae*. Since the spelling *ei* is also used for the diphthong /ei̯/ and *e* for its monophthongized reflex /ę̄/, it is possible on the basis of the spelling alone that /ai̯/ in fact merged with /ei̯/ and, like it, was monophthongized to /ę̄/.[56] This seems to be the interpretation of Blümel (1972:13, 34-5), who represents the Latin monophthong as /ę̄/ and the Faliscan and Praenestine monophthong as /ē/, and perhaps also of R. Giacomelli (1978:25).[57]

Which of these two interpretations is the correct one cannot be established: there is no way to show whether the *ei* and *e* that represented the reflex of /ai̯/ were phonemically or phonetically different from the *ei* and *e* that represented the reflex of /ei̯/. Since for the purpose of this study I assume that Faliscan is a Latin dialect, I chose the first interpretation, being unwilling to assume different developments for the various Latin dialects unless there are positive arguments for doing so. Whether it represents /ę̄/ or /ę̄/, the spelling *e* for the reflex of /ai̯/ is already the predominant one during the Middle Faliscan period, indicating that the process of monophthongization was concluded by the middle of the third century. This is substantially earlier than Latin, where the first clear attestations of monophthongization are from the second century, and then from areas where substratum influence can be assumed.

In antevocalic position, the spelling *ai* occurs both in initial syllables, as in *kaios* EF **4**, *aiedies* Cap **390** (and perhaps *aieą* MF **110**, if to be read thus), and in medial syllables, as in *uoltaia* MF **196**, *latinaio* MF **210**, *ąciuaiom* Cap **465** and perhaps also *clipeaio* MF **470*** and *frenaios* MF **471*** (if these are not errors for *clipea‹r›io* and *frena‹r›ios*, or due to palatalization of /ri̯/, §3.5.5.). On the other hand, there appear to be several cases of gentilicia ending in the nominative in *-ieo/-iea* or, in the genitive, in *-ei*, which points to a name ending in *-aeus/-aea* or *-eius/-eia*:

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[56] This is in fact the Latin development of /ai̯/ in closed medial and final syllables, where /ai̯/ merged with /ę̄/, and thence with /ī/ by the middle of the second century.

[57] R. Giacomelli does not clearly differentiate between graphemes and phonemes at this point, which rather obscures his arguments.

- *aieạ* MF **110** (if to be read thus, which is very doubtful), can represent *Aieia* or possibly *Aiaea* (§7.8.1.*9*);
- *loriea* MLF **314** (beside *loụṛia* in MF **41**) is clearly either *Luriaea* or *Lurieia* (§7.8.1.*91*);
- *letei* MF **470*** can be derived from Etruscan *leθaie* Etr **XLVIII** and represent the genitive of an unattested *Letaeus*, or from Etruscan *Leθe* as the genitive of a likewise unattested *Leteius* (§7.8.1.*85*);
- *catinei* MF **469*** is the genitive, either of *Catineius*, which occurs in Latin, or of an unattested **Catinaeus* (cf. §7.8.1.*37*);
- *tertinei* MLF **471*** and *tertineo* LF **213** are forms of either **Tertineius* or **Tertinaeus* (Latin only has *Tertinius*, cf. §7.8.1.*151*);
- *uelcei* LF **332** is probably a form of *Velceius*, but could conceivably be a form of *Velcaeus* (§7.7.1.*81*).
- *uelmineo* MLF **305**, **307**, **309**, **310**, **312**, **315** and *uelmiṇẹo* MLF **308**: although consistently spelled with *-e-*, it is assumed that the name represents an unattested *Velminaeus*, due to possibility of reading *v]ẹḷṃẹṇaie* in Ve 3.19.

These forms are discussed by G. Giacomelli (1962:363), and point to a monophthongization of antevocalic /aḭV/ → /-ę̣V/ and /ę̣V/. I do not adopt this interpretation in the cases of *(1) uecineo* LF **220**, **224**, **225**, *uecinea* LF **223**, *uecin[e]a* LF **221**, which is consistently spelled with *-e-* and can be compared to Latin *Vicinius*; *(2) zertenea* LF **221**, spelled with *-e-* but comparable with the Latin *Sertinius*; *(3)* the patronymic adjectives derived from *Iuna* and *Volta*, which are *ịuneo* MF **151**, *iuneo* LF **220**, perhaps also *iu?]nẹo* MF **141**, and *uolteo* MF **275**, *uolθeo* MF **276**, since I read *uoltio* in LF **224**, and when the patronymic adjectives of *Iuna* and *Volta* are used as a praenomen or a gentilicium, they are always spelled with *i* (cf. §7.5.2).

In final syllables, *-ai* only occurs in endings. The Early Faliscan inscription have attestations both of the short diphthong /-aḭ/, in the first-declension nominative plural *sociai* EF **4** (§4.2.6) and in the first singular perfect ending *pe:para[i* EF **1** (§5.3.1.*12*) and of the long diphthong /-āḭ/ in the first-declension dative singular *soç[iai] ... karai* EF **1** (§4.2.3). For the Early Faliscan period, monophthongization is not expected.

In Middle and Late Faliscan, *-ai* occurs only in forms that can represent either the first-declension dative ending /-āḭ/ or the genitive ending /-āī/ → /-āḭ/: the latter interpretation is not adopted by everyone (see §4.2.3). Probably genitives are *uoltai* MF **367-370**, *iunai* LF **112**, *iunai* MLF/Cap **475***, and *sceiuai* LF **379**; probably datives are *citiai* MF **270**, *zaconiai* MF 154, *popliai* MLF **308**, and possibly *[.....]naị[* MF **17** and *[---?]uoxie[.]eai* MLF **310**; either genitives or datives are *uoltiai* MF **165** and *[---]ạltai* MF **109**. None of these forms are ever monophthongized: note especially *sceiuai* MLF **379**, where the initial syllable has *-ei-* but the final syllable has *-ai*.

There are two instances of *-e* that have been explained as monopthongized endings Colonna's (1972:446-7) interpretation of *[---]ronio : uol[t---]---]a*ome* MF **156** as a sepulchral inscription of the type 'X [made this grave] for Y' (§8.10.2), and M. Mancini's (2002:28-33) interpretation of *lete* MLF **285** as a locative /lētę̄/ ← */loi̯tāi̯/. This is very doubtful on several grounds: note that the interpretation requires a productive locative for Faliscan (§8.2.1). To these two instances can be added *eco tulie* MLF **383** if *tulie* is a genitive /tullię̄/: it is, however, rather an Etruscoid nominative in *-e(s)*, for which cf. §9.2.2.2*c*.

Another group of instances, however, are the datives in *-a* in the Latin inscriptions from Lucus Feroniae, *fe]ronea* in Cap **431** and *feronea* Cap **433** (both before 211), and in *menerua · sacru* LF/Lat **214** (probably mid-second century). Such datives in *-a* appear to have spread from Latium and the Latin-speaking colonies, and are found in Southern Etruria from the fourth and third century onwards: the first instances in Etruria are *mursina CIL* I^2.580 from Cortona (?), and *menerua CIL* I^2.2909 from Veii. (Interestingly, the datives in *-a* from the agri Faliscus and Capenas are occur in Latin inscriptions.) Wachter (1987:483-4) suggests that in these forms *-a* represents /-ę̄/: in other words, the monophthong reflex of the sound spelled *-ae* could be spelled both as *-e* and as *-a*. In that case, the spread of the dative in *-a* would be no more than the introduction of an alternative way of spelling /-ę̄/, which in my view is a more attractive solution than the morphophonological explanations that have until now been proposed for these forms (for which see Villar 1986).

With regard to the surrounding languages, the Faliscan monopthongization of /ai̯/ was therefore slightly earlier than the Latin one, but more or less contemporary with the Etruscan one, where the spelling *ai* was replaced by *ei* during the fourth century (Rix 1984:205-6, Steinbauer 1999:34-5). As for the Sabellic languages, Umbrian, Volscian and Marsian show complete monophthongization of /ai̯/ (and /āi̯/) by the time of the oldest inscriptions, and it cannot be established at what time it occurred.

3.7.7. A diphthong /ŭi̯/? As said in the discussion on the forms *(titoi) mercui* (§14.1.3, §4.6.2), there is a reasonable possibility that a dative in *-ui* occurs in *titoi* | *mercui* MF **113**, *[t]ito[i]* | *mercu[i]* MF **115**, *titoi* | *mercu[i]* MF **116**, *tito* | *mercui* MF **114**, *titoi : mercu[i]* MF **118**, *[t]itoi : mercu[i]* MF **119**, *[ti]toi : mercu[i]* MF **120**, *[ti]toi : mercui* MF **121**, *titoi : m[e]rcui* MF **122**, *[m]ercui* MF **124**, and *mercui* MF **125** (the same ending is restored in MF **117** and **123**). Although a diphthong /ui̯/ or /ūi̯/ is admittedly alien to the Italic languages, it is hard to imagine that in this form, and probably also in its Oscan parallel *mirikui* Cm 12 (which, as it predates the introduction of *ú* and *í*, may be an o-stem dative in /-ōi̯/), *-ui* represents anything other than /-ui̯/ or /-ūi̯/, perhaps an analogical creation after the first-declension dative /-āi̯/ and the second-declension dative /-ōi̯/. Note that *-ui* cannot represent /-uī/ ← /-uę̄/ ← */-ueį̯/, as in Faliscan /ę̄/ had not merged with /ī/ (§3.7.5).

3.8. Summary of §§3.2-7

As was said at the beginning of this chapter, the phonological material in general allows to take a more structural look at the position of Faliscan, especially from a diachronic perspective (§1.2). If we working as strictly as possible from a theoretical development *Proto-Italic* > *Proto-Latin* > ..., the developments observable in Faliscan can be placed within this framework.

As was to be expected, Faliscan shows no reflexes of any individual developments at the Proto-Italic stage: from a theoretical perspective, this would have been mutually exclusive with the position of Faliscan as an Italic language. I point especially to the Proto-Italic merger of */eu̯/ with */ou̯/, where it has been suggested that Faliscan shows signs of the preservation of */eu̯/ (§3.2.1): in my view, there is no evidence for this, and certainly not from Faliscan.

At the post-Proto-Italic stage, however, we find the first, and probably earliest, development where Faliscan develops differently, namely the Proto-Latin development of the word-internal reflexes of the original voiced aspirates, (§3.3.3). (Note that if Faliscan is regarded as a Latin dialect *and* shows a different development from the other Latin dialects, this development can of course no longer be called 'Proto-Latin'.) However much I would see that things were otherwise, it cannot with reason be maintained that Faliscan in this respect resembles other Latin dialects where the development was the same as in Faliscan: there simply is no evidence for such dialects within Latin. The development in Faliscan appears to be similar to that in the Sabellic languages, and all the material from within Latin that reflects a similar development can without problems be ascribed to interference from a Sabellic language, presumably Sabine.

For Faliscan, this must imply a period of independent development, which can unfortunately not be dated either to a recent or to an early period. It should be noted, however, that the Faliscan development is completely in line with the general trend of the development of the voiced aspirates in the Italic languages, namely a development resulting in spirants both word-initially and word-internally, while it is the Latin development that is in fact the unique one, resulting in occlusives word-internally. This could potentially be taken as indicating that the traditional position, namely that this was a local Roman development that spread through the rest of the Latin-speaking area, is in fact correct, even though evidence is lacking.

This development is even stranger in view of the fact that Faliscan shows no other independent developments during the post-Proto-Italic period: in fact, all other Proto-Latin developments that can be traced in the Faliscan material show that Faliscan sided with Latin wherever there was a difference between the Proto-Latin and the Proto-Sabellic developments, such as e.g. the preservation of the labiovelars (§3.4) or the development of /er/ between dentals (§3.3.4.2). This remained so during the later periods, as is shown e.g. by the development of /ou̯/ between labials (§3.7.3), and by fairly re-

cent developments such as rhotacism (§3.5.3), which in my view *is* attested for Faliscan, and the development /#fV/ → /#hV/, which probably operated in other Latin dialects as well (§3.5.2).

Faliscan is slightly earlier than most other Latin dialects, and certainly earlier than that of Rome, in the monophthongization of the diphthongs (§3.7), but the general tendency of these monophthongizations is the same as in Latin, and where the final result is different, this is because in Latin the monophthongization process reached its final stages only during the second century, when Faliscan texts were no longer produced. A similar picture can be drawn in the case of the second-declension nominative singular ending *-os*, both with regard to the omission of word-final *-s*, where Faliscan is so consistent in its omission that I have ventured to suggest that this might have been an orthographical rule (§3.5.7*d*), and with regard to the weakening of the vowel (§3.6.6.*1*), where our view of the situation is obscured by the fact that the second-century material from the area is Latin rather than Faliscan.

All in all, the only phonological feature that separates Faliscan from Latin are, as I said, the word-internal reflexes of the voiced aspirates, a feature that points to a significantly different development that was perhaps of reasonably early date. Yet this is the *only* phonological feature that separates Faliscan from Latin, while every other phonological development is either in agreement with the Latin development or is of very recent date. I shall return to this point in §10.1.2.

Chapter 4

The nominal and pronominal inflections

The study of Faliscan declensional morphology provides a number of interesting cases where Faliscan can be compared with both Latin and the Sabellic languages. Apart from this, the Faliscan data have played an important role in the discussions on the history of the second-declension genitive singular. After a short preliminary remark (§4.1), this chapter deals with the attested case endings of the first declension (§4.2), the second declension (§4.3), the second-declension genitive singular (§4.4), the third declension (§4.4), the fourth declension (§4.5), and the fifth declension (§4.6) respectively. The second part of the chapter is devoted to the personal pronouns (§4.7), the demonstrative pronoun (§4.8), and the relative pronoun (§4.9). The chapter concludes with a short evaluation of the position of Faliscan from a morphological perspective (§4.10).

4.1. The nominal and pronominal inflections: methodological issues

Studies on specific cases or endings apart, Faliscan nominal morphology has been treated comprehensively by Deecke (1888:262-6), Stolte (1926:48-58), and G. Giacomelli (1963:131-50). The studies on specific endings mostly concentrate on the history of the ending of the second-declension genitive singular (see §4.4), for in this case especially, the relative antiquity of the Faliscan material comes into its own.

As in the case of phonological data (§3.1.1), only the inscriptions classed as Faliscan have been used as a source for the primary data. The Latino-Faliscan, Capenate, and Latin inscriptions have only been used to provide additional material.

It may be asked to what extent names of Etruscan origin were adapted to the Italic paradigms of Faliscan, as they were in Latin. Where this can be ascertained, it appears that Etruscan names in *-a* were declined according to the Faliscan first declension, that Etruscan names like *Larθ* and *Arnθ* were declined according to the consonant-stems, and that Etruscan toponymic gentilicia formed with the suffix *-te/-ti* were declined according to the i-stems. These forms have therefore not been treated separately. An exceptional case are the 'Etruscoid' forms in *-(i)es*: these are discussed in §9.2.2.2*d*.

The main problem in the description of the Faliscan nominal declension is that a number of forms can be interpreted in several ways, especially those without context. The most notable examples of this are the first-declension forms in *-ai* and the second-declension forms in *-oi*, which can be interpreted both as genitives and as datives. The interpretation depends on syntactic and typological comparison with similar texts in the Italic languages and in Etruscan. This is discussed in §8.2.3-4 and §8.8.1.

4.2. The first nominal declension

4.2.1. The first-declension nominative singular. The clearest attestations of the nominative are those where it occurs as the subject of a verb phrase. The instances of the feminine nominative subjects are

eqo ụrnel[a ti?]tela fitaidupes : arcentelom hutị[c?]ilom : pe:para[i? EF **1**
[ma]rco : pleina : marcio : man[o]mo : cauiacue | *[u]eculia : uoltilia : uentarc[i ..... : hec : cupa]nt* MF **80**
*uol[ta :]**[---]* | *iataçue : l[---]* | *hec : cupạt* MF **158**
[po]plia[: ---| *hec] : cup[a]* MF **161**
uipia : zertenea : loferta | *marci : acarcelini* | *mate : he : cupat* LF **221**
marcio : acarcelinio | *cauia : uecinea* | *hęç cupat* LF **223**

In these and in all other instances, which are too numerous to enumerate here (for attestations see §7.4.1 with fig.7.2), the ending is *-a*. Faliscan therefore, like Latin, preserved the unrounded vowel /-a/ or /-ā/ (see below), whereas in the Sabellic languages the vowel was rounded to /-ō/ (Umbrian *-a*, *-u*, *-o*, Oscan *-u*, *-ú*, *-o*, *-o*) before the fifth century (Meiser 1986:44). The instances of a nominative with a rounded vowel in Faliscan, *caui : tertinei :* || *posticnu* MLF/Cap **474***, and perhaps *sta sediu* Cap **466**, may be due to interference from a Sabellic language: see §9.3.2.

The masculine first-declension stem nominative subjects are

mama z[e]xtos med f[if]iqod EF **1**
[ma]rco : pleina : marcio : man[o]mo : cauiacue | *[u]eculia : uoltilia : uentarc[i ..... : hec : cupa]nt* MF **80**

The other instances are *uolta* MF **15**, *[u]olṭa* MF **149**, *iuna* MF **39**, **48**, **96**, *i[un]a* MF **148**, *[---]a* MF **53**, *olna* MF **82**, *eina* MF **87**, *[4-5]ạ* and *hac****a* MF **89**, *hermana* MF/Etr **264**, *tetena* MF **266**, *macena* MF **269**, *mar*||*cna* MF **270**, *nomes*|*ina* MF **272**; *[.]osena* MLF **206**, *hescuna* MLF **346**, *[iu]na* MLF **363**, *uicina* MF **371-372**; *iuna* LF **307**, and, in isolation, *iuna* MF **73**, **198**, MLF **297**, **298**, *pleina* MF/Etr **199**.

In all these cases the ending is *-a*, and Faliscan therefore had asigmatic first-declension masculine nominatives, as did the other Italic languages:[60] note that Greek names in *-ας* and *-ης* were given a nominative in *-a* both in Latin (e.g. *Anchisa* Naev. *Poen.* 25.1S, *Aeacida* Enn. *Ann.* 273V; see *LHS* p.454) and in Oscan (*arkiia* Po 65, *santia* Cm 40, but *arímmas* Po 52).

[60] The exceptions are Latin Graecisms like *cottas CIL* I^2.2877 from Sicily, *hosticapas* Paul. *Fest.* 91.15L and *paricidas* Paul. *Fest.* 247.24L, and Oscan praenomina like *maras* Cm 14, *markas* Po 66 (from autopsy: *margas ST*), and *tanas* Sa 27 (originally indigenous second-declension names with *-as* /-as/ ← /-os/, as in Messapic?).

Although the quantity of the first-declension nominative *-a* in Faliscan cannot be established (cf. §3.6.1), it is worthwile to devote a few words to the problem, as I shall have to return to it later (§4.4.11). The ending of the first-declension nominative singular (and of the neuter plural nominative-accusative, which was originally identical with it), is usually reconstructed as PIE */-eh₂/ → Proto-Italic */-ah₂/ → */-ā/. In Latin, however, the ending is /-a/ already at the earliest time the quantity of the vowel can be ascertained, namely the mid-third century, when the first quantitative verse appears.[61] It is therefore assumed that in Latin */-ā/ was shortened before the third century, and, as this shortening cannot be described as a regular phonological process, various analogical models have been proposed for it, but none of these is really convincing: for a discussion, see Beekes 1985:21-5. In the Sabellic languages, on the other hand, the vowel of the nominative ending was rounded, while the short vowel of the vocative, /-a/ ← Proto-Italic */-a/ ← PIE */-h₂/, remained unrounded at least in Umbrian: the attestations of the vocative, all from the texts in the Latin alphabet, are always spelled *-a*, while in the Latin alphabet the nominative is always spelled *-o*. This implies that there was a quantitative difference between the Sabellic vocative and nominative endings at least at the time the vowel was rounded.

Lejeune (1949) suggested that in Oscan and Umbrian, the vowel of the nominative ending it was shortened after it was rounded, as it was also in Latin, and that in all three languages, this was due to a tendency to shorten the most open long vowel in word-final position.[62] If this were correct, there would seem to be no reason why this shortening should not have taken place also in Faliscan, but as things stand, it is doubtful whether Lejeune's theory can be accepted.

A radically different solution has been proposed by Beekes (1985:20-37). According to him the PIE ending was not */-eh₂/, but */-h₂/, which would be reflected by (among others) Latin /-a/. In some languages, among which Oscan and Umbrian, */-h₂/ would then have been replaced by */-eh₂/ or */-ah₂/ after the accusative */-eh₂m/ → */-ah₂m/. However, the assumption that Latin and the Sabellic languages had different morphophonological developments already *before* the Proto-Italic disappearance of the laryngeals is inadmissible (cf. §3.1.2). It is more likely that the remodelling of the nominative took place later, and that the PIE nominative */-h₂/ developed regularly to Proto-Italic */-a/. This is also implied by the fact that several of the inflectional types of the stems in */-iH/ (e.g. the *devī*-type stems in */-ih₂/) had a Proto-Italic nominative in */-ī/ that could only have developed from */-iH/ (see

[61] *Et densis aquilā pennis obnixa uolabat* Enn. *Ann.* 147V is a lengthening *metri causa* (Skutsch 1985:58), not a reminiscence of the older /-ā/, as Steuart (1925:131) suggested.

[62] Cf. the Oscan neuter accusative plural *σεγονω αιζνιω ... ‹ω›πσανω ... σταβαλανο* Lu 5. Lejeune later (1970:300) suggested that the shortening *preceded* the rounding, but this would leave the difference between the Umbrian nominative and vocative unexplained.

Schrijver 1991:363-90). It would then be possible to envisage a Proto-Italic remodelling of */-ī/ to */-ia -i̯a/ after the rest of the paradigm (and possibly after the second declension with */-ios -i̯os/), resulting in a Proto-Italic */-ia -i̯a/ that was preserved in Latin but remodelled in Proto-Sabellic to */-iā -i̯ā/ after the /ā/ in the endings of the oblique cases.

4.2.2. The first-declension genitive singular. The first-declension genitive singular ending provides one of the presumed morphological differences between Faliscan and Latin.

The *communis opinio* on the development of the ending of this case in the Italic languages is that the Proto-Italic ending was */-ās/, which either reflected the PIE proterodynamic ending */-eh₂s/ (or */-eh₂es/) or was a replacement of PIE hysterodynamic ending */-h₂os/. This /-ās/ was preserved in the Sabellic languages (South Picene *ítas : estas : amgelnas* AP.3, *safl̥nas : útas* TE.5, *safina[s* TE.7, *ḥ[1-2]lpas* CH.1, *selah* AQ.3?, *fitias* RI.1, Umbrian *-as* → *-ar*, Oscan *-as*, *-aς*). In Latin, /-ās/, epigraphically attested in late-seventh- or mid-sixth-century *eco urna tita uendias* Lat **479**†, and in fourth- or third-century *manias CIL* I^2.2917b and *pias CIL* I^2 *sub* 479,[63] was replaced by an /-āī/ created after the second-declension ending /-ī/, probably first in the masculine forms. The first attestations of *-ai* are from the early third-century *pocula deorum* (*aecetiai CIL* I^2.439, *belolai CIL* I^2.441, *fortunai CIL* I^2.443, *lauernai CIL* I^2.446, *meneruai CIL* I^2.447, *uestai CIL* I^2.452). In literary Latin, Andronicus and Naevius still have *-as*: Andronicus' *topper citi ad aedes uenimus Circae* 27L is a modernization by a copyist, either of an original *Circai* or of an original *Circas*. In Ennius (who only once has *-as* in *dux ipse uias Ann.* 41V) and Plautus, the normal genitive is /-ai̯/ or /-āi̯/ (cf. Blümel 1972:39, Pfister 1977:118-9), /-āī/ being employed for metrical convenience at or near the line-end (Skutsch 1975). After this time the genitive in *-as* is found only in formulas like *pater familias* (first Cato *Agr.* 2.1).

This model has been challenged by Schrijver (1991:360-3), who raises the traditional objections *(1)* that it is hard to credit the relatively small number of masculine forms with being the origin of /-āī/, and *(2)* that /-āī/ is not the expected result if the model were /-ī/. He proposes that during the Italo-Celtic period the PIE hysterodynamic genitive ending */-h₂os/ was replaced by the new second-declension genitive */-iH/. In Latin, the resulting */-ī/ was then remodelled to /-āī/ after the /ā/ of the other endings, and this form was eventually generalized in favour of /-ās/, the reflex of the PIE proterodynamic genitive */-eh₂s/. In the Sabellic languages, on the other hand, the ending of the proterodynamic flexion was retained and the reflex of the hysterodynamic ending discarded. I find it very hard to accept this, not in the least because in the earliest Latin and Faliscan epigraphic material we find only *-as*, the forms in *-ai* appearing only

[63] The forms in *-as* in *deuas* | *corniscas* | *sacrum CIL* I^2.975 and *anabestas CIL* I^2.969 may be plural datives with *-as* representing /-ę̄s/ or /-ę̣s/: cf. §4.2.3.

from the early third century onwards.[64] Schrijver in fact completely disregards the epigraphic evidence, stating that "the normal Gsg. of the Latin ā-stems from the earliest documents onwards is -āī (> *-ae*)" (1991:360). Neither do I find the assumption of a centuries-long coexistence of two apparently productive morphemes /-ās/ and /-ī/ for the same category attractive. I therefore maintain the *communis opinio* as set out above.

The situation in Faliscan is less clear than in Latin. Faliscan certainly had a genitive in *-as*, which appears in

titias duenom duenas EF **3**
titias MF **201**
pupiias MLF **304**

Whether Faliscan, like the Sabellic languages, preserved the genitive in *-as* (thus e.g. G. Giacomelli 1963:139-40, 1978:517), or, like Latin, shifted to a genitive in *-ai*, is unclear. The evidence for a Faliscan genitive in *-ai* is inconclusive and consists of:

(a) Contextless forms in *-ai* in the pottery inscriptions:

iunai MF **74**, **107**, Cap **475***
uoltai MLF **367-370**
sceiuai LF **379**

These could be *Besitzerinschriften* consisting of genitives in *-ai*. They can also be interpreted, however, as *Geschenkinschriften* consisting of the name of the recipient in the dative, as is shown by *vultasi* Etr **XLII** and perhaps by the second-declension forms in *-oi*, which are generally interpreted as datives: see §8.2.3-4 and §8.8.1.

(b) Forms in *-ai* with a context, of which the following can be interpreted as genitives:

*[---]*i : u[o]ltiai lo* MF **165**
*tito : uelḷmineo : iunlaị ị*ice* MLF **315**.

The former could be translated as '..., a freedman/freedwoman of ... Voltia' and the latter as 'Titus Velminaeus ..., son of Iuna' (rather than 'Titus Velminaeus [made this grave?] for Iuna'). Possibly also genitives, but perhaps rather datives, are the forms in *-ai* ('X [made this grave] for Y') are *larise : marḷlcna : citiai* MF **270** and *cauio uelminẹo* | *popliai file* MLF **308**: see §8.10.2. Unclear are *[---]: zaconiai* MF **154** and *cuicto uelmineo* | *[---]uoxie[.]eai* MLF **310**.

(c) Eco tulie LF **383**, where *tulie* could be a genitive with a monophthongized ending, /tulliḛ/, but could also be a Etruscoid nominative *tulie(s)* (see §9.2.2.2*d*). I tend towards the latter interpretation, as there is no other instance of a monophthongized ending in either the genitive or the dative of the first declension (§3.7.6).

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[64] The same is true for the second declension, which in this theory would have had a genitive in */-iH/ → /-ī/ from the Italo-Celtic stage onwards: the early Latin and Faliscan epigraphic material shows only *-osio*, while the genitive in *-i* does not appear before the late fourth century.

(d) Some of the Faliscan forms in *-oi* that can be interpreted as genitives: the easiest explanation of these forms is that they are modelled on genitives in *-ai*: see §4.4.4.

This material is so ambiguous that whether or not Faliscan is assumed to have had a genitive in *-ai* is based mainly on *a priori* arguments. However, the reluctance of authors to accept a Faliscan genitive in *-ai* is probably partly due to the fact that this ending is supposed to be modelled on the second-declension genitive singular ending *-i* /-ī/, which was long thought to be non-existent in Faliscan (§4.4.1). I myself am inclined to assume the existence of a Middle and Late Faliscan first-declension genitive in *-ai*, regarding the instances under *(a)* and at least the first two instances under *(b)* as attestations, with those referred to under *(d)* as supporting this assumption.

A few remarks with regard to the Faliscan genitive in *-ai*. *(1)* It seems likely that a Faliscan genitive in *-ai* is to be ascribed to the same shift as in Latin, taking place simultaneously also in the ager Faliscus and Capenas: there seems to be no reason to assume that it reached the area due to influence from Latin, as e.g. Devine (1970:20-1) assumed. *(2)* Devine's (1970:20) suggestion that the Faliscan genitive in *-ai* is attested only from masculine forms and might not yet have penetrated the feminine forms, is now contradicted by *sceiuai* LF **379**. *(3)* It cannot be ascertained whether, in the Faliscan genitives in *-ai*, this *-ai* represents /-āī/, or whether at some point this became a diphthong /-āi̯/ or /-ai̯/ as in Latin. If *tulie* in LF **383** is a monophthongized genitive (which I doubt), this would imply the latter.

4.2.3. The first-declension dative singular. The only incontrovertible attestation of the dative comes from Early Faliscan, in

praụ[i]os urnam : soç[iai] ṛorded karai EF **1**

Most of the forms in *-ai* from the later periods appear in such a context that they can also be interpreted as genitives (see §4.2.2 and §8.8.1). Of these forms, those that can perhaps most plausibly be interpreted as datives are the sepulchral inscriptions of the type 'X [made this grave] for Y' (cf. §8.10.2):

larise : mar||*cna : citiai* MF **270**
cauio uelminẹo | *popliai file* LF **308**

Perhaps datives too, but unclear, are *· iii · l[.....]*|*[.....]naị[?---]* MF **17** ('the third bed (?) ... for ...na') and *[---]ạltai :* MF **109** (a dedication?). Unclear, too, are *[---]: zaconiai* MF **154** and *cuicto uelmineo* | *[---]uoxie[.]eai* LF **310**. Of the remaining forms in *-ai*, I interpret the contextless forms in *-ai* in *Besitzerinschriften*, *iunai* MF **74**, **107**, Cap **475***, *uoltai* MLF **367-370**, and *sceiuai* LF **379**, as genitives rather than as datives. A dative interpretation is possible, however, in view of *vultasi* Etr **XLII** and perhaps also of the second-declension forms *caisioi* MF **20** and *tiroi · colanioi* MF **66-68**: see §8.8.1. I likewise regard the forms in *-ai* in *[---]*i u[o]ltiai lo* MF **165** and *tito : uel*||*mineo : iun*|*laị ị*ice* MLF **315** as genitives rather than as datives.

Although ambiguous, the material shows that Faliscan in all probability had a dative in *-ai* reflecting Proto-Italic */-āi̯/, whether the reflex of the PIE proterodynamic ending */-eh₂ei̯/ or a remodelling of the reflex of the PIE hysterodynamic ending */-h₂ei̯/. The same ending is found in Latin (*-ai*, later *-ae*) and in the Sabellic languages (Umbrian *-e* /-ę̄/ ← */-āi/, Oscan *-aí*, -ai). In both branches the long diphthong of the Proto-Italic ending may have been shortened: in Latin before *c.*250 (Blümel 1972:38-9), perhaps even at a prehistoric date (Villar 1987a:49, 1987b); for the shortening in the Sabellic languages, see Meiser 1986:66-8.

Monophthongization of the dative ending is regular in Umbrian and Volscian, and is found sporadically also in Latin inscriptions, often from areas where substratum influence can be assumed (e.g. *uictorie CIL* I^2.388 from the Lacus Fucinus, *supunne CIL* I^2.2111 from Foligno, *uictorie CIL* I^2.2631 from Veii). Although in Middle Faliscan /ă̆i̯/ was monophthongized word-internally, there are no certain instances of monophthongization in the dative ending (§3.7.7): I therefore find it hard to adopt Colonna's (1972c:446-7) interpretation of MF **156** as *[---]ronio : uol[t---l--- m]axome* as '...ronius son of Volt..., for ... Maxuma'.

Another group of instances, however, is constituted by the datives in *-a* in *menerua · sacru* LF/Lat **214** and in the Latin inscriptions from Lucus Feroniae, *fe]ronea* Cap **431**, and *feronea* Cap **433**. These datives in *-a* seem to have spread from Latium and the Latin-speaking colonies, and are found in Southern Etruria from the fourth and third century onwards: *mursina CIL* I^2.580 from Cortona (?), and *menerua CIL* I^2.2909 from Veii (the instances from Lucus Feroniae, too, are from the third century). Wachter (1987:483-4) suggests that in these forms *-a* represents /-ę̄/. In that case the spread of the dative in *-a* would be no more than the introduction of an alternative way of spelling /ę̄/ (in other words, the sound spelled *-ae* could now be spelled both as *-e* and as *-a*).

4.2.4. The first-declension accusative singular. The accusative singular is attested only for Early Faliscan, in

praụ[i]os urnam : soç[iai] porded karai EF **1**
eitam EF **5**

The Proto-Italic form was */-ām/, reflecting the PIE hysterodynamic ending */-eh₂m/. In the Sabellic languages, where the regular spelling of the ending was *-am* (attested e.g. in South Picene *viam*, *tokam* TE.2, *deiktam*, *ok[r]ikam*, *qora* CH.1, *postiknam* CH.2, *koram* AQ.2, in Umbrian *-am*, Oscan *-am*), the long vowel appears to have been preserved, as is implied both by Oscan *paam* Po 3 and *p]aam* Sa 4, and by the fact that the ending of the ia-stems was not affected by the Sabellic *Endsilbensynkope*, as was its io-stem counterpart */-i̯om/. In Latin, */-ām/ was shortened to /-am/, but the date of this shortening is debated (cf. Blümel 1972:45). It is impossible to establish the quantity of the vowel in Faliscan: in Early Faliscan, it was in all probability still /-ām/, but it may later have been shortened to /-am/.

4.2.5. The first-declension ablative singular. The Proto-Italic ending was */-ād/, formed after the inherited second-declension ablative */-ōd/, reflexes of which are found both in Latin (*-ad* /-ād/ → *-a* /-ā/) and the Sabellic languages (Umbrian *-a* ← */-ād/, Oscan *-ad*). The Faliscan evidence for this ending is uncertain or indirect, but points to the same form *-ad* /-ād/ → *-a* /-ā/ (cf. §3.5.7*c*):

(a) From the Early Faliscan period there is only a very faint possibility that **[3-4]*ad* in EF **1** may be an ablative.

(b) The Middle Faliscan adverb *ifra* MF **40** is of ablatival origin, reflecting Proto-Latin */enð(e)rād/, with loss of /d#/.

(c) Late Faliscan *de* | *zenatuo · sententiad* LF/Lat **214** is the only direct attestation of the ablative singular, but it is very questionable in how far this inscription (still) represents Late Faliscan: the ablative in *-ad* will by this time (mid-second century) have been an archaism in any case.

4.2.6. The first-declension nominative plural. The nominative plural is attested only for Early Faliscan in

ues saluete sociai EF **4**

This shows that in Faliscan the Proto-Italic nominal ending */-ās/ (← PIE */-eh$_2$es/) had been replaced by the pronominal ending */-ai̯/ during the Proto-Latin period. The replacement of the inherited second-declension nominative plural ending */-ōs/ by the pronominal ending */-oi̯/ (§4.3.6) will have taken place at the same time. This shift constitutes one of the stronger morphological links between Faliscan and Latin, since in Sabellic the Proto-Italic endings */-ās/ and */-ōs/ were not only preserved (reflexes of the first-declension ending are Umbrian *-as* → *-ar* and Oscan *-as*), but extended to the pronouns by a Proto-Sabellic shift that took the opposite direction as the one in Faliscan and Latin (cf. Von Planta 1897:227).

4.3. The second nominal declension

4.3.1. The second-declension masculine nominative singular. In Early Faliscan, the second-declension nominative singular ending is *-os*, attested in

mama z[e]xtos med f[.f]i̯qod EF **1**
prau̯[i?]os urnam : soç[iai] porded karai EF **1**
perhaps also *euios* EF **1** (context unclear)
probably *ofetios kaios uelos amanos* EF **4** (context unclear)

In the later periods, the nominative ending is generally written as *-o* with omission of *-s*, due to the weak realization of /Vs#/ to [^{h}] or [^{ʔ}] (§3.5.7*d*). I quote here only the instances of the nominative subject:

[---]o cicio · cicoi : cupat : ifra MF **40**
uel zu[con]leo : fe [cupa] MF **56**
[ma]rco : pleina : marcio : man[o]mo : cauiacue | *[u]eculia : uoltilia : uentarc[i ..... : hec : cupa]nt* MF **80**
[uo]ltio[:]ueiconо : lecet : ḥec MF **88**
[---] celio [---]\[---]: hec : cupa[t]* MF **95**
ca[u]io : leu[eli]o : cau[i] | *hileo : ian[ta : ..]lni[a]* | *hec : cupat* MF **146**
[leiu]elio ·[---|---]io · ca[--- | *he · c]up[at]* MF **159**
oufilio : clipeaio : letei : fileo : met : facet MF **470***
precono[?] | *cui tenet [?]* | *let* MLF **361**
uoltio · uecineo | *maxomo* | *iuneo · he : cupat* LF **221**
marcio : acarcelinio | *cauia : uecinea* | *hec cupat* LF **223**
ca · uecineo[·]uoltio | *he · cupat* LF **224**
tito[:]acarcelinio : | *ma : fi · pop · petrunes· ce · f* | *[h]e cu[pa]* LF **225**
tito : uelmineo | *titoi : fe cupa* MLF **305**
perhaps *tito* | *uelmineo* | *nu i*ice* MLF **309** (if *i*ice* is a verb)
perhaps *tito : uel\mineo : iun\ai i*ice* MLF **317** (if *i*ice* is a verb)

The remaining instances of *-o* can be found in §3.5.7*d*: it is also the normal form in the Latino-Faliscan and Capenate inscriptions: *[---]o* LtF **173**, *[---]ilio* LtF **215**, *c[i]peario* LtF **233**, **(*)coneo* LtF **290**, *[---]nio* LtF **341**, *munio* LtF **377**, *uomanio* Cap **388**, *fertrio* Cap **391**, *clanidio* Cap **394**, *anio* Cap **420**, *[---]no* Cap **433**, *genucilio* Cap **435**.

The only instances of *-os* from the later periods in Faliscan inscriptions are

cauios frenaios faced MF **471***
cauios MLF **382**

(These instances show that, even in Faliscan, /s#/ after a short vowel was only *weakened*, probably to [^{h}] or [^{ʔ}], and not reduced to zero: see §3.5.7*d*.) The phonemic form of the morpheme was therefore still /-os#/.) Beside these two instances, there are the Latin inscriptions *med · loucilios · feced* Lat **268** (probably an import) and *t · fourios · *[·]f* Lat **216** (probably written by a Latin immigrant), and the Capenate inscriptions *a · irpios · esú* Cap **389** and *f · pacios* Cap **392**. These attestations show that in the Middle and Late Faliscan periods the ending *-os* was associated with Latin and Capenate rather than with Faliscan. The nominative in *-us* is found only in purely Latin inscriptions: *latrius* Lat **218**, *[. · u]mpricius ... aburcus* Lat **219**, *spurilius* Lat **237**, **238**, *fuluius* Lat **250**, *lectu* (twice) and *datus* Lat **251**, all from near S. Maria di Falleri or its surroundings, *egnatius* Lat **291** from near Corchiano, and *calpurnius* Lat **432**, *[---]rcius* Lat **436**, and *didius* and *uettius* Lat **456**, all from Lucus Feroniae.

Faliscan therefore, like Latin, preserved the Proto-Italic */-os/ which in the Sabellic languages was syncopated to /-s/ by the Proto-Sabellic *Endsilbensynkope* (resulting, e.g, in Umbrian *-s* and *-s* → *-r* in io-stems, and Oscan *-s*, *-ς*).

There is at least one instance, but possibly even three, of syncopated io-stem nominatives from the ager Capenas that can be ascribed to interference from Sabellic languages (see §9.3.2): *pa‹qu›is blaisitís* Sab **468***, in an inscription that is Sabellic rather than Faliscan or Latin, and possibly also *k · pa · aiedies* Cap **390**, if interpreted as 'K. Aiedius son of Pa.', and perhaps *k · sares · esú* Cap **404** (but cf. §8.8.2). An isolated Middle Faliscan instance of a syncopated io-stem nominative may be *partis* in *leiuelio pa rtis* | *uolti* MF **79**. There is no reason to ascribe this instance, too, to interference from Sabellic languages: the form may be compared with the occasional instances of such syncopation in Latin inscriptions, e.g. *uibis pilipus CIL* I^2.552, *mirquris CIL* I^2.563, and *caecilis CIL* I^2.1028.

In Latin, second-declension stem nominatives in */-Cros/ were syncopated to */-Crs/ → */-Cer/ (type *ager*) and those in */-Vros/ to */-Vrs/ → */-Vr/ (type *puer*). The Faliscan inscriptions provide no attestations of this syncopation (Vetter's readings *l[o]u̯fir*, *lo̯uf[ir*, or *louf[i]r* in EF **1** are impossible): cf., however, *ucro[---]* MF **138**, *[---]ro :* MF **175** and *[---]ro :* MF **178**, all of which are unclear.

4.3.2. The second-declension dative singular. As explained in §4.4.4 and §8.8.1, many of the Faliscan forms in *-oi* can be interpreted both as datives and as genitives. In all probability datives are

> *titoi* | *mercui* | *efiles* MF **113**, *titoi* | *mercu[i]* | *efi[les]* MF **116**, *titoi : mercu[i]* MF **118**, *[t]i̯toi : mercu[i]* MF **119**, *[ti]i̯toi : mercu[i]* MF **120**, *[ti]toi : mercui* MF **121**, *titoi : m̥[e]rcui* MF **122**; with a damaged ending *[t]i̯to[i]* | *m̥ercu[i]* | *efiles* MF **115**; also *tito* (probably = *tito‹i›*) | *mercui* | *efile* MF **114**
>
> possibly also *locia eim̥oi* MLF **293**

The contextless forms

> *caisioi* MF **20**
>
> *tiroi · colanioi* MF **69-71**

may well be datives too (cf. *vultasi* Etr **XLII** and §8.8.1), although they could also be interpreted as genitives. I regard rather as genitives the forms in *-oi* in *tito : uelmineo* | *titi̯ : fe cupa* MLF **305**, *uoltio* | *folcozeo* | *zextoi* | *fi* LF **330** and *[. ·]folcosio* | ******oi* LF **333**, The only form in *-oi* that is quite clearly not an second-declension dative is *cicoi* in *[---]o cicio · cicoi : cupat : ifra* MF **40**: see §4.4.4. Faliscan therefore had a dative in *-oi* that reflected Proto-Italic */-ōi̯/ ← PIE */-ōi̯/. In the Sabellic languages, */-ōi̯/ was preserved, and possibly (but not necessarily, cf. Meiser 1986:66-8) shortened to /-oi̯/: South Picene *titúi* AP.1, Umbrian *-e* /-ē/, Oscan *-ui*, *-úí*). In Latin, the dative in *-oi*, attested in *numasioi CIL* I^2.1, *duenoi CIL* I^2.4 and in Marius Victorinus' remark "*populoi Romanoi* pro *populo Romano* scito priores scribere" (*CGL* 6.17.20), was replaced by /-ō/ at an uncertain date, probably not too long after the archaic period, either by a phonological or a by morphological development (see Villar 1987b). *Tito* in

tito | *mercui* | *efile* MF **114** has been regarded as an indication that the same replacement took place also in Middle Faliscan (Thulin 1907:303), but as long as there is no other evidence for this, I prefer to regard it as an error for *tito‹i›*. It cannot be ascertained whether Faliscan *-oi* represents /-ōi̯/ or the shortened /-oi̯/.

4.3.3. The second-declension accusative and neuter nominative singular. The only form that may be interpreted as a second-declension masculine accusative is *tulom* MF **72**, if interpreted as 'Tullum', but this is rather a genitive plural (§4.3.7). The remaining second-declension accusatives are all neuter, and occur in the following objects:

*ceres : far *[0-2]e[1-3]tom ... douiad* EF **1**
eqo u̯rnel̥[a ti?]tela ... arcentelom huti̯[.]ilom : pe:para[i EF **1**
possibly *ui[no]m* EF **1** (context unclear)
(with omission of *-m:*)
foied · uino · pipafo MF **59**, *foied · uino · ‹pi›pafo* MF **60**

The accusative therefore continues PIt. */-om/ ← PIE */-om/, which was preserved both in Latin (*-om* → *-um*) and in the Sabellic languages, e.g. Umbrian *-u(m)*, *-o(m)*, Oscan *-úm*, *-om*, *-ομ*.

The only certain attestation of the neuter nominative is from Early Faliscan:

*eco quto *e uotenosio titias duenom duenas* EF **3**

Either nominative or accusative are the forms in *-om* in

propramom : pramed [u]mom pramod pramed umom : pramod propramo̯d
(or *pro pramo̯d*) *: pramod umo̯[m]* EF **2**

Faliscan therefore preserved Proto-Italic */-om/, as did Latin (*-om* → *-um*) and the Sabellic languages, e.g. Umbrian *-um*, *-o(m)*, Oscan *-um*, *-úm*, *-om*, *-ομ*.

4.3.4. The second-declension ablative singular. The ablative singular is attested only for Early Faliscan, in

propramom : pramed [u]mom pramod pramed umom : pramod propramo̯d
(or *pro pramo̯d*) *: pramod umo̯[m]* EF **2**

This Early Faliscan ablative in *-od* /-ōd/ reflects Proto-Italic */-ōd/ ← PIE */-ōd/. The same ending is found in Latin (*-od* → *-o*), and in the Sabellic languages, e.g. Umbrian *-u* ← */-ōd/, Oscan *-úd*, *-ud*. On this ablative and its syntactic functions, cf. the interesting notes by Vine (1993:191-213).

There are no attestations from the later periods, where from Middle Faliscan onwards onwards the expected forms would be *-od* /-ōd/ → *-o* /-ō/ (§3.5.7*c*): Renzetti Marra (1990:338) suggests that *[--- os]tro* LF **244** and *[---]ostr[o* LF **245** could be ablatives, but I hesitate to adopt this interpretation. For the ablative singular of the first declension, see §4.2.5.

4.3.5. The second-declension vocative singular. The vocative singular is attested once in Early Faliscan, as

saluę[to]d uoltene EF **2**

The ending reflects Proto-Italic */-e/ ← PIE /-e/. The same ending is found in Latin (*-e*) and Umbrian (*-e*).

4.3.6. The second-declension nominative plural. The only attestation of the nominative plural is the subject-nominative *lete* in

lete zot xxiiii MLF **285**

where *-e* renders /-ē/, the result of the monophthongization of */-oi̯/ → /-ei̯/ (see §3.7.5).[65] Faliscan therefore, like Latin, had a nominative reflecting /-oi̯/, originally the ending of the pronouns, which had replaced the nominal ending */-ōs/ during the Proto-Latin period: the first-declension nominative plural *sociai* EF **4** shows that this replacement had also taken place in the first declension (cf. §4.2.6). In the Sabellic languages, the shift operated in the oppositie direction, with the nominal endings /-ās/ and /-ōs/ replacing the pronominal endings /-ai̯/ and /-oi̯/.

Survivals of Proto-Italic */-ōs/ have been read by Norden (1939:206-7) and Vetter (1953:280) in *euios : mama z[e]xtos* EF **1** ('the Evii, Mama and Sextus'), and by Vetter (1925:26, 1953:284) in *ofetios kaios uelos amanos* EF **4** ('the Ufentii, Gaius and Velus, Amanus'), but, if nominatives at all, these forms in *-os* are rather a nominative singular /-os/, not nominative plurals in /-ōs/: see §8.2.1.

4.3.7. The second-declension genitive plural. The genitive plural is attested with certainty only in a Capenate inscription:

açiuaiom esú Cap **465**
probably also *tulo* MF **72**

Peruzzi (1964a:166) interpreted also *arcentelom huti[.]ilom* EF 1 as a genitive plural. The attestations *duum]luiru* LF **243** and *duu]muiru* LF **249** (and *duum[uiru* LF **247**, *duu[muiru* LF **248**, and *duum]uir[um* Lat **240**) are fossilized rather than paradigmatic forms, and were in all probability borrowed as such from Latin (§9.4.2).

Faliscan thus shows a form /-om/ that reflects Proto-Italic */-om/ ← PIE /-ōm/. In Latin, /-om/ was gradually replaced by */-ōsom/ → /-ōrom/ (first *duonoro CIL* I^2.9) → /-ōrum/ modelled on the first-declension genitive plural */-āsom/, which was in its turn modelled on the pronominal ending */-som/. The Sabellic languages only show the innovation /-āsom/: in the second declension, the old ending */-om/ was preserved (e.g. Umbrian *-u(m)*, *-o(m)*; Oscan *-úm*, *-om*).

[65] I cannot agree with M. Mancini's (2002:28-33) interpretation of these forms as reflecting a locative /lēt̨ę̄/ ← */loi̯tāi̯/.

4.4. The second-declension genitive singular

4.4.1. The problem. The second-declension genitive singular endings *-osio* and *-i* constitute without doubt the most debated problem of Faliscan and Latin historical morphology. Basically, the problem is that the Latin morpheme *-i* /-ī/ was identified with Celtic *-i* (an identification that constituted one of the core arguments for the assumpton of an Italo-Celtic stage) and therefore had to be of PIE origin. The Faliscan ending *-osio* on the other hand was clearly identical with, e.g. Sanskrit *-asya* and Homeric Greek *-οιο* and therefore had to be of PIE origin as well. The obvious explanation for this was to assume that Faliscan and Latin were separate, though closely related languages, each preserving a different inherited variant. The occurrence of *-i* in Middle and Late Faliscan was ascribed to influence from Latium (thus e.g. Lejeune 1952b:125, Bonfante 1966:9, and Devine 1970:24).

This explanation was not without its critics, especially when scepticism with regard to an Italo-Celtic stage increased. Thus, G. Giacomelli (1963:142-4) suggested that Faliscan might have had both *-osio* and *-i*, the former as the nominal and the latter as the pronominal ending, with *-i* later being extended to the nouns and generalized. I might add that it is a priori very unattractive, as it would either assume that Italo-Celtic had two different morphemes or that Faliscan was not an Italic language, and that it is quite difficult to assume a spread of a morpheme. The publication, in 1978, of the archaic Latin inscription from Satricum in 1978 (now *CIL* 1^2.2832a) with its attestation of *-osio*, showed that the assumption that Latin had *-i* and Faliscan *-osio* could no longer be maintained without at least some modification. The 'pre-Satricum' scholarship has been extensively reviewed by Devine (1970), and I shall therefore limit myself to a discussion of the evidence and of the implications of the Satricum inscription for the relationship between Faliscan and Latin.

4.4.2. The Early Faliscan genitive in *-osio*. In the Early Faliscan inscriptions, the ending of the second-declension genitive singular is *-osio* throughout. The attestations are

*eco quto *e uotenosio* EF **3**
eko kaisiosio EF **6**
aịṃiosio eqo EF **467***

The first of these instances was published already in 1887, but it was not until 1912 that Herbig (*CIE* 8163) proposed to interpret this form as a genitive. Although at first not generally accepted, this interpretation was eventually vindicated by the publication of the other forms in 1933 and 1952 respectively. Even after the publication of the third instance, Knobloch (1954) interpreted the Faliscan forms in *-osio* as adjectives in *-osio(s)* that expressed a specific possessive relationship (i.e., a relationship of posses-

sion with one specific person rather than with a group like the *gens*). This has been rejected by Devine (1970:25-32), who argues that the existence of such adjectives in Italic cannot be demonstrated (a point with which I disagree, see §4.4.11), and that it is in any case unlikely that they would have been derived with the suffix /-osi̯o-/. Apart from these objections, interpreting *-osio* as *-osio(s)* presupposes that omission of *-s* occurred already in Early Faliscan, which is not attested (§3.5.7*d*). Knobloch first (1954:38-9) ascribed this to dissimilation of the two /s/'s in the ending /-osi̯os/, but later (1966:48) discarded this explanation by reading *quton euotenosio[m]* with a similarly anachronistic omission of *-m*. The Satricum inscription makes his theory even less tenable: it could now be maintained only if *popliosio ualesiosio* | *suodales* were to be read as *popliosio(s) ualesiosio(s)* | *suodales*, with a nominative *plural* ending /-ōs/ which in Latin had long been replaced by /-oi̯/ (§4.3.6) and with omission of *-s* after a long vowel (§3.5.7*d*).[66]

4.4.3. The Middle and Late Faliscan genitive in *-i*. The forms in *-osio* are all from the Early Faliscan inscriptions: in Middle and Late Faliscan the second-declension genitive ending is *-i*. The Middle and Late Faliscan instances are the following:

uipi : leueli | *filea* MF **14**
louci : teti : uxor MF **41**
caui : feliçinate | *uxor* MF **42**
[.]pi : uesθi : cela* MF **83
*caui[:]t**(*)[i] : cela* MF **84**
cesi · fi MF **94**
marci : acarcelini | *mate* LF **221**
maci : acacelini : uxo LF **222**
uelçe̯ || *fe* LF **332**
letei : fileo MF **470***
caui : tertinei : || *posticnu* MLF/Cap **474***
probably also *leiuelio pa̯rtis* | *uolti[* MF **79**

Ambiguous are the contextless forms in *-i* in the Besitzerinschriften, *serui* MF **34-36**, *ani* MF **45**, *f ofiti* MF **58**, *anni* LtF **63**, *uli* MF? **261-262**, *caui : turi* MF **273**, *marci : anel[i]* MLF **472***, *uolti : catinei* MLF **469***, and in the sepulchral inscriptions *uolti* | *teti* MF **11** and *teti atron* or *teti atron̯* MF **13**. These forms can be genitives or abbreviated io-stem nominatives (§8.8.1). Similar forms are the potter's signature *ç cutri* MF **200**, and the Capenate *Besitzerinschriften c · pscni* Cap **387**, *c · aci* Cap **395**, *sex* | *senti* Cap **399**, and *sex · sen·ti* Cap **430**. Uncertain with regard to reading or interpretation are the forms in *-i* are *[---]*i : u[o]ltiai lo* MF **165**, *çe̯si t : fere* (?) MF **263**,

[66] Note that this instance can hardly be called 'possessive', unless this term is used in a very wide sense ("référent d'une appartenance familiale ou sociale", Lejeune 1990a:77).

*oct*i[....]uoltili* MLF **354**, and *c · ạu[---]ḷsi* LF **236**. Some of these forms (e.g. *uipi* MF **14**, *caui : tertinei* MLF/Cap **474***, *serui* MF **34-36**) have at some time or other been interpreted as Etruscan feminines, but even if this is possible for some of the forms, which I greatly doubt (§9.2.2.2*a*), it is beyond doubt that most of the the forms in *-i* are genitives. As is described in §4.2.2, it is probable that in Faliscan, as in Latin, the genitive in /-ī/ had spread to the first declension as well.

4.4.4. The Middle and Late Faliscan genitive in *-oi*. As is argued in §8.8.1, a number of forms in *-oi* can be interpreted as genitives at least from a syntactical or contextual perspective. The most interesting case is

[---]o cicio · cicoi : cupat : ifra MF **40**

This is the only instance where it is impossible to interpret the form in *-oi* as a dative, and I regard it as a genitive. (G. Giacomelli (1963:84) interpreted *cicoi* as a Faliscan rendering of Etruscan *cicui*, cf. §9.2.2.2*a*) A genitive interpretation is also possible in

tito : uelmineo | *titọi : fe cupa* MLF **305**
uoltio | *folcozeo* | *zextoi* | *fi* LF **330**
[. ·]folcosio | ******oi* LF **333**
perhaps *locia eiṃoi* MLF **293**

although this would be the only instance of a filiation in a Faliscan *Besitzerinschrift* (§7.5.1). Ambiguous are the contextless forms in *-oi*:

caisioi MF **20**
tiroi · colanioi MF **69-71**

These two forms can be interpreted as genitives in *Besitzerinschriften*, but can as well be datives (cf. *vultasi* Etr **XLII**): see §8.8.1. In all probability datives are *titoi* MF **113**, **116**, **118**, **122**, *[t]ḷtoi* MF **119**, *[ti]ḷtoi* MF **120**, **121**, *[t]ḷto[i]* MF **115**.

Zextoi, the earliest Faliscan form in *-oi* to be published, was in fact interpreted as a genitive by Jordan (1881:511) and Deecke (1888:263). This was rejected by J. Schmidt (1905:31), however, and since Herbig's discussion (1914) of the forms in *-oi*, they have generally been regarded as datives. The exception to this is Pisani (first 1933b:624 n.1), who regarded *titoi* | *mercui* | *efiles* MF **113** etc., *caisioi* MF **20**, and *cicoi* MF **40** as genitives in /-oi̯ī/, in his view a further development of the older /-osi̯o/. I cannot agree with this (see §4.4.10): if the forms in *-oi* are genitives, they are analogical formations after the first-declension genitive *-ai*, and can be explained in three ways:

(a) *-oi* = /-oī/ modelled on the first-declension genitive singular in /-āī/, but with retention of the short vowel (thus Devine 1970:20-1).

(b) *-oi* = /-ōī/ modelled on the first-declension genitive singular in /-āī/ even in the length of the vowel preceding the ending, like the Latin second-declension genitive plural */-ōsom/ was modelled on the */-āsom/ of the first declension.

(c) -oi = /-ōi̯/ modelled on the dative /-ōi/ after the example of the first declension where, in the course of the process of the shortening of the original dative ending */-āi̯/ and the genitive ending /-āī/, both endings at a one point were both /-āi̯/.

Note that all three analogies assume the existence of a Faliscan first-declension genitive singular in /-āī/, which is not accepted by most authors: see §4.2.2. If the replacement of *-osio* by *-i* was due, as I think, to a morphological replacement in both the second and the first declension *at the same time*, the resulting dissimilarity between, in the second declension, old genitive *-osio* /-osio̯/ : new genitive *-i* /-ī/ : dative *-oi* /-ōi̯/ (: genitive plural */-ōsom/?) and, in the first declension, old genitive *-as* /-ās/ : new genitive *-ai* /-āī/: old dative *-ai* /-āi̯/ (: genitive plural */-āsom/?) may have led to the emergence of such an analogical genitive in *-oi*.

4.4.5. The alleged Middle and Late Faliscan genitives in *-io* and *-oio*. A number of forms in *-io* and *-oio* were explained by Ribezzo (1930:98-9, 1931b:79, 1933:80, 1936:158) as second-declension genitives, due to a (PIE) confusion between the genitive /-ī/ and possessive adjectives in /-io/ [*sic*]. Attestations of these genitives he found in Faliscan, in Ardeatine (but supposedly Faliscan) *titoio* **483**†, and in Praenestine *taseio CIL* I^2.555. Not only is this derivation impossible, but this theory assumes a long coexistence of several productive morphemes for one category, in the case of the io-stems even of a genitive that was homomorphemic with the nominative. In spite of these objections, the interpretation of (some) forms in *-io* as genitives was adopted e.g. by Bolelli (1943:56), Campanile (1961:20 n.19), and Meiser (1998:117, 133). Of the instances listed by Ribezzo (1930:98-9), the only case where a genitive interpretation of a form in *-io* would be attractive is *poplia : calitenes* | *aronto : cesies* | *lartio : uxor* MF **265**, but in Ribezzo's translation, 'Publia Calideni Arruntis filia, Caesii Lartis uxor', *lartio* is the genitive of a consonant-stem. In the other cases the forms in *-io* are simply masculine praenomina and gentilicia, or are based on misreadings.

4.4.6. The second-declension genitive singular in Latin. The non-archaic second-declension genitive ending is *-i* /-ī/. The oldest epigraphic attestations are early third-century *aesclapi CIL* I^2.440, *keri CIL* I^2.445, *saeturni CIL* I^2.449, and *uolcani CIL* I^2.453. In literary Latin, *-i* is the normal ending already in Andronicus (*Saturni* 2L, 14L, *uerbi* 3L, *Liberi* 30R; *Taenari* 34R; *Nerei* 5L, *Ulixi* 16L). The /-ī/ spread also to the first declension, where /-āī/ had replaced /-ās/ probably *c.*300, so that by the end of the third century the normal form was /-āi̯/, /-āī/ being used only as metrical convenience (§4.2.2). The ending was extended to the fifth declension, where the oldest attestation of the genitive, from the second half of the third century, is *rei dinai cau[s]a CIL* I^2.366. The attestations from Ennius, *magnam quom lassus diei* | *partem Ann.* 236-7V and *ille uir, haud magna cum re sed plenus fidei Ann.* 338V, show the disyllabic form /-ēī/ at the line end; monosyllabic /-ēi̯/ is attested for Terence and Plautus (cf. *LHS* I pp.445-6).

It had long been assumed that Latin preserved traces of the ending /-os̱o/ (see below). The direct evidence for the existence of this ending *-osio* is the inscription found in 1977 at Satricum, *[...]*ei steterai popliosio ualesiosio | suodales mamartei CIL* I^2.2832a, dated to *c.*510-490 by Stibbe (1980a:36-8; it is impossible to agree with Ferenczy's (1987) date of *c.*385). Although there is virtual consensus that the language of the inscription is Latin, it remains debated what form of Latin (Satrican? Roman? Latian?) it represents, and consequently how representative the attestation *-osio* is for Latin as a whole. However, even in the unlikely case that the Satricum inscription is Faliscan (thus Lucchesi 2005, see §18.3.3), there is no doubt that the forms in *-osio* represent an inherited form: unless it is assumed that Faliscan does not belong to the Latin branch of the Italic languages, the ending */-os̱o/ must therefore have existed in Proto-Latin even if by *c.*500 it did no longer exist in every Latin dialect.[67]

Apart from this direct attestation of *-osio*, Latin has long been regarded as originally having had a genitive ending */-os̱o/. The evidence is as follows:

(a) Two epigraphic forms are assumed to reflect later developments of /-os̱o/. Third-century Ardeatine *titoio* **483**† has been regarded as a genitive in */-o͡i̯o/ ← */-os̱o/ e.g. by Pisani (first 1933b:624 n.1; see §4.4.10), which was one of the grounds on which the inscription has been regarded as Faliscan. There seems to be nothing against taking *titoio* as a nominative, however. Late fourth-century Praenestine *taseio CIL* I^2.555 has been regarded as a genitive by Ribezzo (first 1930:98) and Dirichs (1934:55, from */-es̱o/), but this difficult form can be interpreted more attractively as e.g. a patronymic adjective or as rendering of Greek *Θασεύς* (see Devine 1970:118-28).

(b) Cuius is usually derived from a PIE */k$^{\text{u}}$os̱o/ reconstructed on the basis of Sanskrit *kasya*. The assumption is that, in Latin, */k$^{\text{u}}$os̱o/ became */k$^{\text{u}}$o͡i̯o/ by palatalization of /Vs̱V/, and that this */k$^{\text{u}}$o͡i̯o/ was then remodelled by addition of /-s/ after the analogy of the nominal genitives in /-s/. The resulting /k$^{\text{u}}$o͡i̯os/ then developed regulary to *quoius CIL* I^2.7, and thence to *cuius*. This derivation of *cuius* is not without problems, even apart from the possibility that Sanskrit *kasya* may not reflect a PIE */k$^{\text{u}}$os̱o/ but instead reflects a transfer of a nominal ending to the pronouns, and the debated issue of how *cuius* relates to *huius*, *eius*, etc. A Latin development */Vs̱V/ → /V͡i̯i̯V/ is unlikely (cf. §4.4.10), and, since in the Latin (and Faliscan) *-osio* is attested only in nominal forms, it is unclear why /-os̱o/ was replaced by /-ī/ in the nouns while pronominal */k$^{\text{u}}$os̱o/ developed to *cuius*.

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[67] Coleman's (1986:120-2) suggestion that the Satricum inscription is Volscian is untenable. *Suodales* (with /d/ ← */d$^{\text{h}}$/) is Latin (but cf. Lucchesi 2005:166-7), and so is *steterai:* the Volscian form is *sistiatiens* VM 2 (=*sist{i}atiens* or *sistiat‹i›ens*, cf. Wallace 1985). Alphabet and ductus are typical of the late archaic Latian inscriptions (Wachter 1987:76-7): contemporary Sabellic inscriptions are written in the Etruscan or South Picene alphabet (e.g. the fifth-century 'Satricum hatchet', see Colonna 1984, Rix 1992b:251).

It may be preferable to re-examine other derivations of *cuius*, especially the identification with Greek *ποῖος*, since *cuius* was used as an adjective e.g. by Plautus (e.g. *nam haec litteratast, eapse cantat cuia sit Rud.* 478) and Terence (e.g. *uirgo quoiast? Eun.* 321). The same adjective use is found in the case of the Oscan form *púiiu* Sa 31, *púiieh* Cp 41, showing that it may have been original ("antiqui dicebant sicut *meus mea meum* sic *cuius cuia cuium*", Serv. *in* Verg. *E.* 3.1) and have survived as a colloquialism, as appears from its use in comedy and its reflexes in the Romance languages (e.g. Spanish *cuyo*).[68] If the adjectival use of *cuius* had been a later development, it is hard to explain why *eius*, with its adjective counterpart *suus*, did not share this development.

(c) Continuously quoted (and rejected) as evidence for the existence of a Latin genitive ending */-oi̯i̯o/ is Ennius' *Mettoeo⟨que⟩ Fufetioeo Ann.* 126V, quoted by Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.5.10-2). *Pace* Meiser (1998:133), this is a Homerism, comparable to Lucilius' *Ixionies alochoeo* 25M (based on Ξ 317), the *uinoeo bonoeo* ascribed by Quintilian (*Inst.* 8.6.33) to Ovid, and Ausonius' *οὐίνοιο βόνοιο Ep.* 6.42 Prete. As such, this form does not require an existing or remembered Latin genitive ending */-oi̯i̯o/.[69]

4.4.7. The second-declension genitive singular in the Sabellic languages. The Sabellic languages all show second-declension genitive endings that reflect */-ei̯s/ (e.g. Umbrian *-es* → *-er*; Oscan *-eis*, *-eís*, *-ηις*), the genitive ending of the i-stems that spread to the second declension and the consonant-stems (§4.5.2) probably already during the Proto-Sabellic period. There are no traces of the inherited second-declension genitive ending, but as the Faliscan and Latin attestations of *-osio* show that this ending must have been present in Proto-Italic, */-osi̯o/ may have been the form that was replaced by */-ei̯s/. The relation of (Proto?-)Sabellic */-ei̯s/ to the *-es* found in Praesamnitic (sixth-century || *bruties* (or *fraties*) || *esum* || Ps 4, | *iefies* (or *ieyies*) || *esum : p[.]les : adaries* Ps 5, fifth-century *lu·vcie·s cna·iviie·s su·m* Ps 13, *cnaives flaviies p* Ps 14, (Etruscan?) *mame·rce·s huσinie·s* Ps 11), in South Picene (sixth century *a*pies esum* TE.4, possibly also in *postin : viam : videtas :* | *tetis* (for *teti⟨e⟩s*?) *: tokam : alies : elsmen :* | *vepses : vepe⟨t⟩en* TE.2) is debated. I prefer to regard *-es* as /-ēs/, a monophthongized form of */-ei̯s/ (thus also Meiser 1986:20), rather than as due to interference from Etruscan (see Devine 1970:38-40, Agostiniani 1982:253-8, Joseph & Wallace 1987:683 n.23).[70]

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[68] Numitorius' "dic mihi, Damoeta: 'cuium pecus' anne Latinum? non, uerum Aegonis nostri; sic rure loquuntur" (Don. *Vita* 17), a quip on Vergil's "dic mihi, Damoeta: cuium pecus? an Meliboei?" (*E.* 3.1), shows that the adjectival use of *cuius* was not regarded as *comme il faut*.

[69] Ennius may have chosen *-oeo* for metric reasons, as *Mēttī(quĕ) Fūfĕtī* would not have fitted the metre. Note that the text of this passage is quite corrupt: see Devine 1970:12-4.

[70] Colonna (1975:165 n.3*bis*) interpreted the Praesamnitic forms as nominatives where "il personale dovrebbe fungere grammaticalmente da aggettivo". A genitive in *-es* occurs also in Oscan (*herettates : súm* Fr 4, *kanuties sim* Cm 42).

A different explanation of Sabellic /-eiˆs/ was proposed by Arena (1974), Prosdocimi (1974, 1979:142-4), and Agostiniani (1982:259-60), who regarded /-eiˆs/ as a reflex of /-osiˆo/. In their view, the inherited */-osiˆo/ was first frontalized to */-esiˆe/, an ending read in Ps 4 and Ps 5, which they read as *-esiie sum* rather than as *-es* || *esum*. This frontalization of */-osiˆo/ would have taken place under the influence of the /iˆ/: for this, Prosdocimi adduced the Praesamnitic forms in *-ies* quoted above, which he regards as nominatives in /-iˆes/ ← */iˆos/. Even assuming that these forms *are* nominatives, I am not convinced that a /iˆ/ could cause such frontalization in Italic, and it remains unexplained how it could affect the /o/ in the preceding syllable. From this /-osiˆo/, the */-eiˆs/ of the remaining Sabellic languages is derived, either through */-esi/ (loss of /-e/ followed by metathesis)[71] or through */-eiˆse/ (metathesis followed by loss of /-e/). Like the frontalization, the metathesis of /siˆ/ or /si/ is without parallel in the Italic languages, however,[72] and the loss of /-e/ is difficult: note that it apparently did not affect the Umbrian second-declension vocative ending /-e/. The same authors also read South Picene TE.4 as *a*piese sum*, with an *-ese* whose place in this development is unclear (*/-ēse/ ← */-eiˆse/?). All in all, I do not think that this theory constitutes a convincing alternative to the *communis opinio* that the Sabellic second-declension genitive ending */-eiˆs/ is in fact due to an extension of the i-stem genitive ending.

4.4.8. The second-declension genitive in other languages of ancient Italy. Although the data provided by the non-Italic languages are irrelevant unless one assumes the existence of a *Sprachbund* (cf. §1.3.2.*1*) that operated also on the morphological level, I briefly discuss them here because of the evidence that Venetic and Lepontic also shifted from a reflex of */-osiˆo/ to /-ī/. The genitive in *-i* has long been recognized in Venetic, in *ego ·u·r·kli* Le 60, *[·e·go ·o·]n[·]ti [vh]rema·i·s·lti* Le 65, *·e·n·to·l·lo·u·ki* Le 148, Veneto-Latin *ostinobos friui* Le 110*bis*, *ceutini* | *keutini* Le 150A-B, and *enoni ... ecupetaris* Le 236 (cf. Lejeune 1974:84-95, 1989:72), and is also often read in the Lepontic inscriptions *alkouinos* | *aśkoneti PID* 274, *atekua* | *aśouṃi PID* 302, and *[---?]raṇeni* | *[---?]ualaunal PID* 255 (see Devine 1970:54-63). Evidence for an older genitive in */-osiˆo/ is provided by four archaic forms in *-oiso* from the Venetic and Lepontic areas (see Lejeune 1989). Possibly Venetic is the early- to mid-fifth-century gravestone inscribed *padros pompeteguaios* and *kaialoiso*, the latter probably a genitive ("nom du curateur", Lejeune 1989:71). Lepontic are an early-sixth-century Besitzerinschrift *χosioiso*, and a fifth-century potter's stamp and a *Besitzerinschrift* that both read

[71] A similar explanation (/-eiˆs/ derived by metathesis from */-esi/ ← */-esiˆa/) had in fact been proposed long ago by Bopp (1857:386).

[72] Prosdocimi and Arena adduced the (questionable) metathesis of */-Vsi/ to /-Viˆs(i)/ proposed by Kiparsky (1967) for a number of Greek endings, but this is irrelevant as long as it is not shown that such a palatalization could also occur in Italic.

plioiso. Venetic and Lepontic therefore show a replacement of an archaic *-oiso*, clearly reflecting an older */-osio/, by a genitive in *-i* /-ī/. At least in Venetic this replacement can be dated to between the (mid)-fifth century, the date of the *kaialoiso*-inscription, and the third century, the date of the oldest Venetic attestations of *-i*.

The evidence from the other languages is unclear. The Messapic forms in *-aihi* have long been recognized as second-declension genitives, but it is unclear whether this ending represents /-aī/ ← */-oī/ or something else, e.g. Pisani's /-aihi/ ← */-osio/ (see Devine 1970:42-53). The evidence from the Sicilian languages consists of sixth-century *adiomis* | *raroio* and *adaioi*, both of which were interpreted by Paino (1958:168) as genitives in *-oio* in accordance with Pisani's theory (for which see §4.4.10), and of Lejeune's (1989:73) reading of the late-sixth- or early-fifth-century Ve 186 as *touti kemai poterem* 'vase de Toutios pour Kema'.[73]

4.4.9. The relation between /-osio/ and /-ī/. Resuming the sections §4.4.2-8, I conclude that Early Faliscan and archaic Latin show a genitive in *-osio* /-osio/ reflecting a PIE */-osio/, but from the late fourth century onwards in Faliscan and from the third century onwards in Latin the ending of the genitive singular is *-i* /-ī/, and that this ending therefore replaced the ending /-osio/ somewhere in the fifth or fourth centuries. In the Sabellic languages, the unattested inherited second-declension ending (perhaps */-osio/?) was replaced by the i-stem ending */-eis/ probably already during the Proto-Sabellic period. The significance of this chronological sequence *-osio* ... *-i* in Faliscan and Latin was called into question by Untermann (1964:178-9). He assumed that already in Early Faliscan the genitive was /-ī/, and that /-osio/ was no longer a case-ending but an isolated and eventually disappearing form used exclusively in Besitzerinschriften to express possessive relationship. As /-osio/ was even in his view originally undoubtedly a genitive ending, however, this amounts to saying that the original ending /-osio/ was replaced by /-ī/, not between *c.*450 and *c.*350, but at some earlier (prehistoric) date. Neither is this theory supported by the *popliosio ualesiosio* | *suodales* of the Satricum inscription, which can hardly be called possessive in the sense this word has when applied to a *Besitzerinschrift*. De Simone (1980:82-3) therefore suggested a syncretism of a possessive in *-osio* and a genitive in *-i* (the latter ending, having the wider scope, eventually prevailing), which requires a period during which both endings could be used for both categories. This, however, assumes the existence of a separate possessive form in early Latin, something I at least am unwilling to accept.

The replacement of *-osio* by *-i* has been interpreted both as a phonological development and as a morphological replacement: this is discussed in §4.4.10.

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[73] Note that Ve 186 is from the area traditionally referred to as Elymian, whereas the other two are from the area traditionally ascribed to the Sicels. It is therefore uncertain whether the two inscriptions represent the same or two different languages or dialects.

4.4.10. The ending /-ī/ as a phonological development of /-osi̯o/. The idea that /-ī/ directly reflects /-osio/ goes back to the early nineteenth century. In recent times it has been maintained by Pisani (1933b:620-4, 1934, 1935:167, 1937:235-6, 1955, 1964:344-5, 1981), whose theory is adopted e.g. by Safarewicz (1955:103-5) and Wachter (1987), and independently by Must (1953:303-4, from */-esi̯o/). Pisani's theory has been formulated in several ways. The earliest formulation runs as follows:

> "Come **quosi̯o-s* ha dato *quoiios*, **luposi̯o* doveva dare anzitutto **lupoii̯o* [...], questo **lupeii̯e* (cfr. *ἕπεο - sequere*, *ὅ - iste ipse*), onde **lupiī lupī*: *e* mediano seguìto da consonante doppia resta di norma *e*, ma qui la doppia era un suono *i*, cui seguiva un *i*, e l'assimilazione, che ha luogo anche per vocale accentata (cfr. **cenis* > *cinis*, **ne mīs* > *nimīs*, **vegil* > *vigil* [...]) doveva a maggior parte subentrare nel presente caso; che *Pompeiius* faccia al voc. e gen. *Pompeī* e non **Pompī*, è dovuto al nom. *Pompeiius* dat. *Pompeiiō* ecc. Per la finale *ii̯e* > *ī* cfr. il voc. *fīlī* da **fili̯e* [...] e sopratutto il voc. *Pompeī*. [...] Quanto ad *iī* > *ī* cfr. *flagitī* gen. di *flagitium* ecc." (Pisani 1933b:623).

For Faliscan, Pisani (first 1933b:624 n.1) assumed a slightly different development in which the thematic vowel was retained, and this version of the theory was later applied also to Latin. In this variant, the stages of the development are as follows (after Pisani 1964:344-5): */-osi̯o/, attested in Faliscan *euotenosio* EF **3**, *kaisiosio* EF **7**, and *ai̯mi̯osio* EF **467*** becomes */-oii̯o/, attested in Ardeatine *titoio* **483**† and required by the derivation of *cuius* from */k^{u}osi̯o/ (see §4.4.6), and /-oii̯o/ in its turn becomes /-oi̯ī/, attested e.g. in Faliscan *caisioi* MF **20**, *tiroi · colanioi* MF **69-71**, and *titoi* | *mercui* | *efiles* MF **113** etc., which is then contracted to *-i* /-ī/.

This idea has been rejected so often that I shall only briefly touch on the most difficult points: an extensive discussion may be found in Devine 1970:93-105.

(a) A development /-osi̯o/ → /-oii̯o/ is not in line with the attested Italic or Latin palatalizations, which involve mainly dental and velar occlusives, e.g. *peius* ← */pedi̯os/ and *maius* ← */magi̯os/. Meiser (1998:117) likewise does not quote any examples of this palatalization other than *cuius* and *titoio*. The usual Latin development of /Vsi̯V/ (and the comparable /Vsu̯V/), however, appears to be rhotacism, not palatalization, cf. *Venerius* ← */u̯enesi̯o-/ (Devine 1970:98) and *haurio* ← */hau̯si̯-/ (Meiser 1998:117, explaining it as due to analogy with *hausi haustum*).

(b) Titoio as an attestation of /-oii̯o/ is questionable, since the word occurs in isolation, and although isolated dialects may of course preserve older stages of a development, it would be surprising to find *-oio* in third-century Ardeatine if the replacement of *-osio* by *-i* is assumed to have taken place (as Pisani (1981:139) suggested) in a *Sprachbund* embracing not only Latin and Faliscan, but also Messapic, South Picene and Venetic.

(c) Cuius cannot constitute an additional argument for a development /si̯/ → /ii̯/, since in Pisani's theory it involves the same morpheme: it rather requires an explanation why the phonological development of /-osi̯o/ had different outcomes in the nouns and in the pronouns.

(d) The steps */-oi̯i̯o/ → */-ei̯i̯e/ → */-ii̯i̯e/ → */-ii̯ī/ are questionable, and the contraction of */-ei̯i̯e/ or */-ii̯i̯e/ cannot be parallelled by *filie* /fīli̯e/ → *fili* /fīlī/; the alternative */-oi̯i̯o/ → */-oi̯ī/ is even more unlikely. Meiser (1998:72) in fact suggests that /-osi̯o/ wold have developed to */-esi̯e/ due to vowel weakening (quoting *ἕπεο* : *sequere*).[74]

(e) Although some of the Faliscan forms in *-oi* can in my view be interpreted as genitives (§4.4.4, §8.8.1, §8.10.2), this is difficult in the case of *titoi* | *mercui* in MF **113** etc.: all the more as in Pisani's interpretation this is a genitive of *Titus Mercuuius*, which requires the assumption of different endings for the second-declensions and the io-stems (whereas in *tiroi · colanioi* MF **69-71** both have the ending *-oi*).

(f) It is unclear whether */-ei̯ī/, */-ii̯ī/, or */-oi̯ī/, could in fact be contracted to /-ī/ without an intermediate diphthongal stage, whereas the genitive ending /-ī/ cannot go back to a diphthong: see §4.4.11.

4.4.11. The ending /-ī/ as a reflex of PIE */-iH̄/ (*/-ih₂/?). It has long been realized that the genitive ending /-ī/ cannot go back to a diphthong. Broadly speaking, */oi̯/ and /ei̯/ were monophthongized in Latin as /oi̯/ → /ei̯/ → /ē/ → /ī/, a process that seems to have started at least in some dialects already in the fourth century (e.g. *socie CIL* I^2.5 from the Lacus Fucinus). The last stage, the merger of /ē/ with /ī/, took place only *c.*150, and neither the spelling *i* for original */ei̯/ or */oi̯/ nor the hypercorrect spelling *ei* for original /ī/ are found before this date. Whereas e.g. the second-declension nominative plural (originally */-oi̯/) or the consonant/i-stem dative singular (originally */-ei̯/) are normally written as *-ei* and *-e*, there is not one instance from before *c.*150 of the genitive ending being written as *-ei* or *-e*. Also, in the io-stems the endings containing an original diphthong, e.g. the locative singular and the nominative plural, are virtually always found uncontracted as *-iei*, *-ie*, or *-ii*, whereas before the first century the genitive of these words is always found as *-i* (for an analysis of the material, see Devine 1970:5-9). Note also that in Faliscan the merger of /ē/ with /ī/ never took place at all (§3.7.5), but that the genitive ending is always spelled as *-i*.

If /-ī/ cannot go back to a diphthong, or to a form that was contracted during the historic period, it may well reflect */-iH̄/. As the development */VH̄/ → */V̄/ is to be dated to the Proto-Italic period (§3.2.3), this /-ī/ must have been present already in Proto-Italic in some form or other. It can hardly already have been a second-declension genitive ending, as is assumed e.g. by Schrijver (1991:361-2), for this would require that Proto-Italic and Proto-Latin preserved two apparently productive morphemes within one and the same category and declension for a very long time (millennia, perhaps). There are no indications that the ending /-ī/ belonged to a different inflection and/or that it was originally the ending of another case than the genitive. The possibility

[74] Note the *leucesie* in Terentius Scaurus' (*CGL* 7.28.11) unfortunately garbled quotation from the *Carmen Saliare*.

that /-osi̯o/ was the Latin ending and /-ī/ an ending that belonged to another language and was borrowed into Latin (as well as Faliscan) by the end of the sixth century can also be excluded, both because of the *a priori* unlikelihood of such a borrowing due to the borrowing hierarchy constraint (§1.3.2.*2*) and because there are no parallels for Latin borrowing a declensional morpheme from another language. Apart from that, there appears to be no language that could have been the source for this borrowing.

The two main theories with regard to the original morphological category of /-ī/ are those proposed long ago by Wackernagel and by Sommer. Wackernagel (1908) proposed that the origin of /-ī/ was to be found in the Indo-Iranian adverbial forms in *-i* (*cvi*-forms) occurring in compounds with the roots *kr* 'to make', *bhu* 'to become', and *as* 'to be' with the meaning 'to make/become/be what is expressed in the first member of the compound' (*abhūtatadbhāve kṛbhvastiyoge saṃpadyakartari cviḥ*, Pāṇini 5.4.50). According to Wackernagel, the original use of /-ī/ in Latin was in expressions like *lucri facere*, which he assumed to have originally meant 'zum Gewinn machen'. The form was then at a certain point regarded as a genitive and /-ī/ as a genitive ending. Although popular for a long time, this theory succumbed under A. Bloch's (1960) critical review, although a variant was still defended by Blümel (1970:109). Not only were the functions and the syntactic contexts in which the *cvi*-forms operated such that they could never have developed into expressions like *lucri facere* (for which a meaning 'zum Gewinn machen' is in any case doubtful), but it is likely that the Indo-Iranian forms in *-i* had emerged within in Indo-Iranian, if not within Vedic itself.

Today, the most popular theory still seems to be the one proposed originally by Sommer (1902:371 n.3), who equated the genitive in /-ī/ with the Indo-Iranian feminine nominative singular in *-ī* in the declensional type *devī*. Here, too, the main problem is how to come from a nominative to a genitive. It is not necessary to go back to "an early IE where there was no opposition between a derivational and an inflexional suffix" (Devine 1970:109): both *devī* and the Latin genitive in /-ī/ can be derived from an feminine adjective in */-ih₂/. If, as Beekes suggested, the PIE nominative of this type was */-ih₂/ and this developed to */-ī/ in Proto-Italic (see §4.2.1), this provides the only possible instance of an Italic morpheme */-ī/ that could be in some way responsible for the genitive in *-i*. The two main problems of the transfer of this /-ī/ to the second-declension genitive are that it is necessary to assume the existence *(1)* of 'specific' possessive adjectives and *(2)* of a category were */-ī/ was preserved and developed into a genitive, while in the nominative it was reformed to /-ia i̯a/.

The problem of the existence of 'specific possessive adjectives', that is, adjectives used to denote a possessive relationship with a specific individual rather than with a group or class, has been discussed by Devine (1970:24-34), who concluded that such adjectives are not attested at all in Italic. Most or even *all* Italic languages, however, appear to have had patronymic adjectives, either still productive, as in Faliscan, or fossilized as gentilicia. I find it difficult to agree with Devine's assumption that these

patronymic adjectives were not possessive: in a society where children were in the *manus* of the *pater familias* to the extent that they could legally be sold or executed, the relationship of a father to his son or daughter can hardly be given any other semantic label than 'possessive'. Neither can it be maintained that in e.g. *Seruios Tulios* the adjective *Tulios* expressed *generic* possession ('a Tullan Servius'): the essence of a patronym is that it denotes someone as the child of a *specific* father ('Servius son of Tullus', that Tullus we all know). The problem is a different one, namely that there are no indications that one could say *equos Tulios* as easily as *Seruios Tulios*: in all Italic instances of 'possessive relationships' dating from before the fourth century, this relationship is expressed by the genitive, e.g. Early Faliscan **2**, **6**, and **467***, archaic Latin **479**†, *CIL* I^2.2832a, Praesamnitic Ps 4 and Ps 5, South Picene TE.2 and perhaps TE.4, and possibly also Palaeovolscian VM 1. This, however, is partly a problem of interpretation, for a sixth-century *Besitzerinschrift Tulios* or *Tulia* would *a priori* be more likely to be interpreted as a nominative 'Tullius' or 'Tullia' than as an adjective 'Tullian = belonging to Tullus': note that *kaṇaios* in *eqo kaṇaios* **482**†=*CIL* I^2.474 has been interpreted as a possessive adjective by Wachter (1987:92-3).

The second problem, the assumption that in certain contexts what was in fact an ia-stem nominative in */-ī/ was *preserved* instead of being remodelled to /-i̯a -ia/ is even graver. With great hesitation, I venture to suggest that a likely candidate would be the neuter plural nominative-accusative collective, which was homomorphemic with the feminine nominative singular described above, in such phrases as

*/tullī esti/ (← */tulliH$_2$ h$_1$esti/) 'it's Tullus's things' (lit. 'it's Tullian stuff')

*/tullosi̯o esti/ 'it's Tullus's'

It is then necessary to assume that these forms in */-ī/ were for some reason no longer regarded as paradigmatic *before* the Proto-Italic remodelling of the feminine nominative singular and the neuter nominative-accusative plural */-ī/ to /-ia -i̯a/ and survived in some very specific niche of the morphological system until they replaced the genitive ending in the fifth and fourth centuries.

In every theory (including my own suggestion) it remains in any case unclear *why* /-ī/ replaced /-osi̯o/, for in both theories the morpheme /-ī/ originally only played a very minor role in the morphological system. The only one to address this problem recently is Peruzzi (1978b:346-7), who suggested that when /-osi̯o/ had become /-orio/ by rhotacism (cf. what was said in §4.4.10 on the development of /Vsi̯V/!), it became less distinguishable from the adjective ending /-ōrios/ which by this time was realized as [-ōrio]. I do not think that this can be upheld: even if /s#/ was completely reduced to zero, which I doubt very much (the realization was rather [-ōrio$^{\text{h}}$] or [-ōrio$^{\text{ʔ}}$], see §3.7.5*d*), /-orio/ and [-ōrio] or /-ōrio/ would (*pace* Peruzzi) still be distinguished by the difference in vocalic quantity, which is a phonemic difference, not 'just' a difference in phonetic realization.

4.5. The third nominal declension

4.5.1. The nominative singular of the consonant- and i-stems. There are few attestations of the third-declension nominative singular, but enough to show that Faliscan in this form corresponded to Latin.

(1) Stems in occlusives. The attestations of occlusive-stem nominatives are limited. First, there is the dental-stem *Arruns:*

aruz MF **257**; *arute* MF **269**

The form *aruz* probably represents [arrũs] = /arruns/, although it could also represent [arrũts] = /arrunts/ (cf. §3.3.4, §9.2.2.*1*). *Arute* MF **269** is either an Etruscan nominative with an epenthetic [-e] or [-ə] or an accusative *arute(m)* used as a nominative, probably the latter (§9.2.2.*4*). Apart from *Arruns*, there is the velar stem *rex:*

rex MF **90**, *ṛẹx* MF **91**, *rex* LtF **231**

As in all Italic languages, these occlusive stems had a sigmatic nominative. From a morphophonological perspective, the Faliscan forms, with /-ns/ ← */-nts/ and /-ks/, correspond to those of Latin: in the Sabellic languages, these nominatives were assimilated differently (Umbrian *-f* and *-s*, Oscan *-s* and *-ss*).[75]

(2) Stems in liquids. The only attestations of stems in /l/ are the Etruscan names *Tanaquil* and *Vel*:

θanacuil MF **49**, *tancuil* MLF **347**,
uel MF **56**, **82**, and perhaps *ue]l* MF **191**

Stems in /r/ are more frequently attested, and apart from the Etruscan name *Veltur* consist of words of IE origin:

ueltur MF **266**, MLF **339**
pater MF **62**
uxor MF **41**, **42**, **101**, **265**, *[u]xor* MLF **301**
p[reto]lr LF **243**, *[pre]tor* LF **248**
cen]lsor LtF **232**
[---]or LtF **233**
(with omission of *-r:*)
mate MF **220**
uxo MF **17**, LF **221**, **242**, LtF **300**
ce]so LtF **230**, *censo* LtF **232**
perhaps also *quto* EF **3**, if this represents /gŭtor/ or /gŭttor/ (see §6.2.*31*)

[75] Paelignian *pristafalacirix* and *sacaracirix* Pg 9, and Marrucinian *lixs* MV 1 may represent developments where these languages differed from Oscan and Umbrian.

(with *-d* instead of *-r:*)

cuestod LF **242**

pretod LF **242**, LF/Lat **214**

Both the stems in /l/ and the stems in /r/ appear to have had an asigmatic nominative in Faliscan, as in the other Italic languages. The omission of *-r* and its spelling as *-d* are phonological, not morphological, variants: see §3.5.7*b*.

(3) Stems in nasals. More interesting is the nominative of the nasal stems, which shows a clear contrast between Latin and the Sabellic languages. The only certain attestations are ōn-stems:

apolo MF **65**

cupi‹d›o MF **62**

perhaps also *quto* EF **3**, if this represents /gŭtō/ or /gŭttō/ (see §6.2.*31*)

Apolo (adapted either from Etruscan *Apulu* or from Greek Ἀπόλλων), and *cupi‹d›o* MF **62** both show a nominative in *-o* /-ō/. Although MF **62** has been regarded as Latin inscription (in which case there would be no purely Faliscan attestations of the ōn-stem nominative), in my view the inscription can be counted as Faliscan: see also Wachter 1987:367-9. Faliscan therefore had an asigmatic nominative singular in the ōn-stems, as did Latin. This constitutes a marked contrast with the Sabellic languages, where these stems had a sigmatic nominative */-ōns/ → /-ōf/ (Umbrian *-u(f)*, Oscan *-úf*).

(4) Stems in /s/. Of the attestations of the nominative singular of the stems in /s/, neither appears to be completely representative of this group. The first attestation are the theonym *Ceres* in

*ceres : far *[0-2]e[1-3]tom : *[3-5]uf[1-4]ui[..]m : *[3-4]*ad* EF **1**

The nominative *ceres* was originally */keres/, but in Latin this appears to have had an irregular lengthening of the vowel in the last syllable /kerēs/ (§6.4.2), probably as it was a personification. Whether this lengthening took place in Faliscan as well cannot be established.

Another attestation of an s-stem is

mino LtF **173**

which can represent either /minŏs/, with omission of the original /s#/ (§3.5.7*d*), or /minor/ with omission of an /r#/ (§3.5.7*b*) that had replaced the /s#/ after the oblique cases where the intervocalic /s/ had been rhotacized, as in Latin *honos* → *honor* after *honoris* etc. Note that, in Latin, in the case of the name *Minor* the spelling *Mino* is the rule rather than the exception: see §3.5.7*b*.

(5) Stems in /i/. The i-stem nominative is attested in

ortecese MF **339**

larise MF **270**, **371**, **372**

Although *ortecese* may well be connected to Etruscan *urtcsnas* Etr **XXXV**, it apparently represents /ortikensis/, with an ending *-e* [-e^{h}] or [-e^{ʔ}] /-is/ (§3.6.2), a reflex of Proto-Italic */-i-s/. Latin had the same *-is*, occasionally also spelled as *-e(s)* (e.g. *milita]re CIL* I^{2}.48, *militare CIL* I^{2}.49, *aidiles CIL* I^{2}.8); in the Sabellic languages, */-is/ was syncopated to /-s/ by the *Endsilbensynkope*, with various assimilations of the resulting /-Cs/. *Larise* is either an Etruscan nominative with an epenthetic [-e] or [-ə] after an /s#/ that was realized more strongly than in Faliscan, or an accusative *larise(m)* used as a nominative (§9.2.2.*4*). If the latter, it shows an Etruscan name in *-is* apparently being declined according to the consonant-stems, not according to the i-stems.

Fig.4.1. Third-declension genitive endings in Latin before c.150.

4.5.2. The third-declension genitive singular. In Faliscan, the consonant-stem genitive ending is *-os* throughout:

lartos EF **6**
apolonos EF **10**
loifiṛtato MF **31**, *loifirtato* MF **32**,
aruto MF **257**, **266**, *[--- a]ruto* MF **169**, *aronto* MF **265**
perhaps also *[....]o* MF **17**, and *[---]ono* MF **102**

G. Giacomelli (1963:148) recognized only *loifiṛtato* MF **31** and *loifirtato* MF **32** as genuine attestations, regarding the other forms as transcriptions of Greek and Etruscan forms. She first (1963:147) regarded the Faliscan genitive in *-o(s)* as one of the main morphological differences between Faliscan and Latin, but later (1978:517-8) compared the Faliscan forms with the Latin genitives in *-os*/*-us*. These are not as sporadic as they

are sometimes made out to be: before *c.*150, they occur as frequently in the epigraphic material as the forms in *-es/-is*: see fig.4.1. Both *-os* and *-is* are also found in the fourth declension, *-uos* in early second-century *senatuos* in *CIL* I^2.581,8, 17, 21, 23 (cf. also *zenatuo* LF/Lat **214**), and *-uis* in Terence (*Haut.* 287), and, according to Gellius (4.16), in Nigidius and Varro.

It is usually assumed that Latin /-os/ and /-es/ reflected different PIE forms */-os/ and */-es/. If this was the case, the attestations would imply that in Faliscan /-os/ was standardized, while in Latin both forms were preserved side by side for several centuries longer, /-es/ eventually becoming the standard form. The assumption that Proto-Latin had two productive morphemes for the same category, which were preserved for at least several centuries in Faliscan and even longer in Latin, is unattractive, however. Neither are there any indications that the two were (originally) dialectal, let alone diglossic, variants, as R. Giacomelli (1978:57-9) suggested.

Various solutions have been proposed to this problem: for a discussion, see Wachter 1987:492-3. In my view, the easiest solution is to assume that /-os/ reflects Proto-Italic */-os/ and that /-es/ was a Latin innovation. This was first suggested by Szemerényi (1969:977-8, later (1989:173) abandoning the idea), and independently by Beekes (1986:176-80, altogether rejecting a PIE */-es/) and Wachter (1987:492-5). The last two assume that /-es/ was an analogical creation of the early third century: "neben den mutmasslichen Paradigmata *-ād/-am/-ai/-ās* (neben *-āī*), *-ūd/-um/-uę̄/-ǭs*, *-īd/-im/-ę̄ /-is* (bzw. **-ę̄s?)* nahm sich *-e/-em/-ę̄/-os* m.E. so merkwürdig aus, dass ein Ersatz des *-os* durch *-es* regelrecht nahelag!" (Wachter 1987:495).[76] Assuming that until the third century Latin had only /-os/ does away with the coexistence of /-os/ and /-es/, and also removes a morphological difference between Faliscan and Latin. In any case, Faliscan aligns with Latin here, for in the Sabellic languages the inherited consonant-stem ending was replaced by the i-stem ending */-e̯is/, probably already in Proto-Sabellic.[77]

There are also two attestations of the i-stem genitive singular:

feliçinate MF **42**
[---]fate MF **285**

It could be argued that *feliçinate* and *[---]fate* are not representative of Faliscan, as both forms end in an Etruscan suffix, but in view of the ending of *[fel]ɨcinatiu* LF **384** (§4.5.3.3) and the way such forms were declined in Latin, I think it is safe to regard them as Faliscan. The ending *-e* can of course stand for [-ę̄^{h}] /-ēs/, the expected reflex of Proto-Italic */-e̯is/ found in Latin (*-eis*, *-es* /-ēs/ → *-is* /-īs/) and the Sabellic languages

[76] The frequent use of the ending *-os/-us* in official documents and in the names of gods implies that speakers of Latin regarded it as more traditional and associated it with an earlier period.

[77] If South Picene *---]nips* TE.7 is a syncopated consonant-stem (Marinetti 1985:133), the transfer of */-e̯is/ to the consonant-stems could be dated to the sixth or fifth century.

(Umbrian *-es* /-ēs/ → *-er* /-ēr/, Oscan *-eís*, *-eis*, *-ηις*), but as omission of *-s* after a long vowel is rare in Faliscan (§3.5.7*d*), it is more likely that *-e* represents either [-e^{h}] or [-e^{ʔ}] /-es/ or [-e̯^{h}] or [-e̯^{ʔ}] /-is/ (§3.6.2). In that case, /-es/ or /-is/ may originally have been an i-stem ending which at some point was transferred to the consonant-stems (perhaps first at Rome, see Wachter 1987:495).

As far as can be ascertained from these few instances, the distinction between the consonant- and the i-stem genitives was still quite clear in Middle Faliscan.

4.5.3. Other consonant- and i-stem endings. Of the other third-declension endings, there are few and sometimes dubious attestations:

(1) The consonant-stem accusative singular. There only uncertain attestations of the consonant-stem accusative, namely

arute MF **269**
larise MF **270**, **371**, **372**

These forms have been interpreted as nominatives with an epenthetic [-e] or [-ə], but may be accusatives in *-e(m)* used as nominatives: see §9.2.2.*1*,*4*. In that case, Faliscan would align with Latin in having an ending /-em/ ← */-m̥/, for in the Sabellic languages the consonant-stem accusative ending had been replaced by the second-declension ending /-om/ (e.g. Umbrian *-um*, *-om*, Oscan *-om*).

The only Faliscan attestation of a neuter consonant-stem accusative is *far* EF **1**, reflecting Proto-Italic */b^{h}ars/ (← PIE */b^{h}H̥rs/ or */b^{h}ars/, see §6.2.*23*) with an assimilation */rs#/ → */rr#/ → /r#/ (§3.3.4).

(2) The i-stem nominative plural. The i-stem nominative plural is attested in

efiles MF **113**, **115**, *efil]es* MF **117**
perhaps *salues* EF **3**, if from an i-stem adjective */salu̯i-/ (§6.2.*71*)
(with omission of *-s:)*
efile MF **114**

Since omission of *-s* after a long vowel is fairly rare in Faliscan (§3.5.7*d*), *efile* MF **114** is probably an error rather than an omission on phonological grounds: the inscription contains another irregularity in the ending second-declension dative singular (§4.2.3). The ending *-es* /-ēs/ reflects Proto-Italic */-ēs/ ← PIE */-e̯ie̯s/ (§3.2.6), found also in Latin (*-es*) and the Sabellic languages (Umbrian *-es* → *-er*; Oscan *-ís*).

(3) The i-stem genitive plural. The i-stem genitive plural is attested in

[fel]i̯cinatiu LF **384**

The form reflects the PIE ending /-i-om/ with the closing of /o/ →/u/ in closed final syllable (§3.6.6.*1*), as attested also for Latin (*-iom* → *-ium*). The same ending appears in the Sabellic languages (Umbrian *-io(m)*, Oscan *-íúm*).

4.6. The fourth and fifth nominal declensions

4.6.1. The fourth-declension genitive singular. The only instance of a fourth-declension genitive singular is *de* | *zenatuo* · *sententiad* LF/Lat **214**. The ending *-uo(s)* [-uo^{h}] or [-uo$^{?}$] /-uos/, formed after the consonant-stem genitive ending /-os/ (see §4.5.2) is also found in early second-century Latin *senatuos CIL* I^{2}.581,8, 17, 21, 23. It is an analogical innovation existing alongside the usual Italic genitive */-ou̯s/ (PIt. */-ou̯s/ ← PIE */-ou̯s/) that is reflected both in Latin (*senatous CIL* I^{2}.2197, *-us*) and in the Sabellic languages (Umbrian *trifor TI* VIb.54 etc., Oscan *castrous TB* 13). In the case of *zenatuo*, it cannot be ascertained whether the ending *-uo(s)* was the standard Faliscan ending or an alternative existing beside an unattested */-ōs/ ← */-ou̯s/. It is not even clear whether *-uo(s)* is a Faliscan form at all: the language of LF/Lat **214** can equally well be regarded as Latin, In view of the consonant-stem /-os/ it is not unlikely that the ending /-uos/ occurred in Faliscan, but the ending occurs here in a formula that may be of Latin origin, in which case it may have been taken over as part of the formula (note that the Latin instances of the genitive *senatuos* also occur exclusively in this formula) and need not have occurred in Faliscan outside this formula.

4.6.2. The fourth-declension dative singular. The development of the Italic dative singular endings is debated: I follow here mainly Lejeune's (1944:99-102) account (for other theories, see *LHS* I pp.442-3). The Proto-Italic form was probably */-ou̯/, an analogical creation beside the genitive */-ou̯s/ after the i-stems, which had a dative */-ei̯/ beside a genitive */-ei̯s/ (Lejeune 1944:92-101):

	i-stems		*u-stems*
genitive	*/-ei̯s/		*/-ou̯s/
			↓
dative	*/-ei̯/	→	*/-ou̯/

Reflexes of this */-ou̯/ are Latin *-u* /-ū/ and Umbrian *trifo TI* VIIa.11, *manuve TI* IIb.23, and perhaps *ahtu TI* IIa.10, 11. The Latin ending *-ui* /-ūī/ goes back through /-uē/ to an /-uei̯/ (cf. *senatuei CIL* I^{2}.586,11) which was an analogical formation after the consonant-stem dative /-ei̯/ (Lejeune 1944:100).

The only Faliscan forms that have plausibly been interpreted as fourth-declension datives are the forms in *-ui* in

mercui MF **113**, **114**, **121**, *m̥[e]rcui* MF **122**, *[m]e̥rcui* MF **124**, *m̥ercui* MF **125**
damaged: *m̥ercu[i]* MF **115**, *mercu̯[i]* MF **116**, **118**, *mercu[i]* MF **119**, **120**

Although a diphthong /ŭi̯/ is admittedly alien to Italic, it is hard to imagine that in this form, and probably also in its Oscan parallel *mirikui* Cm 12 (which, as it predates the

introduction of *ú* and *í*, may represent an second-declension dative in /-ōi̯/), *-ui* represents anything other than /-ui̯/ or /-ūi̯/, an ending created after the first-declension dative /-āi̯/ and the second-declension dative /-ōi̯/. The ending does not reflect Proto-Italic */-ou̯/, nor can it be equated with Latin *-ui* /-uī/ ← /-uē/ ← */-uei̯/, as in Faliscan /ē̯/ had not (yet) merged with /ī/ (§3.7.5).

4.6.3. The fourth-declension accusative singular. The fourth-declension accusative singular is attested only in

mạcistratu LF **242**

The form occurs as part of the formulaic expression *mạcistratu* | *keset*, which is directly equivalent to the Latin formula *magistratum gessit* (*TLL* 6^2.1939,1-1940,56). On the one hand, this makes it quite certain that *mạcistratu* is indeed an accusative singular *mạcistratu(m)* and not an accusative plural *mạcistratu(s)* [-$ū^h$] or [-$ū^ʔ$] /-ūs/ (which would have been difficult in any case, as omission of *-s* after a long vowel is fairly rare in Faliscan, §3.5.7*d*): on the other hand, it opens up the possibility that the entire formula was adopted from Latin and that the word and its ending may therefore not reflect Faliscan. The same ending is found in Latin and in the Sabellic languages (e.g. Umbrian *trifo TI* VIb.58, VIIa.47).

4.6.4. The fifth declension. The only Faliscan forms that can be associated with the fifth declension do not reflect the original *eh₁-stems, but the paradigm of *dies* that was formed analogically after that of these *eh₁-stems (Schrijver 1991:366).

The nominative is attestated in *[3-4]s pater* **62**. The text can be restored as *[die]s pater*, *[iouo]s pater*, or *[ioui]s pater:* if restored as *[die]s*, the form would correspond to Latin *dies* /diēs/, a Proto-Italic formation with an /ē/ that was either due to the accusative */di̯ēm/ ← Proto-Italic */di̯eu̯m/, or to preservation of a PIE */di̯ēu̯s/ (cf. Wachter 1987:151-2, Waanders 1988:57). No Sabellic counterpart is attested, although Oscan *zicolom TB* 14 etc. appears to have been derived from */di̯ē-kelom/, which likewise had /ē/. Note that MF **62** has been regarded as Latin, although it is in my view Faliscan: see also Wachter 1987:367-9.

The ablative singular is attested in *foied* MF **59-60**. This adverb goes back either to a fossilized ablative */hōd+di̯ē(d)/ or */ho-di̯ēd/ (cf. §6.2.*34*). This */di̯ēd/ is also found in third-century Latin *e]od · died CIL* I^2.2872 (vs. *die* in *CIL* I^2.366, the other version of this text) and Umbrian *ri TI* Va.5, *re TI* VIIb.2 ← */rēd/. It reflects a (Proto-Italic?) */-ēd/ formed after the second-declension ablative */-ōd/ and/or the first-declension ablative /-ād/. In view of the other attestations of this ablative in /-ēd/, it is not necessary to assume that the /-d/ was *not* part of the ending of the ablative on which the adverb was based, but was added only when the ablative */-ē/ had been fossilized into an adverb, by analogy with the adverbs in /-ōd/ and /-ād/ that derived their *-d* from a second- or first-declension ablative (cf. G. Giacomelli 1963:150).

4.7. The personal pronouns

4.7.1. The nominative of the first person singular. The nominative of the pronoun of the first person singular is attested in the Faliscan 'iscrizioni parlanti' as *eqo/eko/eco*:[78]

eqo ụrnel̩[a ..]tela fitaidupes : arcentelom huti̩[.]ilom : pe : para[i? EF **1**
*eco quto *e uotenosio* EF **3**
eko lartos EF **6**
eko kaisiosio EF **7**
aị̣mịosio eqo EF **467***
m adicio eco MLF **378**
eco tulie MLF **383**

The Faliscan form therefore corresponds to Latin *ego* (first seventh- or sixth-century *eqo* **482**† and *eco* **479**†, then sixth century *CIL* I^2.479 and 2917*c*), which represents an /egō/ that later became /ego/. If this is due to iambic shortening, which is attested for Latin only from the late third century onwards (Pfister 1977:104, Meiser 1998:76-7), it seems unlikely that such a shortening can be assumed for Middle or Late Faliscan. The same */egō/ occurs also in the Sabellic languages. The evidence for this is as follows:

(a) South Picene *ekúsim* CH.1. As *ekúsim* corresponds to *rufrasim* in the same text, it is clearly an enclitic *-sim* 'I am' preceded by an *ekú* that may represent */egŏ/, but could conceivably be a form of the demonstrative pronoun */eko-/ (cf. *WOU* s.v. *ekúsim*).

(b) Samnitic *tív* Sa 31. The unique *tív* occurs in *pis : tiú : tív : kúru* Sa 31, usually interpreted as 'Who [are] you? – I [am] a *kora*', but *tív* representing /ēŏ/ is very difficult to explain on the basis of an original */egō/ (see *WOU* s.v. *tív*).

(c) Umbrian *ef TI* VIa.4. This has unconvincingly been interpreted as equal to *tív* (above) by Vetter (1935:188, 1942:60-1, 1953:231). Untermann (*WOU* s.v. *eite*) rightly rejects this explanation.

(d) The nominative of the pronoun of the *second* person singular attested as /tēom/ in Samnitic *tiú* Sa 31 and Oscan *tiium* Cp 37. On the assumption that /-om/ in continues a PIE suffix */-om/, W. Petersen (1930:168 n.13) and Bonfante (1935:183) suggested that the nominative of the *first* person may have been */egŏm/ (cf. *WOU* s.v. *tiium*).

4.7.2. The accusative of the first person singular. The accusative singular is attested in the Early and Middle Faliscan 'iscrizioni parlanti' as *med/met*:

med EF **1**, EF **9**
met MF **470***

[78] I do not adopt Peruzzi's (1964d:310-1) interpretation of the *...uatụ..eco...* read by Gamurrini (1883:166) and Deecke (1888:145-6) in MF **91** as containing an *eco*.

(Latin rather than Faliscan is *med · loucilios · feced* Lat **268**.) The form *med* is also found in Latin (first probably seventh- or sixth century *mḷęḍ* in **479**†, then sixth- or fifth-century *med* in *CIL* I^2.4, 2658). In Latin, it coexisted with the similar accusatives of the second person singular *ted* /tēd/ (first sixth-century *ted* in *CIL* I^2.4) and the third person reflexive *sed* /sēd/, and with the homomorphemic ablatives *med ted sed* /mēd tēd sēd/. The unattested Faliscan accusatives of the second person singular and the third person reflexive may therefore likewise have been */tēd sēd/, and, depending on the view of how these forms arose, the Faliscan ablatives may have been */mēd tēd sēd/ (which would fit in with other Faliscan ablatives in *-d*, for which see §4.2.5, §4.3.3).

In Latin, both the accusatives and the ablatives lost the /-d/: from the third century onward, *me te se* */mē tē sē/ were the normal forms both in the epigraphic (first *me CIL* I^2.500, 501, *te CIL* I^2.412*a,c*, 547) and in the literary attestations (from Andronicus onwards), although *med*, *ted*, and *sed* occasionally occur in second-century inscriptions (e.g. *sed CIL* I^2.581,13, 14, *CIL* I^2.582,21) and for metrical convenience in the works of Naevius, Ennius, and Plautus. A similar loss of /-d/ may also be assumed to have taken place in the Middle Faliscan period: the occurrence of *met* MF **470*** may well be a sign of this weakening (see §3.5.7*c*), the spelling with *-t* perhaps influenced by the *facet* that immediately follows it, where *-t* was a recent replacement of *-d*.

As the corresponding PIE accusatives are usually reconstructed as */ḫ$_1$me tu̯e se/, the Latin and Faliscan forms require some explanation with regard to the origin of the /-d/ and of the long vowel. Various explanations have been proposed:

In the explanation proposed by Meillet (1922:50, whence e.g. *DÉ* s.v. *mē*), the /-d/ was an inherited PIE suffix with parallels in Vedic *mád* and *tvád*: this presupposes a Proto-Italic */med ted sed/ that was lengthened to /mēd tēd sēd/, although it is not made clear when and why this lengthening would have taken place. The explanation is difficult to maintain if the suffix /-om/ in the corresponding Sabellic accusatives (see below) is *also* assumed to be of PIE origin, for this presupposes that Proto-Italic preserved two different morphemes for the accusative of the personal pronouns.

The Latin forms have also been explained as analogical creations after the ablatives /mēd tēd sēd/ (that probably were analogical creations themselves, after the ablatives of the first and second nominal declensions). In the traditional version of this explanation (e.g. Osthoff 1884:127, W. Petersen 1930:185), the accusatives are explained as hypercorrective forms of */mē tē sē/ that emerged when the ablatives /mēd tēd sēd/ were losing their /-d/: this, however, is impossible in view of the Early Faliscan and early Latin accusatives with *-d*, which precede the disappearance of /-d/ by several centuries (cf. §3.5.7*c*). If this explanation is to be maintained, the accusatives can only be analogical creations after /mēd tēd sēd/ themselves: this would also explain the /ē/.

Szemerényi (1973:58, 1989:226) derived the accusatives /mēd tēd sēd/ in an altogether different way, by assuming that /mēd/ and /sēd/ were analogical creations after /tēd/, which, through */tēt/, was the regular phonological outcome of a redupli-

cated */tēte/ (described awkwardly (1973:58) as "the sequence of emphatic *tē* and unemphatic *te*"). There are several reasons why I find this solution unappealing, the most important being *(1)* that it does not explain the origin of the /ē/; *(2)* that the later attestations of *tete* imply that the word had always been analyzed as a reduplicated form, which would have prevented it from becoming */tēt/; *(3)* that */tēt/ could have become /tēd/ by a regular process *only* if this happened at the same time that the secondary ending of the 3rd person singular */-t/ became /-d/: this process, however, must have *preceded* the drop of the word-final short vowel by which */tēte/ became */tēt/, or the primary ending of the 3rd person singular, */-ti/, would *also* have become /-d/, which it did not; *(4)* that there is no reason why the pronoun of the second person, let alone the reduplicated form, should be the model for an analogical creation.

Whatever their origin, the Faliscan and Latin accusatives */mēd tēd sēd/ clearly differ from the corresponding forms in the Sabellic languages. The accusative of the first person singular is attested in Palaeoumbrian *setums : míom* | *face* Um **4=480**†,[79] of the second person singular in South Picene *tíom* TE.5, Umbrian *tiom TI* VIa.43 etc. (more than 40 attestations), and of the third person reflexive in Oscan *siom TB* 5, 6, 9. These accusatives /mēom tēom sēom/ are usually regarded as accusatives /mē tē sē/ (← PIE */$h_1$me tue se/), with an /-om/ that is either an inherited PIE suffix */-(H)om/ (cf. e.g. Vedic *ahám*) or taken over from the second-declension accusative singular ending/-om/ (cf. *WOU* s.vv. *miom*, *siom*, *tiium*).

4.7.3. The nominative of the second person plural. The second person nominative/vocative plural is attested once from Early Faliscan as

ues EF **4**

This form represents either /u̯es/, with a short vowel as in the possessive pronoun, or /u̯ēs/, with a long vowel as in Latin *uos* /u̯ōs/. It presents a considerable problem, for although it corresponds to *later* Latin *uester* and Umbrian *uestra TI* VIb.61, it clearly differs from the earlier Latin *uoster* and from Paelignian *uus* Pg 9 (twice), which seem to point to a Proto-Italic */u̯ŏs/ and a possessive */u̯ostero-/. Vetter (1939a:153, 1953:287) explained *ues* as an 'incidental' form, formed with the nominative plural ending of the i-stems /-ēs/ ← */-ei̯es/. The use, even incidental, of i-stem endings in the *personal* pronouns is unparallelled, however.[80]

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[79] This renders untenable La Regina's interpretation, hesitatingly adopted by Marinetti (1985: 104), of South Picene *ma* in *ma kuprí koram opsútą ninis rakinevíi pomp[4-5]í* AQ.2 as a first person accusative singular.

[80] Latin *ques CIL* I^2.581,3, 24 adduced by Vetter is not a valid parallel as *qui* actually *is* at least partly an i-stem. The (second- and first-century) nominatives *heis*, *his* etc. are regular o-stem nominatives with an added *-s*, maybe a graphical convention only (Bakkum 1994).

Others have pointed to non-Italic parallels for *ues*. Campanile (1968:90) adduced Old Irish *sí*, Welsh *chwi*, derived from */swēs/; R. Giacomelli (1978:65-6) compared Pisani's derivation of Gothic *izwis* from */eswes/. These parallels are debatable, however, and, more importantly, they are irrelevant unless either Faliscan is treated as a non-Italic language or the relation of these forms to the forms in the other Italic languages is made clear.

A solution from within the Italic languages has been proposed by Ribezzo (1936:166-7) and Peruzzi (1967b:118-9), who pointed to Umbrian *uestra TI* VIb.61. *Pace* R. Giacomelli (1978:65), this cannot reflect an earlier */u̯ostrād/, as there is no evidence that the development /u̯o-/ → /u̯e-/ that was responsible for Latin *uoster* → *uester* occurred also in Umbrian: cf. e.g. early *ku-vurtus TI* Ib.11 and late *co-uortus TI* VIIa.39 etc. The possibility that *uestra* is a Latin loan (*LHS* I p.466) can be excluded, for a borrowing at the level of the pronominal system would imply language contact on a scale unattested by the Umbrian texts (cf. §1.3.2.2). Umbrian *uestra*, therefore, like Faliscan *ues*, would seem to point to an earlier */u̯ĕs u̯estro-/.

The problem, however, is greater than Faliscan *ues*: the evidence points to the existence of both an early */u̯ĕs u̯estro-/ in Faliscan and Umbrian and to an early */u̯ŏs u̯ostro-/ in Latin and Paelignian, i.e., *both* vocalisms are attested for *both* branches of Italic: since neither can convincingly be explained as a borrowing from the other, both would therefore presumably going back to Proto-Italic, as neither form can convincingly be connected to corresponding forms in other IE languages. A way out of this dilemma would be if it could be demonstrated that the one of the two vocalisms (probably the /o/-vocalism of the Latin and Paelignian forms, both of which are later than Faliscan *ues*) is due to a later development. Perhaps one vocalism originally belonged to the personal pronouns and the other to the possessive pronouns, and this anomaly was equalled out in various ways in the various languages; or was an original /u̯ĕs u̯estro-/ changed dut to influence from /nŏs nostro-/?

4.8. The demonstrative pronoun

There are no direct attestations of demonstrative pronouns. However, there are two important indirect attestations in the adverbs:

(a) hec 'here': *hec* MF **94**, **146**, **158**, *ḥec* MF **88**, *ḥęç* LF **223**, [and *heic* LtF **231**]; *he* LF **220**, **221**, **224**, *[h]e* LF **226**; *he[* MF **149**; (with hypercorrect *f-* for *h-*) *fe[(c?)* MLF **56**, *fe* MF **305** derived from a pronominal locative */heḭ-ke/;

(b) *hoied 'today': (with hypercorrect *f-* for *h-*) *foied* MF **59**-**60**, probably derived from a fossilized ablative phrase */hō(d)+di̯ē(d)/, or, alternatively from a compound */ho-di̯ē(d)/ (cf. §6.2.*34*).

These attestations show that Faliscan had a demonstrative pronoun corresponding to Latin *hic* instead of to its Sabellic counterparts */eko-/ and */ekso-/. With regard to the declension, *hec* and *hoied* point to an old locative */hei̯-ke/ and perhaps to an old ablative */hō(d)/, while the pronominal origin of the nominative plural ending /-ai̯/ of the first nominal declension (cf. §4.2.6) makes it likely that the feminine and masculine nominative plurals of this demonstrative pronoun were */hai̯/ */hoi̯/ in Early Faliscan, and probably */hę̄/ and */hē/ in the later periods.

4.9. The relative pronoun

A relative pronoun *cui* is read by Renzetti Marra (1990:337) in *[---?] preconoſ ?--|---?] cuitenetſ ?---|---?] let* MLF **361**. I very much doubt whether *cui* is indeed a relative pronoun. If it is, the following *tenet* seems to suggests that *cui* is a nominative nominative */kᵘī/ (ultimately from */kᵘoi̯/): I cannot accept Renzetti Marra's suggestion that the form can be a locative /kᵘī/ (ultimately from */kᵘei̯/) or a dative /kuī/ (ultimately from */kᵘoi̯i̯ei̯/). Note, however, that all these interpretations presuppose a merger of (/oi̯/ →) /ei̯/ → /ē/ with /ī/ that is not attested in Faliscan (§3.7.5) and would be very early even in Latin, where this merger operated *c.*150.

4.10. Summary of §§4.2-9

If the preceding sections are resumed with regard to the question of whether Faliscan should be classed with Latin or with the Sabellic languages, the result is the following.

(a) Faliscan participated in the common Proto-Italic innovations of the first- and the fifth-declension ablatives /-ād/ (§4.2.5) and /-ēd/ (§4.6.4), modelled on the second-declension ablative /-ōd/.

(b) Of the phonological changes that affected the endings, typical Sabellic developments like the rounding of word-final /-ā/ (§4.2.1) or the *Endsilbensynkope* (§4.3.1) are not found. Faliscan also aligns with Latin with regard to the results of the assimilations of */-Cs/ in the consonant-stem nominatives (§4.5.1). As in Latin, monophthongization of /ăi̯/ does not seem to have affected the first-declension dative and genitive singular endings, unlike Umbrian and Volscian (§4.2.2-3). Loss of /-d/ affected the ending of the ablative singular from the mid-third century onwards, as in Latin, but unlike the Sabellic languages that either preserved it or lost it much earlier (§4.2.5, §4.3.4, §4.6.4).

It is more interesting to look at the morphological innovations. The following innovations are prehistoric, and, as they are shared with Latin but not with the Sabellic languages, probably Proto-Latin:

(c) As in Latin, the first- and second-declension nominative plural endings */-ās/ and */-ōs/ were replaced by the pronominal endings /-ai̯/ and */-oi̯/, whereas in the Sabellic languages the opposite transfer took place, the endings /-ās/ and /-ōs/ being extended to the pronouns (§4.2.6, §4.3.6).

(d) As in Latin, the nominative singular of the ōn-stems was asigmatic and lost its /n#/, whereas in the Sabellic languages the nominative of these stems was sigmatic */-ōns/ (§4.5.1).

The other significant differences can be ascribed to the historical period, and therefore definitely to the period where Latin and 3the Sabellic languages were separated.

(e) As in Latin, the second-declension genitive singular /-osi̯o/ was replaced by an /-ī/ that reflected PIE */-iH/ (perhaps */-ih₂/) between the first half of the fifth century and the second half of the fourth century, whereas in the Sabellic languages the unattested inherited form (*/-osi̯o/?) was replaced by the i-stem genitive ending */-ei̯s/ probably already during the Proto-Sabellic period, and at the latest in the sixth century (§4.4.2-7).

(f) As in Latin, the first-declension genitive singular /-ās/ was probably replaced by /-āī/ during the late fourth and early third century, whereas in the Sabellic languages /-ās/ was preserved (§4.2.2).

(g) The consonant-stem genitive singular was /-os/, which was probably the original form also in Latin, whereas in the Sabellic languages the unattested inherited form was replaced at an early date by the i-stem genitive in */-ei̯s/ (§4.5.2).

(h) The i-stem genitive singular reflected either Proto-Italic */-ei̯s/, as in Latin and the Sabellic languages, or was /-es/ or /-is/, an innovation that is found also in Latin (§4.5.2).

(i) The fourth-declension genitive singular shows an innovative form /-uos/ that is known also from Latin: it is unclear whether this form was the standard Faliscan ending (§4.6.1).

The only differences between Latin and Faliscan are in the second- and fourth-declension dative singular:

(j) The inherited diphthongal second-declension dative singular was preserved in Faliscan, either as /-ōi̯/ or as /-oi̯/, as in the Sabellic languages, whereas in Latin it was replaced by /-ō/ after the archaic period (§4.3.2).

(k) The fourth-declension dative singular appears as /-ŭi̯/, which may have a parallel in Oscan; there are no attestations of */-ou̯/ or */-uei̯/ (§4.6.2).

The only significant difference between Latin and Faliscan in the nominal declensions is therefore the preservation of the diphthongal second-declension dative /-ōi/ or /-oi̯/, which is of historic date and which, contrary to the Latin innovation /-ō/, left the 'horizontal' perspicuity of the first- and second-declension paradigms intact. The different formations in the fourth-decelension dative cannot, I think, count very heavily, although this is admittedly partly due to the lack of data. In my view, the conclusion can only be that as far as can be established from the lacunary material, Faliscan aligns closely with Latin on virtually every significant morphological opposition between Latin and the Sabellic languages.

The only regular point of comparison provided by the personal pronouns is the first person singular accusative *med*, which clearly links Faliscan to Latin *med ted sed* /mēd tēd sēd/, as opposed to the very different Sabellic /mēom tēom sēom/ (§4.7.2). The Latin-Faliscan forms either preserved a PIE suffix */-d/ (common retention) or may have been new formations after the ablative (common innovation). The indirect data on the demonstrative pronouns shows that Faliscan had a pronoun with the same stem as Latin *hic*, where the Sabellic languages used */eko-/, */ekso-/, etc. (§4.8). The relation of Faliscan *ues* to Latin *uos* and *uoster/uester*, Paelignian *uus*, and Umbrian *uestra* and its implications for the position of Faliscan remains unexplained: the vocalism of these forms poses a problem that comprises both branches of the Italic languages and cannot be solved satisfactorily due to a lack of data (§4.9).

Chapter 5

The verb

The verbal forms attested in the Faliscan inscriptions are few and limited in range, but they provide material of great interest for the study of the Italic verbs, since most Faliscan forms are of a relatively early date. They therefore figured prominently in the studies by Herbig (1913b) and Lejeune (1955). Recently, interest has been rekindled by the publication of the Middle Faliscan perfects faced *MF **470*** and* facet *MF **471***. The chapter opens with a short remark on the problems encountered in the study of the Faliscan verb (§5.1). The Faliscan verb is then discussed, first its general structure (§5.2), then the individual forms (§5.3). The chapter concludes with a short comparison of Faliscan with Latin and the Sabellic languages (§5.4) on the subject of the verbs.*

5.1. The verb: methodological issues

Surprisingly perhaps, the main problem in the evaluation of the Faliscan verb is not the lack of material, nor the necessity to exclude the Latin material (cf. §4.1, §6.1, §8.1): in spite of the not overabundant data, the forms that are attested give a rather good general view of the Faliscan verb, even providing material for a comparison with Latin and the Sabellic languages. The problem is rather that much of the material is Early Faliscan, and that Early Faliscan forms are difficult to compare both to the later material and to the contemporary Latin or Sabellic material. This has led to comparisons between Early Faliscan and e.g. third-century Latin that sometimes resulted in an erroneous picture of how the Faliscan verb relates to the Latin verb. This is especially true in the cases of the forms *fifiked* EF **9** and *fl.fḷiqod* EF **1**.

5.2. The Faliscan verb

5.2.1. Conjugational system. The overall structure of the Faliscan verb follows the four-conjugational system, as in Latin and in the Sabellic languages.

(a) first conjugation: *cupat* MF **40** etc. (for the attestations, see §5.3.1.*2*), perhaps also subj. *pramęd*, *pramed* EF **3**, and imp. (?) *urate* Etr/EF **385**.

(b) athematic laryngeal verbs (probably included in the first conjugation): present not attested, but *pipafo* MF **59**, *pafo* = ‹*pi*›*pafo* MF **60** (stem in */-h_2/) and *porded* EF **1** (stem in */-h_3/) belong in this category.

(c) second conjugation: *saluete* EF **4**, *saluetod* EF **3**, *salueto* EF **4**, *tenet* LF **361**, and probably *lecet* MF **88** (if not a third-conjugation form), also *carefo* MF **59**, *care[f]o* MF **60**.

(d) third conjugation: present not attested, except possibly for *lecet* MF **88** (which is probably a second-conjugation form); *fifiked* EF **9**, *fl.f]iqod* EF **1**, *keset* LF **242**, and *kese[t* LF **243** also belong in this category.

(e) mixed conjugation: probably *douiad* EF **1** (§5.3.1.*4*); the presents of *faced* MF **471***, *facet* MF **470***, and of *pe:para[i* EF **1** are not attested, but will have belonged in this group as well.

(f) fourth conjugation: not attested: *douiad* EF **1** could be a fourth-declension form, but is probably rather of the mixed conjugation (§5.3.1.*4*).

Outside the conjugational system there is the verb 'to be', attested in *esú* Cap **389**, **404**, **465**, *zot* MF **285** (and perhaps *sot* LtF **172**?), and *seite* (=*s{e}ite* or *s‹ie›te*) EF **4**.

5.2.2. Formation of the tenses. The only tenses attested in the Faliscan material are present, perfect, and future: as might be expected from the nature of the material, imperfect, pluperfect, and future perfect are not attested.

(1) Present tense. See §5.2.1.

(2) Future tense. The future is attested only in *pipafo* MF **59**, *pafo* = *‹pi›pafo* MF., and *carefo* MF **59**, *care[f]o* MF **60**. These forms show a suffix *-f-* /-f-/ ← */-β-/: the same suffix occurs in Latin as *-b-* /-b-/, the productive suffix of the future of the first and second conjugations. Both suffixes reflect a Proto-Latin innovation */-β-/, modelled on the imperfect suffix */-β-/ ← Proto-Italic */-b^h-/ (which also occurs once in the Oscan pluperfect *fufans* Cm 1A,10).

Beside this, Latin also had an ā/ē-future in the third and fourth conjugations, going back to the original subjunctive. Although not attested for Faliscan, it seems not unlikely that Faliscan likewise had this future (see §5.3.1.*13*). In the Sabellic languages, the future was formed with an s-suffix (probably a continuation of the PIE aorist subjunctive or desiderative): there is no trace of either the ā/ē-future or the b-future.

(3) Perfect tense. There are no attestations of Faliscan perfect forms with productive perfect suffixes such as Latin /-u̯- -u-/ or Sabellic /-f-/ and /-tt-/. The attested formations are:

(a) reduplicative perfect: *fifiked* EF **9**, *fl.f]iqod* EF **1** (/fifig-/, see §5.3.1.*7-8*) and probably *pe:para[i* EF **1** (/pepar-/ ← Proto-Italic */peprh₃-/).

(b) either reduplicative perfects that lost their reduplicative syllable or old aorists: *porded* EF **1** (see §5.3.1.*14*) and *faced* MF **471***, *facet* MF **470*** (see §5.3.1.*6*).

(c) sigmatic perfect: *keset* LF **242**, *kese[t* LF **243**. The sigmatic perfect, which continues the old sigmatic aorist, occurs in Latin but not in the Sabellic languages.[81] *Keset* and *kese[t* occur in the formula *magistratum gero* that may have been borrowed from Latin, but it seems unlikely that this means that *keset* was Latin rather than Faliscan (cf. §9.4.2).

5.2.3. Formation of the subjunctive. Forms representing moods other than the indicative are attested only for Early Faliscan. The ā-subjunctive appears in *douiad* EF 1 and probably in **[3-4]*ad* EF 1, *tulas* EF **385**, and *tulate* EF **385** (*urate* in the same inscription is perhaps rather an imperative, see §5.3.1.*23*). The ē-subjunctive may be attested in *prameḍ*, *pramed* EF **2**, if this is a verbal form. Both these old subjunctives are found in Latin as well as in the Sabellic languages. As in Latin and the Sabellic languages, the subjunctive of the verb 'to be', appearing in *seite* (= *s[e]ite* or *s‹ie›te*, §5.3.1.*18*) EF **3** is a continuation of the old optative.

5.2.4. The endings. Note that the primary endings are all attested only for Middle and Late Faliscan, and the secondary and imperative endings only for Early Faliscan. Passive endings are not attested at all.

(1) Primary endings (attested for Middle and Late Faliscan only):

1st sg.	:	*-o* /-ō/	(← Proto-Italic/PIE them. */-oh$_2$/), in fut. ind. *pipafo* MF **59**, *pafo=‹pi›pafo* MF **60**, *carefo* MF **59**, *carę[f]o* MF **60**;
		-m /-m/	(← Proto-Italic/PIE athem. */-mi/), in ind. pr. of 'to be', *esú = esú(m)* Cap **389**, **404**, **465**
2nd sg.			—
3rd sg.	:	*-t* /-t/	(← Proto-Italic/PIE */-ti/), in pr. ind. *cupat* MF **40**, *cupat* MF **220**, *cupat* LF **224**, *lecet* MF **88**; (with the *-t* omitted:) *cupa* MLF **305**, *cupa* LF **221**; (either singular or plural:) [*cuba* LtF/Lat **326**]; (restored:) *c]up[at]* MF **159**, *cup[a]* MF **161**, *cupa[?t]* MF **95**, *cu[pa]* LF **226**
1st pl.			—
2nd pl.			—
3rd pl.	:	*-nt* /-nt/	(← Proto-Italic/PIE */-nti/), in pr. ind. *cupa]nt* MF **80**, *cupat* MF **146**, *cupạt* MF **158**, *cupat* LF **223**; (either singular or plural:) *cupa[?t]* MF **95**, *cu[pa]* LF **226** [and *cuba* LtF **326**].

These endings do not differ from the corresponding endings in Latin and the Sabellic

[81] It has been suggested that the Umbrian future perfect *sesust TI* VIa.5 is a sigmatic perfect, but this seems unlikely (cf. *WOU* s.v. *sistu*).

languages. The endings of the third person reflect the Proto-Italic drop of */-i/ following the voicing of word-final occlusives (§3.2.4) that caused the contrast between the primary endings of the third person /-t -nt/ and the secondary endings (see below).

(2) Secondary endings (attestated for Early Faliscan only):

1st sg.		—
2nd sg. :	*-s* /-s/	(←Proto-Italic/PIE */-s/), in pr. subj. *tulas* EF **385**
3rd sg. :	*-d* /-d/	(←Proto-Italic/PIE */-t/), in pr. subj. *douiad* EF **1**, probably also in **[3-4]*ad* EF **1** (can also be plural), perhaps also in *prameḍ*, *pramed* EF **2**
1st pl.		—
2nd pl :	*-te* /-te/	(←Proto-Italic/PIE */-te/), in pr. subj. *tulate* Etr/EF **385**, pr. subj. (continuing an older optative) *seite* EF **4**
3rd pl. :	*-(n)d* /-nd/	(←Proto-Italic/PIE */-nt/), perhaps in pr. subj. **[3-4]*ad* EF **1** (if this form is plural and not singular)

Early Faliscan still shows a clear distinction between the primary and the secondary endings. So, in all probability, did early Latin, but there the primary endings were later generalized throughout (except in the first singular), and the distinction between primary and secondary endings thus largely disappeared (cf. Meiser 1998:216-7). The date of this replacement is unclear: judging by the few epigraphic attestations of Latin forms where secondary endings can be expected (e.g., 3rd sg. fut. *esed CIL* I^2.1, 3rd sg. pr. subj. *sied CIL* I^2.4, 3rd sg. pf. *vhe:vhaked CIL* I^2.3, *feced CIL* I^2.4), the replacement seems to have started after the fifth century, and to have been completed by the third. In Faliscan, it was certainly under way by the late fourth century (see below under *(e)*). In the Sabellic languages, on the other hand, the distinction between the primary and secondary endings was preserved. It is therefore all the more unfortunate that the Faliscan secondary ending of the third plural can be regarded as dubiously attested at best, for this ending provides a clear contrast between Latin, where it was replaced by the primary ending /-nt/, and the Sabellic languages, where it was replaced at a Proto-Sabellic date by a new secondary ending /-ns/ (cf. Shields 1980).

(3) Imperative endings (attested for Early Faliscan only):

2nd sg.		—
3rd sg.		—
2nd pl. :	*-te* /-te/	(←Proto-Italic/PIE */-te/), in *saluete* EF **4**, probably also in *urate* Etr/EF **385** (which could also be a subjunctive)
3rd pl.		—

This ending is the same as the corresponding ending in Latin; the corresponding Sabellic ending is not attested.

(4) Future imperative endings (attested for Early Faliscan only):

2nd sg. :	*-tod* /-tōd/	(←Proto-Italic/PIE */-tōd/), in *salue[to]d* EF **3**
3rd sg.		—
2nd pl. :	*-tod* /-tōd/	(←Proto-Italic/PIE */-tōd/), in *salueto* EF **4** (see below)
3rd pl.		—

The same ending is found in Latin (still archaising *licetod* and *datod* beside *exuehito* and *exferto* in *CIL* I^2.366) as well as in the Sabellic languages (Oscan *líkítud* Cm 1B,10, Umbrian *-tu*). In EF **4** the ending *-to* = *-to(d)* or *-to‹d›* is used for the plural (see also §5.3.1.*17*). This may reflect an inherited paradigm where the future imperative either had only one ending /-tōd/ (or /-tō/, Prosdocimi 1990:304-5), or had a singular and second plural ending /-tōd/ beside a third plural ending */-ntōd/ (Szemerényi 1953:946): the endings of the second plural, Latin *-tote* /-tōte/ (formed after the imperative) and Umbrian *-tuta*, *-tutu*, *-tuto* /-tōtō/ ← */-tōtā/, are post-Proto-Italic formations. The ending of the third plural, Latin *-nto* /-ntō/ ← */-ntōd/ (the corresponding Sabellic ending is not attested),[82] may be inherited or a new formation.

(5) Perfect endings. The endings of the perfect are attested for the Early, Middle and Late Faliscan periods, and thus offer some insight into the development of the perfect endings in the Italic languages.

1st sg. :	*-ai* /-ai̯/	(innovation on Proto-Italic */-a/ ← */-h$_2$a-/ ← PIE */-h$_2$e/), in *pe:para[i* EF **1**
2nd sg.		—
3rd sg. :	*-e-d* /-d/	(= them. secondary ending), in *porded* EF **1**, *fifiked* EF **9**; *faced* MF **471***;
	-et /-ēt/	(innovation containing the primary ending /-t/), in *facet* MF **470***; *keset* LF **242**
		(with missing or omitted ending:) *kese[* LF **243** and possibly *i*ice* LF **309**, **315** (see §5.3.1.*9*)
1st pl.		—
2nd pl.		—
3rd pl. :	*-o-nd* /-nd/	(= them. secondary ending), in *f[.f]iqod* EF **1**

The first singular ending is *-a[i* /-ai̯/, a reformation of the original inherited perfect ending, Proto-Italic /-h$_2$a/ ← PIE /-h$_2$e/, with an /-i/ that may have been derived from the primary endings (Untermann 1968a:165-9): the same ending is found in Latin. The date of this reformation was either Proto-Italic (*/-h$_2$a-i̯/ or */-a-i̯/) or Latin-Faliscan (*/-a-i̯/): as the Sabellic languages appear to show no sign of the old singular

[82] It has been suggested that Oscan *eítuns* Po 27, 29, 31 etc. shows a third plural future imperative ending *-tuns* /-tōns/ (cf. *WOU* s.v. *eítuns*): this ending would then be modelled on the secondary ending /-ns/ (a Proto-Sabellic innovation) and also be a recent formation.

perfective endings (cf. below, note 83), this cannot be established with certainty. The Faliscan form is the only attestation of the stage /-ai̯/: the Latin attestations show only the later stages of its phonological development, *-ei* /-ei̯/ → *-e* /-ē/ → *-i* /-ī/ (first *ueixei* *CIL* I^2.14 and *petiei* beside *accumulaui*, *genui*, *optinui* *CIL* I^2.15, in the *elogia Scipionum*). In the Sabellic languages, there is only one attestation of the first singular perfect, in Oscan *[man]afum* Cp 37,1 *manafum* Cp 37,3, where the ending is /-o-m/, the (secondary) ending of the thematic aorist. Herbig (1914:238 n.1) interpreted *tulom* MF **68** as having this ending as well, but this is unlikely (see §5.3.1.22).

In the third singular perfect, there was a shift in the endings. Early and Middle Faliscan show forms that continue the (secondary) ending of the thematic aorist ending *-e-d* (← Proto-Italic/PIE */-t/) in Early Faliscan *porded* EF **1**, *fifiked* EF **9**, and Middle Faliscan *faced* MF **471***, but the Middle and Late Faliscan forms *facet* MF **470*** and *keset* LF **242** show a different ending. A similar shift occurs in Latin. The early Latin attestations of the third singular perfect, *vhe:vhaked* *CIL* I^2.3 and *feced* *CIL* I^2.4, also show *-e-d*, and this ending also shows up in a contaminated form *-id* in the much later *fecid* (beside *dedit*) in *CIL* I^2.561. The older *-d*, however, was replaced by *-eit* /-ei̯t/ → *-et* /-ēt/ → *-it* /-īt/ → *it* /-t/.[83] This 'new' ending represents the older perfect ending */-ei̯/, i.e., the inherited PIE */-e/ with a prehistoric addition of an /-i/,[84] that was recharacterized with the primary ending /-t/ to /-ei̯-t/: the Latin forms *dede* *CIL* I^2.47, 2438 and *fece* *CIL* I^2.416 may in fact reflect the ending /-ei̯/ (Untermann 1968a:169-70). The earliest Latin attestations of the new ending *-et* appear to be from the middle and the second half of the third century (*cepet* *CIL* I^2.25, *dedet* *CIL* I^2.48, *CIL* I^2.49; for other attestations of the variants, see the indices to *CIL* I^2).

This situation differs from the one in the Sabellic languages. There, as in Early and Middle Faliscan and early Latin, the ending of the third singular perfect was the old aorist ending *-e-d* (in some languages, such as Umbrian, reduced to zero), but contrary to what happened in Latin and Faliscan, this ending was maintained and not replaced by a new ending. An exception to this is formed by a handful of southern Oscan forms, *αfαματετ* Lu 18 (beside *αfααματεδ* Lu 6), *δεδετ* Lu 19, and *αναfακετ* Lu 18. Since this *-ετ* cannot represent /-ei̯-t/ or /-ē̯-t/, these forms must represent a replacement of the secondary ending *-δ* by the primary ending *-τ*, perhaps connected to a weakening or desonorization of word-final /-d/.[85]

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[83] Like Wachter (1987:270), I do not think that in Latin this replacement was due to a weakening of word-final occlusives, although this may have contributed to the process.

[84] The date of this addition is unknown: if Palaeoumbrian *face* Um 4=**480**† represents the inherited perfect ending /-e/ rather than /-e-d/ or /-ē̯/ ← */-ei̯/ *and* is representative of the Sabellic languages in general, then */-ei̯/ must have been a post-Proto-Italic innovation. All other Sabellic attestations of the third singular perfect point to /-e-d/, however.

[85] Note, however, the forms *αfλκειτ* (= *α‹να›f‹α›κειτ*?) Lu 13 and the unexplained *λιοκακειτ* Lu 39, which apparently have an ending /-ei̯t/.

The Middle Faliscan forms *faced* and *facet* are both from the late fourth century, showing that the replacement of *-ed* by *-et* was in progress by that time. The nature of the new ending is not clear: *-et* can represent either /-ēt/, in which case the new ending is the same one as in Latin, or /-e-t/, with a replacement of the /-d/ by the primary ending /-t/ similar to the one in southern Oscan. In my view, the Faliscan replacement is best regarded as connected with the replacement of the ending in Latin, and *-et* is therefore probably /-ēt/. In Faliscan, the weakening of word-final occlusives (§3.5.7*c*) may have made this replacement easier, although it is unlikely to have caused it.

The Faliscan ending of the third plural perfect also shows an old thematic aorist ending, *-o-(n)d* /-o-nd/: in this respect Faliscan differs from both Latin and the Sabellic languages. In Latin, the ending was the inherited perfect ending */-ēri/ (← PIE */-eh$_1$-ri/), first attested in *steterai CIL* I^2.2832a (with an *-ai* probably influenced by the endings of the first singular /-ai̯/ and the second singular, which was then either the inherited */-tai̯/ or the new formation */-is-tai̯/), and later as *-ere* /-ēre/. Beside this, Latin later developed the endings /-eront/ and /-ēront/, the latter apparently a contamination of /-ēre/ × /-eront/, but there is no indication that in Latin the aorist ending was ever used for the third plural perfect. The Sabellic languages had a Proto-Sabellic innovation /-ns/: the original ending, whether */-nd/ or */-ēri/, is unattested.

In view of this difference, it may be questioned whether Faliscan *f[.f]i̯qod* is representative of the standard Early Faliscan paradigm. Faliscan, early Latin, and the Sabellic languages all show the old aorist ending as the standard ending of the third *singular* of the perfect: Faliscan *f[.f]i̯qod* therefore represents a very obvious analogical extension of the aorist endings to the third *plural* of the perfect. This use of the aorist ending for the third plural of the perfect may have been incidental: the Faliscan material does not show whether *-o-nd* ever was or became the standard ending, or coexisted alongside another ending (presumably */-ēri/). Conversely, the Latin and Sabellic material only shows that there the aorist ending for the third plural perfect was never standardized, not that it never occurred there as well.

5.3. The attested Faliscan verbs.

5.3.1. Verb forms. The following list contains all the verb forms attested in the Faliscan material.

1. *carefo* MF **59**, *care̯[f]o* MF **60**, 1st sg. fut. ind. The /-ē-/ continues the PIE stative suffix */-eh$_1$-/ rather than */-ei̯e-/ (cf. Meiser 2003:90-1).

2. *cupat* MF **40**, *c]up[at]* MF **159**, *cup[a]* MF **161**, *cupat* MF **220**, *cupa* MLF **305**, *cupa* LF **221**, *cupat* LF **224**, [also *cubat* LtF **231**], 3rd sg. pr. ind.;

3. *cupa]nt* MF **80**, *cupat* MF **146**, *cupa̯t* MF **158**, *cupat* LF **223**, 3rd pl. pr. ind.;

(either singular or plural:) *cupa[?t]* MF **95**, *cu[pa]* LF **226**, [*cuba* LtF **326**].
In all Italic languages where the verb is attested (Latin *cubo*, South Picene *qupat* MC.1, AP.3, Marrucinian *cibat* MV 6, Paelignian *incubat* Pg 10) the verb belongs to the first declension: as it is hardly a causative or a denominative, this may be due to the largyngeal of the root, */keu̯bʰ₂-/, affecting the suffix (*/kubʰ₂-eie̯-/ → */kubʰ₂-aie̯-/, cf. Meiser 2003:66 n.112).

4. *douiad* EF **1** (also in Herbig's (1913:75) restoration *[dou]iad* in EF **1**), 3rd sg. pr. act. subj. Faliscan *douiad* has rightly been compared to the Latin subjunctive forms *duam* (cf. *DÉ, LEW* s.vv. *dō*, *duam*). The forms continue a root /*deh₃u̯-/ or */doh₃u̯-/,[86] an extension of */deh₃-/ (see *WOU* s.v. *pordouitu*, Meiser 2003: 182-3). The Faliscan form probably represents a third-conjugation /dōu̯-i̯-ā-d/ based on an old aorist stem (thus Meiser 1987:189), cf. also the Latin subjunctive *duim* etc. from the same root; interpreting *douiad* as a fourth-conjugation form /dōu̯ī-ā-d/ seems more difficult.

5. *esú* Cap **389**, **404**, **465** = *esú(m)* /esom/, 1st sg. pr. ind. The form *esum* is attested for several Sabellic languages: South Picene *esom* TE.4, Praesamnitic *esum* Ps 4, 5, Hernician *esu* He 3, and Umbrian *esu* Um 18. For Latin, it was already known from Varro ("*sum* quod nunc dicitur olim dicebatur *esum*, et in omnibus personis constabat, quod dicitur *esum es est*, *eram eras erat*, *ero eris erit*" *L* 9.57), and is now attested in the inscription *morai eso[m]* from the ager Signinus (Colonna 1994). *Esom* also appears in the Garigliano inscription (early fifth century), *pari med esom kom meois sokiois trivoiai deom duo[...]nei* (see M. Mancini 1997). Both branches of the Italic languages therefore show an /esom/ alongside /som/, although the epigraphically attested Latin and Capenate forms are all from areas where Sabellic influence is a distinct possibility. Since due to the constraints imposed by the borrowing hierarchy (§1.3.2.2) it is very unlikely that either branch borrowed the form from the other (cf. and also Joseph & Wallace 1987:680-1), /esom/ is in all probability a Proto-Italic form: it may, however, have been borrowed as part of a formula: see §9.3.2.

The usual explanation is that /som/, which cannot be derived regularly from PIE */h₁ésmi/, was a Proto-Italic innovation, and that /esom/ was an analogical creation after /som/ (in short, /som es est/ → /esom es est/). Joseph & Wallace (1987) argue against this, assuming that /esom/ was the original form, and that /som/ was a later development from /esom/. They propose that the development was in fact PIE */h₁ésmi/ → Proto-Italic */h₁esmi/ → */esmi/ → */esm̥/ → */esəm/ → /esom/. This derivation follows regular phonological processes in all but the final two steps.

[86] In earlier publications, Meiser gave the root as */dou̯(H)-/ (1986:186-91): cf. also (on Latin *duim* etc.) "Aoriststamm **dou̯* < **deu̯h* ... das Präs. bietet falisk. *douiad* 'det' " (1998:184).

M. Mancini's (1997:32-3) objection to */esm̥/ → */esəm/, that Proto-Italic (word-internal) /Vsm/ was retained (and later developed to /V̄m/ in Latin), is irrelevant: in */esm̥/, the cluster is word-final and, moreover, contains a morpheme boundary. The development of */es-m̥/ can therefore to be compared to that of the accusative singular of the consonant-stems, and the problem is rather why */es-m̥/ should develop to /esom/ while the accusative */-C-m̥/ developed to /-C-em/. Joseph & Wallace assume that the */-m̥/ in */es-m̥/ was secondary, and therefore did not develop like the accusative */-m̥/. For the final step, */esəm/ → /esom/, they assume either a labialization of /ə/ → /o/ due to the following /m/, or an analogy after the thematic secondary ending /-om/. It is unclear, however, why in that case the accusative in /-em/ did not *also* change to /-om/ at a Proto-Italic date under the influence of the second-declension accusative, especially since /-om/ later replaced /-em/ in the Sabellic languages.

More problematic, in my view, is the way in which Joseph & Wallace (1987:687, 689-90) derive /som/ from /esom/ by assuming that /esom/ lost its initial /e-/ in enclitic position (/X́-esom/ → /X́-som/) separately in Latin and in the Sabellic languages. They are probably right in assuming that such a loss cannot have been a Proto-Italic process and therefore has to be ascribed to separate processes in Latin and Sabellic, but their explanation is slightly awkward in that it ascribes this loss to two processes that operated in dissimilar contexts: in Latin, the syncopation or reduction of *medial* syllables (including those in compounds like *necdum* ← */nek^{u}e-dum/), and in Sabellic, the syncopation processes that mainly affected *final* syllables. If correct, Joseph & Wallace's explanation would place the emergence of /som/ somewhere in the fifth century for Latin (cf. §3.6.6) and perhaps also for the Sabellic languages, late enough for /esom/ to survive in the epigraphic record. I wonder, however, whether an accented /esom/ and an enclitic /som/ might not have existed side by side from a Proto-Italic date onwards (cf. also Meiser 1998:221-2).

The Latin and Capenate forms all preserve an unrhotacised /-s-/: except in the case of *esom* in the Garigliano inscription, which predates rhotacism, this point, too, needs to be addressed. In the *esum* quoted by Varro (assuming that he used a post-rhotacism source), this is probably due to analogy with the /s/ in the remainder of the paradigm: it is not necesssary to assume that /esom/ was in fact rhotacised to */erom/ and that this hastened its disappearance, as Joseph & Wallace (1987:691-2) suggest. The Capenate forms can therefore represent both Latin and a Sabellic language: if they are Sabellic, they are most likely to be Sabine. However, the only evidence for the presence or absence of rhotacism in Sabine seems to be the forms quoted by Varro (*L* 5.74, Velius Longus *CGL* 7.69.7-9) and Festus (Paul. *Fest.* 8.14L), which seem to suggest that rhotacism did not occur there.

6. *faced* MF **471***, *facet* MF **470***, 3rd sg. pf. act. ind. The different endings are due to a replacement of the old aorist ending *-d* by a new perfect ending, see §5.2.4*e*.

The publication of these two Faliscan forms *faced*/*facet* has re-opened the discussion on the Italic perfects (and aorists) from the root */$d^{h}eh_1$-/. Starting with the *non*-reduplicative (aorist) forms from the root */$d^{h}eh_1$-/ in the Italic languages, these are as follows. Latin had *fec-* /fēk-/ at least from the fifth century onwards (first attested in *duenos med feced CIL* I^2.4 and *nouos · plautios · med romai · feced CIL* I^2.561). The Sabellic languages, on the other hand, have *fak-*/*fac-* /fak-/ in Paleoumbrian *face* Um 4=**480**† (*c.*560), and in Umbrian fut. pf. *fakust TI* IV.31, *fakurent TI* Ib.32, *facurent TI* VIIa.43: Oscan *ανafακετ* Lu 18, may be another instance (see below). Perhaps a similar from is *]face* in an inscription from the Vestinian area (Mattiocco 1986:92, 95).

The easiest solution to explain this co-occurrence of /fēk-/ and /fak-/ is to assume that both are derived from an Proto-Italic aorist that still showed paradigmatic *Ablaut*, with a singular */$d^{h}eh_1k$-/ → */ϕēk-/ and a plural */$d^{h}h_1k$-/ → */ϕak-/: in Faliscan and the Sabellic languages, the plural form of the root was generalized, in Latin, the singular form (thus Wallace 2004:179, Poccetti 2005: 27-8). Such a paradigmatic *Ablaut* existed in the roots */deh_1- dh_1-/ 'to give' and */h_1es- h_1s-/ 'to be', but it must have been a very rare phenomenon the Proto-Italic.

A similar co-occurrence of /fak-/ and /fē(k)-/ is apparently found within the Umbrian present: inf. *façiu TI* IIa.16, *façu TI* IIb.22; 3rd sg. subj. *façia TI* IIa.17 but also *feia TI* Va.23, Vb.3; fut. imp. *fetu TI* Ia.3 etc. (47 attestations), *feitu TI* VIa.22 (20 attestations), *fetu TI* VIa.22 etc. (53 attestations), *feitu TI* VIb.3 etc. (5 attestations). This alternation may reflect two different formations, */fak-i̯-/ and */fē-i̯-/ (cf. *WOU* s.v. *fakiiad*), or *fei-*/*fe-* reflect a form that developed directly from */fak-i̯-/ (cf. Meiser 1986:124 (/fei̯tu/ ← */fakitōd/) and Berenguer & Luján 2005:198-202).

The alternative explanation is that /fak-/ and /fēk-/ are reduplicative perfects that had lost their reduplicative syllable (thus e.g. Berenguer & Luján 2005:209-10, De Simone 2006:162-3, 172). In this explanation, two new problems present themselves: *(a)* why these reduplicative perfects should have lost their reduplication (and thus become identical with the old aorist), and *(b)* why there should have been two reduplicative perfects /fefak-/ and /fefēk-/ in the first place, especially since /fefēk-/ has a full-grade root, whereas the reduplicative perfect normally has a zero-grade root. Also, the Latin data seem to argue against this, for in Latin the attested reduplicative perfect is *vhe:vhaked CIL* I^2.3 /fefak-e-d/, but the later form is not /fak-/ but *fec-* /fēk-/. Before attempting to answer these two questions, however, a brief look at the material on the reduplicative perfects of the root */$d^{h}eh_1k$-/ is needed.

The attestations of /fefak-/ are the following. The two Latin attestations of this reduplicative perfect are the *vhe:vhaked CIL* I^2.3 on the *fibula Praenestina*, whose authenticity has been a point of debate, although most authors now accept its authenticity,[87] and the *vḥe[* in the Vendia-inscription **479**†, which can be restored both as *vḥe[ked* and as *vḥe[vhaked* (see §18.3.1). Oscan shows attestations of */fefak-/ in the perfect *fe‹f›acid TB* 10 and the future perfect *fefacust TB* 11, 17, *fef[acust] TB* 33. Another instance is perhaps Oscan *αναfακετ* Lu 18, which is either a reduplicative perfect with drop of the reduplicative syllable after a prefix (cf. *LHS* I p.587) or a form of the perfect /fak-/.

The evidence for /fefēk-/ consists in effect only of Praesamnitic *fɛfικεδ* Ps 20 (with an early closing of /ē/ → /ī/). The other possible attestations, Palaeoumbrian *hehike* read by Firmani (1977) in Um 2, and South Picene *fefeh* read by Marinetti (1999; still *tefeí* 1985:233) in CH.2 are now read differently as *heṛuseḥ* or *heṛuseṣ* and as *tefeh* respectively. Some authors, e.g. Poccetti (2005:28), also include Oscan *fifikus* Cp 37 and Faliscan *fifiked* EF **9** and *f[.f]iqod* EF **1** among the attestations of /fefēk-/, but I still prefer to regard these forms as perfects from the root */d^{h}eiǵ^{h}-/ (cf. below on *fifiked/f[.f]iqod*).

In my view, the explanation of these forms must start from the assumption that at least /fēk-/, /fak-/, and /fefak-/ reflect Proto-Italic forms: *(a)* /fak-/ and /fefak-/ are both attested for both branches of the Italic languages (unless *vhe:vhaked* is discarded as evidence); *(b)* /fēk-/ can only be a aorist full-grade root (hardly a reduplicative perfect that lost its reduplicative syllable, see below); *(c)* /fefak-/ is a reduplicative perfect, which ceased to be a productive category during the Proto-Italic period (although new reduplicative perfects may still have been formed later by creative analogy, as may be the case with /fefēk-/).

The only way in which /fēk-/ and /fak-/ could be of a later date is by assuming that they were originally reduplicative perfects /fefēk-/ and /fefak-/ that somehow lost their reduplicative syllable. This is a difficult assumption especially in the case of /fefēk-/, as the Italic reduplicative perfect had a zero-grade root, but there are also more general objections against this idea. Berenguer & Luján (2005:209-10) suggest that the reduplicative syllable could be dropped because it was regarded as more or less equivalent to a prefix. I find this idea unappealing, for three reasons: *(a)* unlike prefixes, reduplication only occurred in well-defined morphological categories; *(b)* if true, a far more widespread drop of reduplicative syllables would be expected; *(c)* this explanation reduces the reduplicative perfect to a non-category, since it assumes that the category's distinctive feature could be more or less freely omitted.

[87] Among the recent authors on the perfect of *facio*, Meiser (2003:178-80), Poccetti (2005: 30-2), and De Simone (2006) all assume the authenticity of *vhe:vhaked*.

A drop of reduplicative syllables certainly occurred in Latin (and perhaps also in the Sabellic languages, cf. e.g. Oscan *avafακετ* Lu 18), but only in verbs with a prefix (cf. *LHS* I p.587): this was probably because forms in which the root was preceded by *both* a prefix *and* a reduplicative syllable did not conform to the desired bisyllabic structure (see Meiser 1998:210, 2003:160). De Simone (2006:162-3) explains the emergence of /fēk-/ and /fak-/ by the attested drop of the reduplicative syllable in compounds (cf. *LHS* I p.587) spread to non-compounded verbs, but the arguments against this idea are *mutatis mutandis* much the same as the ones named above.

I would suggest that the various forms can more easily be explained by the assumption of a Proto-Italic confusion between an aorist and a reduplicative perfect. If this aorist still had functional vowel gradation (i.e., sg. */$d^{h}eh_1k$-/ vs. pl. */$d^{h}h_1k$-/) in Proto-Italic, this must have been quite exceptional, and the expected development would be that either the root of the singular or the root of the plural would be generalized throughout the paradigm. The evidence seems to point to the existence of *both* these paradigms, one with */$d^{h}eh_1k$-/ → */ɸēk-/ and one with */$d^{h}h_1k$-/ → */ɸak-/. The co-existence of two variant roots in the aorist beside a reduplicative perfect */$d^{h}ed^{h}h_1k$-/ → */ɸeðak-/ may well have led to the analogical creation of a new reduplicative perfect */$d^{h}ed^{h}eh_1k$-/ → */ɸeðēk-/.

The creation of */ɸeðēk-/ may have taken place *after* the Proto-Italic period: this limits the number of forms that has to be assumed for Proto-Italic, and the material allows it. In that case, however, it must be assumed that the languages where */ɸeðēk-/ was formed preserved */ɸak-/, */ɸēk-/, *and* */ɸeðak-/.

The Sabellic languages then either preserved Proto-Italic */ɸak-/, */ɸeðak-/ and */ɸeðēk-/ (all three of which are reflected in the epigraphic material) or preserved Proto-Italic */ɸak-/, */ɸēk-/, and */ɸeðak-/ (like Latin-Faliscan, see below) and formed a new perfect */ɸeðēk-/ → /feβēk/, with */ɸēk-/ subsequently vanishing, apparently without trace.[88] The reduplicative perfects */ɸeðak-/→ /ɸeβak-/ and */ɸeðēk-/ → /feβēk/ then survived in the south, and /fak-/ in the north. These varying outcomes can be ascribed to different preferences: e.g. in the south, a desire to preserve a clearly marked perfect (pr. /fak-i̯-/ : pf. /feβak-/) and in the north, a desire to preserve the perspicacity of the paradigm by generalization of just one form of the root (pr. /fak-i̯-/ : pf. /fak-us-).

Latin-Faliscan must have preserved Proto-Italic */ɸak-/, */ɸēk-/, and */ɸeðak-/, but the distribution of these forms is suprising, since Latin uniquely shows both an (early) reduplicative perfect /fefak-/ (← */feβak-/ ← */ɸeðak-/) and a (later) non-reduplicative perfect /fēk-/. Meiser (2003:160-1, 178-80)

[88] Marrucinian (or Paelignian, cf. Jiménez Zamudio 1986:43) *fec* = *fec(ed)*? MV 3 may represent a survival of */fēk-/. *Fecront NDI* 223=*ILLRP* 303 is Latin, not Marsian.

explains this on the basis of the distributional patterns of the perfect formations: "Das [reduplizierende Perfekt] findet sich nur bei Verben mit anlautender Okklusiva, Gruppe aus "*s* + Okklusiva" und Nasal" (2003:160). In his view, the discrepancy between the word-initial and the word-internal reflexes of the voiced aspirates caused an anomaly in the reduplicative perfect of the verbs with a root starting in an original voiced aspirate (see §3.3.3), and it was this anomaly which in Latin (and Faliscan?)[89] eventually lead to the standardization of the non-reduplicative perfect in these verbs.

Taking into account that Proto-Latin must have had */ɸak-/ → */fak-/, */ɸēk-/ → */fēk-/, and */ɸeðak-/ → */feβak-/ → */fefak-/, this means that if Meiser's explanation is correct, it is in fact Faliscan that shows the more expected development, dropping /fefak-/ in favour of /fak-/, while in Latin /fefak-/ was for some reason replaced by /fēk-/. Meiser (2003:179-80) suggests that this may be due to dialect variation; De Simone (2006:173-4) in fact ascribes /fēk-/ to Roman Latin.

7. *fifiked* EF **9**, 3rd sg. pf. act. ind.

8. *f[.f]iqod* EF **1**, 3rd pl. pf. act. ind. (*-od* = *-o(n)d*). Herbig's (1913b:74-80) and Buonamici's (1913:40) restoration *f[if]iqod* (cf. *fifiked*) is probably correct.

Assuming that *k* in *fifiked* and *q* in *f[if]iqod* represent /g/ (cf. §11.2.3), both forms can represent a reduplicative perfect /fifig-/. At least in *fifiked*, and probably also in *f[.f]iqod*, the vowel of the reduplicative syllable was either assimilated to that of the root, or preserved a (Proto-Italic?) reduplication where the vowel of the reduplicative syllable followed that of the root, especially where this was /i/ or /u/ (cf. Meiser 2003:159-60). Since the PIE root was */d^heig^h-/, the presence of an intervocalic /g/ must be due analogy with the /g/ in the present stem */fing-/ (as in Latin *fingo*) ← */d^hing^h-/, where it was the regular development of */g^h/ (← */ǵ^h/) after the nasal infix (§3.2.8), unless it is assumed that in Faliscan intervocalic */g^h/ developed to /g/ (G. Giacomelli 1963:125, Stuart-Smith 2004:62) which would explain its occurrence here and in *lecet* MF **88**: see §3.3.3.

The formation of the perfect was radically different from the one found in Latin, Early Faliscan having a reduplicative perfect with assimilation of the vowel in the reduplicative syllable, and Latin, an s-perfect *finxi* that reflects an aorist, with analogical extension of the nasal infix. In view of what was said under *faced/facet* (above) on the distribution of the reduplicative perfects with roots in /f-/, it is possible that the Faliscan reduplicative perfect /fifig-/ later disappeared and/or that Latin originally *also* had a reduplicative perfect which was later dropped in favour of *finxi*.

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[89] Middle Faliscan *faced* MF **471*** and *facet* MF **470***, published in 2003-2004, were of course unknown to Meiser when he formulated this theory.

The idea that *fifiked* and *f[.f]iqod* (as well as Oscan *fifikus* Cp 37, and perhaps Samnitic *fif[* (=*fif[iked]*?) in Sa 4) are in fact forms of *facio* was rejected already by Lejeune (1955), but has been revived in the recent discussion on *facedlfacet* (see above), e.g. by Poccetti (2005:32-4). To me, this idea remains unacceptable. The vowel of the root is spelled as *i* both in *fifiked* and in *f[.f]iqod* (where readings like *f[.f]eqod* or *f[.f]aqod* can certainly be excluded), and this *i* must represent /ĭ/, as in this interpretation the *i* in the reduplicative syllable of *fifiked* (and presumably in that of *f[.f]iqod*) can be explained *only* by assimilation to the vowel of the root. However, a Faliscan /-fĭk-/ cannot be derived by any regular process from either */-d^{h}h$_1$k-/ or */-d^{h}eh$_1$k-/, and *fifiked* and *f[.f]iqod* are far to early to ascribe it to a reduction of /a/ (← */h$_1$/), which cannot reasonably be placed before the fifth century (§3.6.6), let alone of /ē/ (← */eh$_1$/).[90]

9. **?** *i*ice* LF **309**, *i*ice* LF **315** (probably to be read either as *ipice* or as *idice*). The word is usually explained as a verb because of the structure of the inscription *tito : uellmineo : iunlai i*ice* LF **315**, where editors have interpreted *iunai* as a dative, being reluctant to assume a genitive in *-ai* for Faliscan (§4.2.2).

Herbig (1923:231-2) suggested that *ipice* = *impigit* ← */en-pepag-/ (root */peh$_2$g-/), a reduplicative perfect of an **impingo* 'to fasten upon', with a reduction of the medial syllable as was then assumed for *porded* EF **1**. Although the possibility of such a reduction is now rightly doubted in the case of *porded*, by the time of Late Faliscan *i*ice* it may not have been impossible (cf. §3.6.6); in any case, the reduction might be due to the omission, found mainly in Latin, of reduplicative syllables when the verb carries a prefix (cf. below under *porded*). Since reduction of word-internal syllables was assumed to be entirely absent in Faliscan (cf. §3.6.6), this explanation was rejected by Stolte (1926:61), who revived the alternative rejected by Herbig, namely *ipice* = *impīgit* ← */en-pīg-/, perfect of an **impingo* 'to paint upon'. Of such a perfect */pīg-/ there appears to be no trace, however, nor does its existence seem likely (cf. Meiser 2003:152-8 on the distribution of the various perfect formations), except as an analogical creation. In my view, there can be reasonable doubt whether *i*ice* is a verb at all: I would rather regard it as a cognomen (see §7.9.1.*3*).[91]

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[90] In Latin the assimilation of the vowel of the reduplicative syllable to that of the root did not take place if the root vowel was a secondary /i/ or /u/ due to weakening of /a/, /e/, or /o/ (*LHS* I p.586).

[91] Because of the constraints of the borrowing hierarchy (§1.3.2.*2*) and the rarity of Etruscan lexical borrowings in Faliscan (§6.3, §9.2.2), I think it unlikely that *i*ice* is an Etruscan verb in *-ce*, as was suggested by Ribezzo (1931b:192) from a Faliscan **ipi* = Latin *ibi*, which is impossible as the Faliscan form would have been **ifi*) and Pisani (1964:341, from Etruscan *ipi* 'olla sepolcrale', derived in the same way as *turuce* Cr 3.17 etc. was derived from δῶρον).

10. *keset* LF **242**, *kese[t* LF **243**, 3rd sing. pf. ind. The verb shows an s-perfect as in Latin. Both Faliscan attestations occur in the formulaic phrase *magistratum gessit*, which is identical with the phrase used in Latin (*TLL* 6^2.1939,1-1940,56, cf. §6.2.*30*, §9.4.2) and may be either a copy or a calque (cf. Renzettti Marra 1990:339-40).

11. *lecet* MF **88**, 3rd sing. pr. ind. As the PIE root is */leǵʰ-/, the *c* is difficult: either the Faliscan development was (*/ǵʰ-/ →) */gʰ/ → */ɣ/ → /g/ (G. Giacomelli 1963:125, Stuart-Smith 2004:62), or *c* (still) represents /ɣ/ (Meiser 2003:68 n.118): cf. §3.3.3. Unlike the case of *fifiked* EF **9**, *f[.f]iqod* EF **1**, it is not possible to ascribe the /g/ to an analogy. Since *e* can represent both /ē/ and /ę/, *-et* may represent either third-conjugation [-ę-t] = /-e-t/ or /-i-t/ (as appears to be implied by its IE cognates, cf. *DÉ*, *LEW*, *EDL* s.v. *lectus*) or second-conjugation /-ē-t/ (thus Vetter 1953:301). The latter possibility may be the more likely one: Meiser (2003:68 n.118) points to the productivity of the stative suffix */-eh₁-/ in verbs like Sabellic */stāē-/ underlying forms like e.g. Oscan *stahínt* Cp 25, *staíet* Cm 1B.31, Cp 24, Samnitic *staít* Sa 1B.22, and Latin *sedeo* beside *sido*.

12. ? *pe:para[i* EF **1**, 1st sg. pf. act. ind. The use of punctation to separate the reduplicative syllable from the root is parallelled only by the *vhe:vhaked* of the *fibula Praenestina CIL* I^2.3.[92] In spite of this curious division, *pe : para[* has been read and interpreted as *pe:para[i* = Latin *peperi* since Herbig (1913b:84-7), a reading that in my view is still not entirely certain. Other proposals have been made (e.g., Peruzzi's (1964:160-4) *pe : par a[dke]douiad* 'per par accedat' and *pe : para[te ke]douiad* ''per parate accedat'), but none of these have ever affected the accepted reading.

If *pe:para[i* is read, this is a reduplicative perfect /pepar-/ ← */peprh₃-/, the expected early form of the Latin perfect *peperi*. The ending *-a[i* /-ai̯/ represents an innovation by the addition of /-i/ to the Proto-Italic ending */-h₂a/ ← PIE */-h₂e/, although it cannot be said whether this addition was Proto-Italic or Latin-Faliscan only (see §5.2.3*e*). The form is the only instance of the ending of the first singular perfect that still shows the stage /-ai̯/.

13. *pipafo* MF **59**, *pafo=‹pi›pafo* MF **60**, 1st sg. fut. act. ind. Editors have questioned whether *pipafo* and *pafo* represent two different formations or if one is simply an error for the other. Since the two kylikes on which these forms occur were obviously meant as a pair (or even as part of a series), I assume that *pafo* is a graphical error for *‹pi›pafo*.

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[92] Campanile (1986), in the discussion on the authenticity of the *fibula Praenestina*, has shown convincingly that *pe:para[i* cannot have been the alleged faker's model for *vhe:vhaked*, as the Ceres-inscription was still unknown when the *fibula Praenestina* first appeared.

Whether Faliscan *pip-* represents /pib-/ (← PIE */pi-pʰ$_3$-/ ← */pi-bʰ$_3$-/), or the later /bib-/ found in Latin (cf. §5.2.2.*13*, §6.2.*3*) cannot be established. The *-a-* represents either /ā/ or /a/, according to how the form is analysed:

(a) pipafo represents /pipa-f-ō/, /piba-f-ō/ or /biba-f-ō/ from an original athematic */pi-pʰ$_3$-/ or */pi-bʰ$_3$-/, the /-a-/ continuing the laryngeal: Latin *bibo* would then show a regular reduction of the medial vowel (Schrijver 1991:413). If *pafo* is a different formation, /ba-f-ō/ ← */bʰ$_3$-/ would then have a direct parallel in Latin *dabo* /da-b-ō/ ← */dʰ$_3$-/ (thus, e.g., *LEW* s.v. *bibō*, Schrijver 1991:412-3).

(b) pipafo represents /pipā-f-ō/, /pibā-f-ō/ or /bibā-f-ō/, assuming that the verb in Faliscan belonged in the first conjugation (thus G. Giacomelli 1963:152, 238-9, pointing to pairs like *cumbere : cubare*). In this case, it remains unexplained *why* the verb belonged in the first conjugation, however.

(c) pipafo represents /pip-ā-fō/, /pib-ā-fō/, or /bib-ā-fō/, assuming that an (unattested) ā/ē-future **pipam* /pip-ā-m/, /pib-ā-m/, or /bib-ā-m/ etc. was reformed to an *f*-future with retention of the /ā/, after other *f*-futures (cf. *carefo*), especially the *f*-future of the first conjugation, which would have had /-ā-f-ō/.

14. *porded* EF **1**, 3rd sg. pf. act. ind. The form is often regarded as an originally reduplicative perfect */por-ded-e-d/ with loss of the medial syllable: a reduplicative perfect from the root */deʰ$_3$-/ is found both in Latin (*dedi*) and in the Sabellic languages (Umbrian *teřust TI* Ib.34, *dirsust TI* VIIa.43, and Oscan *dedens* Cm 2, 4, 9, *ded[ens* Sa 24, δεδενς Lu 2). As the reduction or loss of a medial syllable is difficult to maintain at this date, Meiser (2003:106 n.31) and Wallace (2004:179 n.24) argue that the form is rather a continuation of an old aorist. Alternatively, the form could in my view still be explained as a reduplicative perfect, with the loss of the reduplicative syllable due to the tendency, observable at least in Latin, to drop the reduplicative syllable if the verb carries a prefix (cf. above under *faced/facet*).

15. **?** *prameḍ*, *pramed* EF **2**, possibly 3rd sg. pr. act. subj. /prām-ē-d/. Although the word is often interpreted as an adverb derived from a */prH-mo-/ that also underlies Latin *prandium* (see §6.2.*59*), Pisani (first 1937:233) observed that *pramed* could well be a subjunctive, deriving it from a **prāmere* or a **prāmāre* that would correspond to Latin *promo*. The form would be the only instance of an ē-subjunctive in Faliscan. (Note that interpreting *pramed* in this way appears to be the only feasible possibility of finding a verb in this inscription.)

16. *saluete* EF **4**, 2nd pl. act. imp.

17. *salue[to]d* EF **3**, *salueto* EF **4**, 3rd sg. fut. imp. *Salueto* shows an omission of *-d* that may represent a very early weakening of /d#/ (§3.5.7*c*), or may be a simple graphical error (*salueto‹d›*).

The form *salueto* is apparently used as a plural: *ofetios kaios uelos amanos* [all probably men's names, cf. §7.2.1] *salueto salues seite* EF **4**. The possibility that the verb takes the number of the last (singular) name is excluded by the immediately following plural *salues seite* (=*s{e}ite* or *s‹ie›te*). This may reflect an inherited paradigm where the future imperative still had only one (singular) ending */-tōd/. The attested Italic future imperative plural endings were all post-Proto-Italic formations: see §5.2.4*d*. Prosdocimi (1990:304-5) explains this plural use of *salueto* (with *-to*, not *-tod*) as due to a different paradigm, comparing Umbrian, where *-to* is used indiscriminately for the singular and the plural, in spite of the existence of a plural forms *-tuta*, *-tuto* but the phonological context in the much later Umbrian texts is quite different, and his comparison of the future imperative endings *-tod* and *-to* with the co-occurrence of an ablative in *-od* and an instrumental in *-o* (Prosdocimi 1990:320-1) goes rather far.

Interestingly from a syntactic (rather than a morphological) perspective is the side-by-side occurrence, in EF **4**, of the imperative, the future mperative, and the subjunctive, as *ues saluete sociai ofetios kaios uelos amanos salueto salues seite* (=*s{e}ite* or *s‹ie›te*).

18. *seite* (=*s{e}ite* or *s‹ie›te*?) EF **4**, 2nd pl. pr. subj. Since in Early Faliscan *ei* cannot represent /ī/, the form must be an error or an alternative spelling for either *site* (*s{e}ite*) or *siete* (*s‹ie›te*). To confuse matters further, the word could also be read as *seitei*.

If *seite* is to be read as *s{e}ite* /s-ī-te/, it is the direct continuation of the old optative, PIE */h$_1$s-ih$_1$-té/, used as subjunctive; if it is to be read as *s‹ie›te* (/s-ī-ē-te/ or /s-iē-te/?), it is apparently influenced by the singular forms */s-iē-m s-iē-s s-iē-d/ ← PIE */h$_1$s-iéh$_1$-m h$_1$s-iéh$_1$-s h$_1$s-iéh$_1$-t/ (cf. Latin *siem sies sied*) or by the /-ē-/ of the ē-subjunctive. The ending is still the original secondary ending: the corresponding Latin form *sitis* is attested only from the time after the generalization of the primary endings to the subjunctive. Comparable forms are found in Umbrian: 2nd sg. *sir TI* VIb.7, 26, *sei TI* VIa.23, *si TI* VIb.26, 3rd sg. *si TI* Va.6, 24, 27, Vb.3, 7, 3rd pl. *sis TI* Va.6, *sins TI* VIIb.4.

19. ? *tenet* in *[---] cuitenet[---|---] let* MLF **361** = /tenē-t/, 3rd sg. pr. act. ind. I regard the attestation as uncertain, and even if the word *tenet* is regarded as attested, the (syntactic) context as well as the specific meaning of the word here is unclear (cf. Renzetti Marra 1990:336-7).

20. *tulas* Etr/EF **385** = /tul-ā-s/, 2nd sg. pr. act. subj.

21. *tulate* Etr/EF **385** = /tul-ā-te/ 2nd pl. pr. act. subj.

Both forms appear side by side in the Etruscan or Early Faliscan inscription *tulate tulas urate* Etr/EF **385**. Pisani (1943:262-3, 1964:347) quite plausibly connected *tulate* and *tulas* with Latin *tollo* ("sopportate - sopporta!") as a

'congiuntivo radicale', i.e., a zero-grade root */tl̥ḫ$_2$-/ + subjunctive suffix /-ā-/, corresponding to Latin forms like *attolat* Pac. 42R, 228R etc. In *tulate*, the ending used for this subjunctive is the secondary ending, as might be expected in an early subjunctive (see §5.2.4*b*).

22. **??** *tulom* MF **68**, 1st sg. pf. act. ind.? Herbig (1914:238 n.1) tentatively interpreted this form as an (originally reduplicative) perfect */tetul-/ with the old thematic aorist ending */-o-m/, which clashes with Herbig's own interpretation of Early Faliscan *pe : para[* EF **1** as a first singular perfect *pe:para[i* with the ending *-a[i* (cf. §5.2.4*e*), although admittedly it would agree with the aorist endings in the third singular *porded* EF **1**, *fifiked* EF **9** and the third plural *f[.f]iqo(n)d* EF **1**. For a *Middle* Faliscan inscription, however, assuming an aorist ending in the first singular perfect is extremely doubtful, unless it is assumed that the Faliscan paradigm was radically different from that of contemporary Latin: the only parallel would be Oscan *man]afum* Cp 37,1, *manafum* Cp 37,3, itself unique in being the only attestation of a first singular perfect from the Sabellic languages. For *tulom*, an interpretation from the onomasticon ('Tullorum') is more probable.

23. *urate* EF/Etr **385** /ōrā-te/, 2nd pl. pr. act. imp.? (The alphabet of the inscription is Etruscan rather than Faliscan, and *u-* may therefore represent /ŏ-/ as well as /ŭ-/.)

Urate occurs in the Etruscan or Early Faliscan inscription *tulate tulas urate* Etr/EF **385**. These three forms were all explained as 'congiuntivi radicali' by Pisani (1943:262-3, 1964:347, translating *urate* as "chiacchierate!"), and although this is plausible in the case of *tulate* and *tulas* (see above), it is difficult in the case of *urate*. Pisani connected this form with Oscan *urust TB* 14, 16, which is derived from */ḫ$_2$er-/, probably through a reduplicated */ḫ$_2$e-ḫ$_2$or-/ (cf. *WOU* s.v. *urust*). The 'congiuntivo radicale', however, requires a zero-grade root (cf. Meiser 2003:41-2), and this */ḫ$_2$r-/ would be expected to develop into */ar-/ rather than into */or-/ or */ur-/ (cf. Schrijver 1991:56-73, and §3.2.3). Pisani's explanation can therefore only be maintained if the vocalism of *urate* is explained, e.g., by an analogical extension of the vocalism of the o-grade. Furthermore, explaining *urate* as a subjunctive */ŏr-ā-te/ requires that the Faliscan (and Oscan) verb was (thematic) */ŏr-/, not /ōrā-/ as in Latin.[93] It is in my view easier to assume that *urate* is an imperative: co-occurrence of the imperative, the future imperative, and the subjunctive is also found in EF **4**, *saluete ... salueto salues seitei* (=*s[e]ite* or *s‹ie›te*?): see §8.3.

24. *zot* MLF **285** [and *sot* LtF **172**?], 3rd pl. pr. ind. (For *z-* = /s/, see §3.5.3). The form corresponds to Latin *sunt*, older *sont CIL* I^2.1529, which is assumed to be a Latin innovation on Proto-Italic */sent/ ← PIE */ḫ$_1$s-énti/, with the vocalism influenced

[93] This in turn implies that Latin *oro* was not a Proto-Italic formation with /-aie-/ but a Latin denominative verb derived from *os*, not connected with Oscan and Faliscan */ŏr-/.

by the thematic endings. In the Sabellic languages on the other hand, the original vocalism was preserved (Oscan *sent* Po 32, Si 4, 5, 6, *set* Cm 1A.16, Po 32, Cp 24, 29, 30, Samnitic Sa 1A.1; Umbrian *sent TI* VIa 15, 27, 36, 46, VIb 29).[94]

25. **[3-4]*ad* EF **1**, either 3rd sg. pr. act. subj. in /-ā-d/ or 3rd pl. pr. act. subj. in *-a(n)d* /-ā-nd/, the latter possibility suggested by Peruzzi (1964a:157). The only restoration that fits both the size of the lacuna and the traces surrounding it appears to be *p[ore]ḳad* 'porrigat' (Peruzzi 1964:157). Other proposals are *a[dtul]ad* (Ribezzo 1927:151-2), *f[in]ḳad* (Olzscha 1965:123), *[fe]ṛad* (Vetter 1953:280), and *[pa]ṛad* (Joseph & Klein 1981:294), and *a[dkap]iad* (Herbig *CIE* 8079), *a[ddou]iad* (Ribezzo 1936:46), and *[dou]iad* (Herbig 1913:75).

5.3.2. Nominal forms. Two Early Faliscan forms have with some likelihood been interpreted as past participles formed with the common Italic participial suffix /-to-/:

26. **?** *fita* or *fitai* EF **1**. The letters *fitaidupes* have often been divided either as *fita idupes* or *fitai dupes*, with *fita* or *fitai* explained in one of the following ways:

(a) connected with Latin *fingo* and its derivations in *fict-* (e.g. Thulin 1908:259, Herbig *CIE* 8079, G. Giacomelli 1963:41-3, Peruzzi 1964a:161-2): This presupposes a very early omission of *-c-* (*fita* = [fi$^{?}$ta]?), or even a development */kt/ → /xt/ (*fita* = [fixta]?): see §3.5.7*c*. *Fita* = *fi(c)ta* would have a parallel in Middle or Late Faliscan *lete* MLF **285**, corresponding to Latin *lecti*.

(b) connected to Latin *fitum est* Andr. 29L (Stolte 1929:107, Vetter 1953:280), Umbrian *fito TI* VIb.11 (Herbig *CIE* 8079): This is not impossible, although the parallels are not equivalent: the /ī/ in Latin *fītum* can only be due to influence from the present *fī-o* (← */b^{h}u̯-i̯-/), whereas the /ī/ in Umbrian *fito* can also be due to the Umbrian development */ū/ → /ī/. A Faliscan *fita* could therefore reflect both a common (Proto-Italic) innovation and a Latin innovation.[95]

(c) connected to Latin *fetus* (Pisani 1946:53): As there appears to be no way in which Faliscan *i* can be derived from /ē/, this would appear to be impossible.

27. **e[..]tom* EF **1**. This has been restored in various ways: *de[lec]tom* 'delectum' (Olzscha in Radke 1965a:136-7, Radke 1965a:134), *me[re]tom* 'meritum' (Vetter 1953:280), *me[lc]tom* or *me[lq]tom* 'mulctum' (Vetter in Knobloch 1958:138), *me[le]tom* or *me[la]tom* 'molitum' (Joseph & Klein 1981:294).

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[94] M. Mancini (1997:36-8) assumes that the Latin vocalism was original and the Sabellic vocalism an innovation. Note that Rix (1993:338) read an isolated Samnitic instance of the o-vocalism *súṇt* in Sa 17, although he did not maintain this reading in *ST*, which has *súḷ [*.

[95] Martzloff (2006:67-75) in fact divides *fitaidupes* as *fit aidupes*, but as I find his interpretation of *aidupes* is not convincing, I have not included his form *fit* here.

5.4. Summary of §§5.2-3

The discussion of the attested Faliscan forms in §5.3 illustrates the major difficulty in the evaluation of these forms: not only is the Faliscan material itself lacunary, but so is the contemporary material in the other Italic languages, especially as many of the Faliscan verb forms are from comparatively early inscriptions. Insofar as a consistent picture of the Faliscan verb can be drawn on the basis of this material, it is quite clear that Faliscan participated in all the changes of the Proto-Italic period, such as the formation of the four-conjugational system, the merger of the aorist into the perfect, and the development of the endings (most notably the development of primary */-ti/ and secondary */-t/ to primary /-t/ and secondary /-d/). Interestingly, in the morphology of the verb (as in the morphology of the noun, see §4.10), there appear to be no instances where Faliscan sides with Sabellic as opposed to Latin (but see below on the ending of *fl.fḷiqod* EF **1**). Where morphological differences can be established between Latin and the Sabellic languages, Faliscan sides with Latin in the following cases:

***(1)* the f-future** (§5.2.2.*2*): The Faliscan suffix /-f-/ in Middle Faliscan *pipafo* MF **59**, *‹pi›pafo* MF **60** *carefo* MF **59**, *carę[f]o* MF **60** corresponds to the Latin suffix /-b-/ in the formation of future of the first and the second conjugation (common innovation based on the suffix of the imperfect), while the Sabellic languages had an s-future throughout. It is quite possible that Faliscan, like Latin, had an ā/ē-future in the third and fourth conjugation.

***(2)* the s-perfect** (§5.2.2.*3c*, §5.3.1.*10*): The Late Faliscan s-perfect in *keset* LF **242**, *kesef[t* LF **243** occurs also in Latin (common retention of the suffix of the old sigmatic aorist), but not in the Sabellic languages.

***(3)* the perfect endings** (§5.2.4*e*): The Early Faliscan perfect *pe:para[i* EF **1** and the Middle and Late Faliscan perfect ending *-et* (probably representing /-ēt/ ← */-eḭ-t/) both point to perfect endings /-aḭ/ in the first singular and /-eḭ/ in the third singular. These forms represent innovations of the inherited endings Proto-Italic */-a/ ← */-ħa/ ← PIE */-ħ$_2$e/ and Proto-Italic/PIE /-e/ by the addition of /-i/. This addition may have been Proto-Italic (*/-a/ → /a-i̯/ or even */-ħa/ →*/-ha-i̯/) or Latin-Faliscan (*/-a/ → /a-i̯/). In the Sabellic languages, there appear to be no attestations of these endings (cf. note 83 on *face* Um 4=**480**†). In Early and Middle Faliscan, the ending of the third singular perfect was the old thematic aorist ending *-e-d* /-e-d/. During the Middle Faliscan period, this was replaced by a new ending *-et*, which probably represents /-ēt/ ← */-eḭ-t/, an innovation based on an older perfect ending */-eḭ/. The same shift occurs in Latin, apparently at the same time as in Faliscan, that is, between the fifth and the third centuries. There are indications of a shift of /-e-d/ to /-e-t/ in southern Oscan, but this shift is different in nature and unrelated to the one in Latin and Faliscan.

***(4)* the vocalism of third plural present of 'to be'** (§5.3.1.*24*): The vocalism of Middle Faliscan *zot* MLF **285** (and perhaps also *sot* LtF **172**) corresponds to that of Latin *sont* *CIL* I^2.1529, later *sunt*, representing a common innovation after the /-o-nt/ of the thematic verbs, whereas Sabellic preserved the old e-vocalism.

There *are*, however, several points on which Faliscan (apparently) differed from Latin. In some cases, these differences are apparent only and due to the limitations of the available material (the comparison of Early Faliscan to later Latin forms as described above). Where differences can be established, these are of a later date.

(5)* the perfect of 'to make'** (§5.3.1.*6*): The Middle Faliscan perfect forms *faced* MF **471, *facet* MF **470*** differ from the attested Latin perfects *vhe:vhaked* *CIL* I^2.3, later *feci*. Even this difference, however, to some degree shows a common factor in Faliscan and Latin, for both *agree* in substituting an aorist for an older reduplicative perfect (a common innovation, shared by Umbrian and perhaps Vestinian, but not by Oscan); if in Faliscan and in Latin this replacement can be ascribed to the fact that reduplicative perfects from roots in a voiced aspirate had become an anomaly, Faliscan and Latin also agree in the application of this morphophonological rule, which did not apply in the Sabellic languages (Meiser 2003:173-4). On the other hand, Faliscan and Latin *differ* in that Faliscan then generalized the root /fak-/ (originally the root of the aorist plural) while Latin generalized the root /fēk-/ (originally the root of the aorist singular), with Faliscan perhaps showing the more expected replacement of /fefak-/ by /fak-/: Latin is in fact the only Italic language to generalize /fēk-/. This difference may be due to dialect differences within Latin-Faliscan: Faliscan may not have been the only Latin dialect to have had /fak-/.

***(6)* the perfect of 'to knead'** (§5.3.1.*7-8*): The Early Faliscan reduplicative perfect *fifiked* EF **9**, *ff.fḷiqod* EF **1** corresponds to Oscan *fifikus* Cp 37 rather than to the later Latin *finxi*, which continued an old sigmatic aorist. In view of what was said on *faced/facet* and the anomaly in the reduplicative perfect of verbs with a root in an original voiced aspirate (§5.3.1.*6*), Latin *finxi* may have replaced an earlier Latin reduplicative perfect, and in Faliscan the reduplicative perfect may have disappeared in favour of a non-reduplicative type. (Cf. Meiser 2003:171-2 on such replacements.)

***(7)* the perfect of 'to give'** (§5.3.1.*14*): Early Faliscan *porded* EF **1** can be explained either as a reduplicative perfect that lost its reduplication (not due to syncopation, but due to loss of the (Latin?) reduplication in compounds, see §5.3.1.*6*) or as an old aorist form (Meiser 2003:106 n.31). Such an aorist may also have existed in Latin: Meiser (2003:105-6) suggests that the non-reduplicative Latin present of *dare* may be due to influence from the old aorist.

***(8)* the root of 'to drink'** (§5.3.1.*13*): The Middle Faliscan forms *pipafo* MF **59**, *‹pi›pafo* MF **60** can be explained in several ways: *(a)* if the *-a-* represents /-a-/ ←

*/-h₃-/, Faliscan differs from Latin in that the medial vowel in athematic laryngeal verbs was apparently not reduced, as it was in Latin (separate retention of a phonological feature); *(b)* if the *-a-* represents an /-ā-/ belonging to the stem, Middle Faliscan *pipa-* somehow belongs to the first conjugation (separate innovation of a morphological feature); *(c)* if the *-a-* represents an /-ā-/ belonging to the suffix, Faliscan differs from Latin in that the future of these verbs was apparently formed in a different way, perhaps as a recent analogical formation (separate innovation of a morphological feature). In each of these explanations, Faliscan differs from Latin: in the first and last explanation, this difference would appear to be of fairly recent date.

***(9)* the ending of the third plural perfect:** One of the more vexing differences between Faliscan and the other Italic languages is the ending of *fl.fḷiqod* EF **1**. This form shows an old thematic aorist ending *-o(n)d* /-o-nd/ that is incompatible with both the Latin ending */-ē-ri/ → /-ēre/ (inherited from Proto-Italic/PIE */-eh₁-ri/) and the Sabellic ending /-ns/. The Sabellic ending is a (Sabellic) innovation on an older */-nd/, and Faliscan would therefore in this respect stand closer to the Sabellic languages than to Latin. However, in view of the fact that Faliscan, Latin and the Sabellic languages all used the corresponding third singular aorist ending *-ed* /-e-d/ in the perfect, Faliscan *-o(n)d* may represent an analogical extension of the aorist endings to the third *plural* of the perfect. In that case, *-o(n)d* coexisted with an inherited perfect ending (probably */-ēri/) and may never even have been the standard ending. (Cf. also Meiser 2003:89 n.41 on the merging of the aorist endings with the perfect.)

***(10)* /esom/ 'I am'** (§5.3.1.*5*): Capenate *esú* Cap **389**, **404**, **464** has parallels both in Latin and in the Sabellic languages (common retention rather than common innovation): the lack of rhotacism can be explained as due to Sabellic influence, but can also be due to an analogical preservation of the intervocalic /s/ within Capenate (or within Capenate and other Latin dialects).

In several of these cases (certainly *10*, probably also *5-7*, perhaps also *9*) therefore, the differences between Faliscan and Latin can be explained as apparent rather than real, and as partly due to the lacunary state of the extant material: such differences as there are can be ascribed to recent developments (usually dating from between the Early Faliscan period and the Latin inscriptions of the third century and later). The real differences are in the formation of *pip-* or *pipa-* (*8*) and in the ending *-ond* (*9*). The former may never be decisively explained, as it depends on the phonological interpretations of the written form. The latter may be regarded as an apparent difference only, due to a lack of contemporary material for comparison, and although this is not a satisfying explanation, it may at least be tested as more material (both Faliscan and Latin) becomes available in the future. What can be said with certainty is that there are no cases of differences between Faliscan and Latin where the solution has to be sought outside the framework of Latin-Faliscan.

Chapter 6
The lexicon

In this chapter, the lexical elements attested in the Faliscan inscriptions are compared with the corresponding elements in Latin, the Sabellic languages, and, where necessary, Etruscan. The chapter opens with some remarks on methodological issues (§6.1). Following this, the lexical elements attested in the Early, Middle, and Late Faliscan inscriptions are discussed (§6.2) and compared with the lexica of Latin, the Sabellic languages, and Etruscan (§6.3). Appended to this discussion are separate lists of the theonyms (§6.4) and of the geographical names and ethnonyms (§6.5) that occur in the inscriptions from the area, and a brief discussion of the Faliscan glosses (§6.6).

6.1. The lexicon: methodological issues

For the purposes of this study, the most important aim in looking at the lexicon is to establish a list of more or less securely attested Faliscan words and other lexical elements and compare this 'Faliscan lexicon' with the equivalents, cognates, and corresponding words in Latin, the Sabellic languages, and Etruscan. This is necessary for two reasons: first, because in this way the similarities and differences between, on the one hand, Faliscan and Latin, and, on the other hand, Faliscan and the Sabellic languages can be established; second, because such a comparison of the lexicon is necessary if the issue of lexical borrowing is to be assessed in any systematic way. A largely *synchronic* comparison of the Faliscan lexicon is therefore in my view more important and more revealing about the status of Faliscan than is a *diachronic* derivation of the individual lexemes from their Indo-European roots, although etymological arguments must still play a part where it is necessary to explain connections with Latin or Sabellic cognates. Since Faliscan is not related to Etruscan in the sense that it is related to Latin or the Sabellic languages, comparison of the Faliscan lexicon with corresponding Etruscan words will serve mainly to establish their possible Etruscan origin.

There is of course always a risk of regarding only those inscriptions as Faliscan that fit one's pre-conceived mental image of what Faliscan is, and exclude those that do not fit this image as being Etruscan, Sabellic, or Latin, which of course leads to a dangerous circular argument. This risk is, I think, especially great in establishing the lexicon, for the (consciously or subconsciously) conceived mental image of a fragmentarily preserved language such as Faliscan is of course likely to be based primarily on the few items of speech that can be 'understood' because they carry a meaning of their own, in other words, by what is known, or perceived as known, of its lexicon.

I have therefore used *only* those lexical elements that occur in Early, Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions, that is, the inscriptions that show morphological, phonological, or onomastic features that are consistent with Faliscan: in other words, the lexicon is based on the inscriptions that can be considered Faliscan on the basis of other criteria than the lexical elements they contain.

The lexical elements in the Etruscan inscriptions (Etr **I-LI**) have been excluded: the inscriptions that are Etruscan in their morphology, phonology, onomasticon, and alphabet also show a markedly different lexicon, and can safely be said to represent a different language. Possible interferential forms and borrowings from Etruscan and Sabellic in the Faliscan lexicon are, of course, remarked upon in the list in §6.2, and discussed in §9.2-3.

As it is assumed here that Faliscan is very closely related to Latin, the question arises whether and how Faliscan and Latin lexical elements can in effect be distinguished. I have used the material from the Latino-Faliscan inscriptions (since these show at least *some* features of having been written with Faliscan rather than Latin in mind. With the exception of *esú* Cap **389**, **404**, **465**, which is clearly a dialect form (see §5.3.1.*5*), I have added the data from these inscriptions between [ ]. I have, however, *excluded* all Latin inscriptions, that is, the inscriptions in the Latin alphabet that show few or no Faliscan features. These are mostly late, and reflect a more general 'rural Latin': **217** (*c.*125), **218** (*c.*125), **219** (*c.*120-50), **237** and **238**, **240**, **250** (106), **251** (late 2nd century), **268** (4th century, but probably imported), **291** (2nd century), **296** (an import), **377**, **386**, **393**, **420** (*c.*150), **431-438** (all from before 211), and **456** (*c.*100-50). With some hesitation, I have treated Late Faliscan or Latin **214** (*c.*150?) as an intermediate case: although the language of this inscription does not differ from contemporary Latin, it was obviously meant to give the *impression* of being a Faliscan inscription. I have therefore included *f.*, *pretod*, and *sacru*, which also occur in Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions, and excluded words attested from this inscription alone.

I have been reluctant to include lexical elements that are attested only in the onomasticon, as it cannot be established whether these elements were also (still) in use as part of the lexicon. For instance, while the gentilicium *Firmius* may well be derived from the adjective *firmus*, this provides no information on whether or not the adjective was (still) used in Faliscan: names, being primarily referential elements of speech, may move between (language) communities with far greater ease than lexical elements, even if these names also have a lexical meaning. I have therefore included only those cases where it is probable that the onomasticon reflects words in current use, namely *(a)* numeric praenomina; *(b)* cognomina, since during the Middle Faliscan period these were still a new feature of the onomasticon (§7.9) and may therefore be expected to consist mainly of lexical elements, and *(c)* the gentilicia *Clipearius* and *Frenaeus/Frenarius*, which are probably new formations based on the nouns *clipeus* and *frenum* respectively.

6.2. The epigraphically attested lexicon

The following list contains all the lexical elements from the Early, Middle, and Late Faliscan inscriptions, with additions from the Latino-Faliscan or Latin inscriptions (cf. §6.1). In the cases of the obscure passages of the Early Faliscan inscriptions EF **1-4**, I have on the whole not included words or interpretations that have been proposed only once or only by one author, but not adopted by other authors. For ease of reference only, the words have been placed under the nearest Latin equivalent (to 'iron out' the differences in spelling), according to the alphabetical order of the modern alphabet.

*Symbols preceding the lemmata: † = rejected by me, but discussed here because of frequent mention in the literature on Faliscan; ? = attestation doubtful; ° = attested only in the onomasticon; * = reconstructed.*

1. ***aedilis*** n. 'edile'. Nom. pl. *efiles* MF **113**, *efiles* MF **115**, *efil]es* MF **117**, *efile* MF **114**, *efi[les]* MF **116** (dedications) [cf. also *ef* in LtF **205**?]. The word was first interpreted as 'aediles' by Erman (1917). – Direct Latin equivalent *aedilis*: the Sabellic equivalents, Vestinian *aidiles* MV 2, Oscan *aídíl* Po 11, Po 16, *aídilis* Po 1, Po 15, *aídili[s* Po 2, and Samnitic *aídḷi[s* Sa 14, are borrowed from Latin (see *WOU* s.v. *aídíl*, Camporeale 1956:44-50 and La Regina 1968:436-46). Etruscan origin of the word is rightly rejected by Bréyer (1993:137).

Faliscan *efiles* has been regarded both as an adaptation of Latin *aedilis* and as a calque on a Middle Faliscan **efis*[96] after Latin *aedis : aedilis* (G. Giacomelli 1963:243-4, Rix 1994:96 n.36; cf. Campanile 1961:7). I doubt, however, whether Latin was already important enough in the ager Faliscus *before* the war of 241-240 to be used for the name of a Faliscan magistracy, and if it were, there seems to be no reason why Latin *aedilis* should be adapted and not just borrowed as it was, as happened in Vestinian and Oscan. Reasons for assuming a Latin origin for the word are apparently *(1)* that the *aediles* derived their name from the Roman temple of Vesta or of Ceres, and *(2)* that *quaestor*, *praetor*, *duouir*, and *censor* are probably Latin borrowings. The former is a spurious argument, for the fact that Roman tradition connected the origin of *their* aediles to a local temple does not exclude the possibility that the institution was more widespread and did not (everywhere) go back to the Roman institution; the latter is a false comparison, for *quaestor*, *praetor*, *duouir*, and *censor* are all attested from public inscriptions and *cursus honorum* from Roman Falerii Novi, whereas the *efiles* are named in connection with pre-Roman dedications at Falerii Veteres.

[96] Indications for the existence of a Sabellic *aif...* → *ef...* have been seen in *(1)* the Aequian toponym *Aefula*, *(2)* the Samnitic gentilicium *aífineís* Sa 31 (also read as *avfineís*), and *(3)* Palaeovolscian (?) *efieị* or *efieṣ* in *iúkúh : ko : efieṣ* VM 1. Cf. *WOU* s.v. *aídíl*.

2. ***argentum*** n. 'silver'. Acc. sg. (n.) *arcentelom* EF **1**, which is usually regarded as a diminutive either of the noun itself, or of the corresponding adjective (see §12.2). [I do not adopt Martzloff's (2006:68-9) derivation of *arcentelom* from *arceo* (cf. *adulesc-ent-ulus*), similar in sense to Greek *ἀλεξιφάρμακον*.] – Direct Latin equivalent *argentum*: Oscan has a formal equivalent *aragetud* Cm 7, *aragetſud* Cm 6, *arageſ?nteis TB* A.5, but the meaning here is 'money' rather than 'silver' (cf. *WOU* s.v. *aragetud*), which may be due to Greek influence. In the unlikely case that Pisani (1964:71) was right in connecting the *n*-less Oscan forms to Greek *ἀργής*, there is no direct Sabellic equivalent at all.

3. ***bibo*** vb. 'to drink'. 1st sg. fut. act. *pipafo* MF **59**, *‹pi›pafo* MF **60**. Editors have questioned whether *pipafo* and *pafo* represent two different formations or if one is simply an error for the other. Since the two kylikes on which these forms occur were obviously meant as a pair, I assume that *pafo* is an error for *‹pi›pafo*. – Since Latin *bibo* is due to an assimilation of */pib-/ → /bib-/ after the reduplicative presents at an unknown date, Faliscan *pip-* may represent either /pib-/ or /bib-/. The *-a-* can be explained in various ways (see3.2.1.*13*): the verb may have been an athematic laryngeal verb /piba-/ or /biba-/ (← */pi-bʰ$_3$-/ ← */pi-pʰ$_3$-/), but also /pibā-/ or /bibā-/, assuming that it was included in the a-conjugation (thus e.g. G. Giacomelli 1963:152, 238-9). – Direct Latin equivalent or close cognate *bibo*. In Sabellic, there is only a very distant cognate in Umbrian *puni TI* Ia.4 etc., which has been explained differently (*WOU* s.v. *poni.*)

4. ***bis*** adv. 'twice': *pis* LF **242**, *pi* LF **242**. – Direct Latin equivalent *bis* ← *duis* (attested in Cic. *Or.* 153 and Paul. *Fest.* 58.17L). No direct Sabellic equivalent, although Umbrian *duti TI* VIb.63 corresponds in sense; Umbrian *dupursus TI* VIb.10, the equivalent of Latin *bipes*, shows a compound formed with *du-* rather than with *dui-* (*WOU* s.vv. *dupursus*, *dur*). See also 18. *duo*.

5. ***bonus*** adj. 'good'. Gen. sg. f. *duenas* EF **2**; nom. sg. n. *duenom* EF **2**. The relation of this word to *manus* (below) is unclear. – Direct Lat equivalent *duenos* (already in *CIL* I^2.4) → *bonus*, of unclear etymology. Sabellic on the other hand has **cupros* (see *WOU* s.v. *cubrar*) in South Picene *kuprí* AQ.2 (adv.) and *qupíríh* AP.2 (adv.), and in Umbrian *cubrar* Um 7, *cupras* Um 17, *cuprſas* Um 20; cf. also "*ciprum* Sabine *bonum*", Var. *L.* 5.159.

6. ***careo*** vb. 'to lack': 1st sg. fut. act. *carefo* MF **59**, *carę[f]o* MF **60**. – Direct Latin equivalent *careo*. No Sabellic equivalents, but perhaps remote cognates in Umbrian *kastruvuf TI* Va.13 etc., *castruo TI* VIa.30 etc., and Oscan *castrid TB* 8, *castrous TB* 13 (cf. *WOU* s.v. *castrous*), and perhaps Oscan *kasit* Cp 33, Cp 34, *kasſit* Cp 33 (cf. *WOU* s.v. *kasit*), if these are derived from the same */kas-/ ← */ḱʰ$_2$s-/ that underlies Latin *careo*, *castus*, and *castra*.

7. ***carus*** adj. 'dear, beloved'. Dat. sg. f. *karai* EF **1**. – Direct Latin equivalent *carus*. Probably derived from an Italic */kāro-/ ← PIE */keh₂ro-/. No known Sabellic equivalent or cognate.

8. ***cella*** n. 'burial chamber, tomb'. Nom. sg. *cela* MF **12**, *cela* MF **83**, *cela* MF **84**, *cela* MLF **285**. (The uncertain *[---]cęla[---]* in MF **166** occurs in an inscription on a tile and, if an attestation of *cela* at all, would refer to the *loculus* instead of to the burial chamber.) – Direct Latin equivalent *cella*, although this is never used for a tomb (*TLL* 3.759,19-761,80), perhaps because chamber tombs did not play a role in the burial ritual of Latium. Samnitic *kellaked* Sa 14, 15, referring to the construction of a cistern (?), may be influenced by or borrowed from Latin (*WOU* s.v. *kellaked*). The etymology of *cella* is unclear (cf. *EDL* s.v.).

Bréyer (1993:341-2) assumes that Latin *cella* is a borrowing from Etruscan *cela* 'burial chamber, tomb', occurring in *vel : aties : velθurus : lemniσa : celati : cęsu* Ta 1.66 and *cela : sal : θn* Vc 0.40. This is based largely on the assumption that Latin *cella* did not have the meaning 'burial chamber, tomb': she does not mention the Faliscan attestations, in spite of the fact that these are the only contemporary instances of *cella*, clearly have the meaning 'burial chamber, tomb', and occur in precisely the same context as the Etruscan attestations. According to Bréyer, the original meaning was 'Grabkammer', which was then extended in Latin (apparently within Latium) to 'enge Kammer, enger Raum' and thence to 'Vorratskammer', whether underground or above ground.

In my view, the material can be interpreted equally well, if not better, by assuming an original Latin-Faliscan word *cella* with the meaning 'covered or enclosed room, chamber' (whether underground or above ground), which could easily be applied to underground burial chambers in areas where these were used. (Faliscan *lectus* and *cubo* are also everyday Latin words with a secondary funerary meaning.) Its incidental occurrence in Etruscan texts would then have to be ascribed to interference from Faliscan or South Etrurian Latin. Bréyer's point that Etruscan would have had no reason to borrow a word for a type of tomb that was (exclusively?) Etruscan is spurious, since *cela* is clearly not a borrowing, but an interferential form occurring in only two inscription in stead of the normal Etruscan word for 'tomb', namely *σuθi/σúθi* (*ET* lists at least 60 instances, not counting the numerous instances of the derivations in *σúθin-*).

9. [***censor*** n. 'censor'. Latino-Faliscan attestations only. Nom. sg. *cen]lso* LtF **231**, *censo* LtF **232**, *[---]sor* LtF **232**; probably also *[--- ce(n)s]or* LtF **233** (or is this *[--- ux]or*?). The word may well be a borrowed Latin term for a Roman magistracy introduced after the war of 241. – Direct Latin equivalent *censor*: Oscan, *censtur TB* 27, 28 *kenzsur* Fr 1, *censtur TB* 8, 20 and Samnitic *keenzstur* Sa 4 are borrowings from Latin (*WOU* s.v. *kenzsur*) that formed the basis for *κενσορταtηι* Lu 5.]

10. °***clipeus/clipeum*** n. '(round) shield, buckler'. Attested in the gentilicium *Clipearius* ('Shieldmaker') in *clipeaio* (*clipea‹r›io*?) MF **470***, *clipiar[io]* LF **230** [and *clipeaṛ[io]* LtF **231**, *cl[i]peario* LtF **233**]. – Direct Latin equivalent *clipeus/clupeus* or *clipeum/clupeum*, of unknown etymology. The variation *clip-/clup-* may point to a borrowing, but can also be explained within the phonology of Faliscan, see §3.6.4). The suffix *-eus* has been compared with borrowings from Etruscan (*DÉ*, *LEW* s.v. *clipeus*), and Etruscan origin of the word is assumed also by Bréyer (1993:291-2, adducing *Clipearius*). No known Sabellic equivalent or cognate.

11. [***? coniunx*** n. 'wife'. Latino-Faliscan and Latin attestations only. The attestations, *con[---]* LtF **174**, and *cọ** LtF/Lat **341**, are very uncertain. Note that in Latin sepulchral inscriptions the word used is always *uxor*, never *coniunx* (cf. §7.4.2). See also 87. *uxor*.]

12. ***cras*** adv. 'tomorrow'. *cra* MF **59-60**. – Direct Latin equivalent *cras*, of unclear etymology. No known Sabellic equivalent or cognate.

13. ***cubo*** vb 'to lie', spec. 'to lie in a tomb or grave'. *(1)* 3rd sg. pr. act. ind. *cupat* MF **40**, *c]up[at]* MF **159**, *cup[a]* MF **161**, *cupat* MF **220**, *cupa* MLF **305**, *cupa* LF **221**, *cupat* LF **224**, [also *cubat* LtF **231**]; *(2)* 3rd pl. pr. ind. *cupa]nt* MF **80**, *cupat* MF **146**, *cupaṭ* MF **158**, *cupat* LF **223**; *(3)* either sg. or pl. *cupa[?t]* MF **95**, *cu[pa]* LF **226** [and *cuba* LtF **326**]. The attestations are all from the sepulchral formula *hec cupat/cupant*, 'lie(s) here', where the verb has a secondary meaning within the lexical subset related to burial (§6.3.2.*4*). For the formula, which is nowhere attested with the frequency it has in the Faliscan sepulchral inscriptions, see §8.10.1. – Direct Latin equivalent *cubo* (used *de mortuis* in *CIL* I^2.1259, 1638 and 2135 (quoted in §8.10.1) and Lucr. 3.892,[97] cf. *TLL* 4.1278,82-1279,9); direct Sabellic equivalents in South Picene *qupat* MC.1, *qupat* AP.3, Vestinian *cibat* MV 7, and, slightly differently (a transitive compound), Marrucinian *encubat* MV 8, Paelignian *incubat* Pg 10 (all from sepulchral inscriptions); cf. also "*cumbam* Sabini uocant eam quam militares *lecticam*" Paul. *Fest.* 56.26L. See also 40. **lego* or **legeo*.

14. ***cupido*** n. '(sexual) desire'. Attested as as theonym *Cupido* 'Desire' in *cupi‹d›o* MF **62**. See also §6.4.*3*. – Direct Latin equivalent *cupido* (first attestation also in the theonym *cupido ILLRP* 1204). No known Sabellic equivalents; a remote cognate may be **cupros* 'good' (cf. *WOU* s.v. *cubrar*). The regular Sabellic root for 'desire' would appear to have been /her-/ ← PIE */ǵ^{h}er-/ (cf. *WOU* s.vv. *herentas*, *heriiad*).

[97] With *ossa* as subject, *cubo* occurs in *CIL* I^2.1312 from Rome and in Ovid. *Am.* 1.8.108 = *Ep.* 7.162 = *Tr.* 3.3.76 (a mock-epitaph).

15. ****dies*** n. 'day'. Attested indirectly in the adv. *foied* MF **59-60** (either from an ablative */hō+di̯ē(d)/ or from a compound */ho-di̯ē(d)/, see 34. *hodie*); [related is the theonym *[die]s pater* MF **62**, see §6.4.*4.*]. – Direct Latin equivalent *dies*: the Oscan semantic equivalent *zicolom TB* 14 etc. shows a different formation */di̯ē-k°lom/ (cf. *WOU* s.v. *zicolom*).

16. ***do*** vb. 'to give'. *(1)* 3rd sg. pf. act. of a compound **por-do* in *porded* EF **1** [and 3rd sg. pf. act. ind. *dedet* LF/Lat **214**]; [*(2)* nom. sg. n. pf. ptc. *datu* LF/Lat **214**]. *Porded* has often been explained as a reduplicative perfect that lost its medial syllable, but it is probably rather an old aorist: see §5.3.1.*14.* – The simple verb from the root /*deh₃-/ is well-attested both for Latin (*do*, reduplicative perfect *dedi*) and for the Sabellic languages (reduplicative present **did-* in Umbrian, Vestinian, and Paelignian; reduplicative perfect **ded-* in Umbrian, Marsian, Paelignian, and Oscan: for attestations see *WOU* s.v. *didet*). The compound with *por-* has a cognate only in Umbrian *purtuvitu TI* IIa.24 etc., which has a different stem. See also 17. **duo* or **duio*.

17. ****duo*** or ****duio*** vb. 'to give'. 3rd sg. pr. act. subj. *douiad* EF **1**, also restored by Herbig (1913:75) in the damaged first part of the same text as *[dou]i̯ad* (the most widely adopted reading of this word, see also 93. **[3-4]*ad*). Faliscan *douiad* has rightly been compared to the Latin subjunctive form *duam* (cf. *DÉ, LEW* s.vv. *dō*, *duam*, *EDL* s.v. *do*). It is derived from a verbal root /*deh₃u̯-/ or */doh₃u̯-/ (/*do(u̯)h₃-/ Meiser 1986:186-91) that occurs also in Umbrian *purtuvitu TI* IIa.24 etc., (cf. *WOU* s.v. *pordouitu*, Meiser 2003:182-3), related to the root of Latin *do* (/*deh₃-/). See also §5.3.1.*4.* – Direct Latin equivalent in *duam* etc., and in Umbrian *purtuvitu TI* IIa.24 etc. (for attestations, see *WOU* s.v. *purdouitu*). See also 16. *do*.

18. ***? duo*** card. 'two'. Several editors have divided *fitaidupes* in EF **1** as *fitai dupes*, interpreting *dupes* either as an equivalent of Latin *bipes* (Thulin 1908:259), or as an equivalent of Latin *dupondius* (Vetter 1925:29-30). Note that in Latin, *du-* is used as the compound form only in the old formations *ducenti*, *duplex*, and *dupondius*: later formations have *bi-* ← **dui-* (cf. above s.v. *bis*) or *duo-* (see 19. *duouir*). Direct Umbrian equivalent *dupursus TI* VIb.10 (the equivalent of Latin *bipes*). See also 4. *bis*.

19. ***duouir*** n. 'member of the board of two'. Late Faliscan attestations only. Gen. pl.? *duum]luiru* LF **243**, *duum[uir* LF **247**, *duu[muiru* LF **248**, *[duu]m̥uiru* LF **249** (all from *cursus honorum*, cf. §2.3.3). (*Duumuirum* is an analogical formation after the genitive plural, cf. *DÉ* s.vv. *duouir*, *uir*, *LEW* s.vv. *duomvir*, *vir*; *IEW* s.v. *uiro-s*, *EDL* s.v. *vir*). The word is in all probability an imported Latin word *duouir*. No Sabellic equivalent. See also 89. *uir*.

20. ***ego*** pers. pron. 1st sg. 'I'. Nom. sg. *eqo* EF **1**, **467***, *eco* EF **3**, *eko* EF **6**, EF **7**; *eco* LF **378**, **383**. (The *eco* read in MF **91** by Peruzzi (1964d:310-1) is too uncertain.) The Faliscan forms probably represent /egō/, but it is possible (although unlikely) that this was shortened to /ego/ as in Latin. See §4.7.1. – Direct Latin equivalent *ego* /egō/ → /ego/, first attested as *eco* in **479**†: Sabellic equivalents are South Picene *ekú-* in *ekúsim* CH.1, and perhaps Samnitic *ítv* Sa 31: see §4.7.1 and *WOU* s.vv. *ekúsim*, *ítv*. See also 47. *me*.

21. ***? eita-*** (Etr.) n./adj. (?). *eitam* EF **5**. Either a noun or an adjective with an Italic ending, or an (adaptation of) an Etruscan word (Bakkum 1991): Peruzzi (1964a: 169-70) compared Etruscan *itan*. R. Giacomelli's (1978:78-82) comparison with the much later Oscan *eítiuvam* Po 3 etc. is unconvincing, both because it entails a different suffix and because it requires a concept of 'money' two centuries before the first Etruscan money was coined.

22. ***facio*** vb 'to make'. 3rd sg. pf. act. ind. *facet* MF **471***, *faced* MF **470***. – The verb has direct parallels in Latin (*facio*) as well as in the Sabellic languages (present **fac-/*faci-* attested for Umbrian and Oscan, for attestations see *WOU* s.v. *fakiiad*). For the use of this verb in signatures, see §8.9.2. The formation of the perfect, however, was very different in the various languages: beside Faliscan *faced/facet* stand Latin *fēci*, Umbrian fut. pf. *fakust TI* IV.31, *fakurent TI* Ib.32, *facurent TI* VIIa.43, but also reduplicative perfects like Latin *vhe:vhaked CIL* I^2.3, Oscan *fefacid TB* 10, fut. pf. *fefacust TB* 11, 17 and *fef[acust] TB* 33, and Praesamnitic *fɸfακιδ* Ps 20. For a discussion of these forms, see §5.3.1.*6*. – Some authors have interpreted *fifiked* EF **9** and *f[.f]ḷiqod* EF **1** as forms of the same verb: this was already rejected by Lejeune (1955): see §5.3.1.*8*.

23. ***far*** n. 'emmer (*Triticum dicoccum* Schr)'. Acc. *far* EF **1**. [I reject Pisani's *farṃẹ[n]ṭom* (1946:54) for phonological reasons.] – Direct equivalents in Latin *far*, Umbrian *far TI* Vb.10, 15, *farer TI* Vb 9, 14 (and the derivations *farariur* Um 9 and *farsio TI* VIb.2, *fasiu TI* IIa.12, *fasio TI* VIb.44) and Oscan *far* Cp 37. There are cognates in other IE languages (cf. Polomé 1992:69), but the word may ultimately be of non-IE origin (cf. Schrijver 1991:113-4, *WOU* s.v. *far*).

24. ***filia*** n. 'daughter'. *filea* MF **14**; abbreviated to *f* in MF **155**, LF **229**, **234**?, **242**, **249** [and LtF **231**, LtF/Lat **300**, **305**];

25. ***filius*** n. 'son'. *fileo* MF **470***, *hileo* MF **146**; fragmentary *fil[?leo* MF **94**; abbreviated to *file* MLF **308**, abbreviated to *fi* MF **15**, abbreviated to *flle* LF **332**, abbreviated to *f* LF **213**, **234**?, **242**, **247**, **249** [and LtF **171**, **172**, **174**, **231**, **327**, LF/Lat **214**, **325**, Lat **216**]. [I reject Herbig's (1914b:251) interpretation of *tito polafio* MLF **354** as *tito pola fio* 'Titus Pola filius', with a *fio* as a palatalized [fi̯o], see §3.5.5*c*.]

Direct Latin equivalents *filia* and *filius*. These words are Latin-Faliscan innovations (cf. Lejeune 1967, Hamp 1972): The corresponding Sabellic words are **puclom* 'son' in South *poqloh* AQ.1, Marsian *pucle[s* VM 4, Paelignian *puclois* Pg 5, Oscan *puklum* Cp 37,4 etc., and Oscan *futír* 'daughter' Si 8, 9, Samnitic *fuutreí* Sa 1B.5, *futreí* Sa 1A.4, and *futre[ís* Sa 30, which continues PIE */putlom/ and */d^{h}ugh$_2$tēr/.[98] Umbrian once has abbreviated *fel* 'son' Um 29, perhaps an interferential form from Latin or Faliscan (cf. *WOU* s.v. *fel*: the inscription shows both Latin and Etruscan features). **Puclom* has distant cognate in Latin *puer*; a Faliscan cognate **putellius* 'infant' was read by Vetter (1953:303-4) in MF **152** as 'infant', but I reject this for phonological reasons (see 62. †*putellius*). *Filius* and *filia* reflect PIE */d^{h}h$_1$ilio-/ or */d^{h}eh$_1$ilio-/ (cf. Schrijver 1991:242), not formations based on Proto-Italic */fēlā/ 'breast' ← PIE */d^{h}eh$_1$leh$_2$/ that underlies the Latin verb *felo/fello*, and its Umbrian cognate *feliuf TI* Ia.14, *filiu TI* VIb.3 (cf. *DÉ*, *LEW* s.v. *fīlius*, *IEW* s.v. *dhe(i)-*, and *WOU* s.v. *feliuf*).

26. ***fingo*** vb. 'to form, to knead'. *(1)* 3rd sg. pf. act. ind. *fifiked* EF **9**; *(2)* 3rd pl. pf. act. ind. *f[.f]iqod* (=*f[.f]iqo(n)d*) EF **1** (usually read as *f[if]iqod*, although it is also possible to read *f[ef]iqod*). The attestations are both signatures of the *iscrizione parlante*-type '... made me', where the use of this word may have been formulaic. [*(3)* very uncertain is nom. or dat. sg. f. pf. ptc. *fita* or *fitai* read in in *fitaidupes* EF **1**, cf. below s.v. *fita-/fitai-*.]. – The attestation of *fifiked* is beyond doubt (cf. now Gulinelli 1996), and on this basis *f[if]iqod*, which goes back to Herbig (1913:74-80) and Buonamici (1913:40), has become the accepted reading, probably rightly. Both forms show a reduplicative perfect with (at least in *fifiked*) assimilation of the vowel of the reduplicative syllable to that of the root (as happened e.g. in Latin *spopondi*, *tutudi* etc.).

Since the root underlying the word was */d^{h}eig^{h}-/ (*DÉ*, *LEW* s.v. *fingō*), the presence of an intervocalic /g/ must be due to analogy after the present stem */d^{h}ing^{h}-/ (*DÉ*, *LEW* s.v. *fingō*), where (*/g^{h}/ →) */g^{h}/ regularly developed to /g/ after the nasal infix. Alternatively, intervocalic */g^{h}/ may have developed to /g/ instead of to /h/ in Faliscan: see §3.3.3. Although the verb is therefore the same as in Latin, the formation of the perfect was different, Faliscan having an old reduplicative perfect with assimilation of the vowel in the reduplicative syllable, and Latin having an s-perfect with analogical extension of the nasal infix *finxi*, perhaps, however, as a replacement of an earlier reduplicative perfect (§5.3.1.*8*) – Latin equivalent *fingo*; distant cognates in Oscan *feíhúss CA* B.5, *feíhúís CA* B.19 (cf. *WOU* s.v. *feíhúss*).

[98] *DÉ* s.v. *fīlius* erroneously stated: "L'italo-celtique a perdu les noms indo-européens du «fils» (got. *sunus*, etc.) et de la «fille» (got. *dauhtar*, etc.). Ces noms ont été remplacés par des noms nouveaux, familiers, ou fabriqués."

27. ? °***firmus***. The name *Firmius/Hirmius* in *ḥiṛṃeo* MF **19**, *firmio* MF **54**, *hirmio* LF **213**; f. *ḥirmia* MF **18**, *fir·mia* MLF **302** has been connected with the adjective *firmus* (← PIE */d^{h}ermo-/) e.g. by Campanile (1961:5-6), although the connection was rejected by G. Giacomelli (1963:193).

28. ? ***fit/fita/fitai***. Editors have usually divided *fitaidupes* in EF **1** either as *fita idupes* or as *fitai dupes* (*fit aidupes* Martzloff 2006:66-74). The resulting *fita* or *fitai* is usually connected either *(1)* to Latin *fingo* and its derivations in *fict-* (e.g. Thulin 1908:259, Herbig *CIE* 8079, G. Giacomelli 1963:41-3, Peruzzi 1964a:161-2), *(2)* to Latin *fio* (Stolte 1929:107, Vetter 1953:280, Martzloff 2006:66-74) or Umbrian *fitu TI* VIb.11 (Herbig *CIE* 8079), and *(3)* to Latin *fetus* (Pisani 1946:53). For a discussion of these suggestions, all highly conjectural, see §5.3.2.*26* and §12.2.

29. ? °***frenum*** n. 'rein': perhaps attested indirectly in the gentilicium *Frenaius* or *Frenarius*, in *frenaios* or *frenarios* MF **471***. Latin equivalent *frenum* (probably derived from *frendo* (*DÉ*, *LEW*, *EDL* s.v. *frēnum*). No known Sabellic equivalents or cognates.

30. ***gero*** vb. 'to wear', spec. (with *magistratum*) 'to function as a magistrate'. 3rd sg. pf. act. ind. *keset* LF **242**, *kese[t* LF **243**. The Faliscan forms represent /ges-s-/ with an s-perfect as in Latin. Both Faliscan attestations occur in the formulaic phrase *magistratum gessit* which is identical with the phrase used in Latin (*TLL* 6^{2}.1939,1-1940,56): cf. Renzettti Marra 1990:339-40. – Direct Latin equivalent *gero* with pf. *gessi*.

31. ? ****gutto/*guttum/guttur*** n. 'pitcher'. Nom. sg. *quto* EF **3.** (The word is often read as *qutoṇ*, which I regard as impossible.) *Quto* is a rendering or adaptation of the Etruscan word that appears as *qutun* (e.g. in *mi qutun lemausnas* Etr **III** from Narce), *qutum* Cm 3.1, Cr 2.18, 19, 30, *qutumuza* Ve 2.1, and *quṭus* Vs 1.116, *qutus* Vs 1.120. Whether in EF **3** it is a borrowing or an interferential form cannot be said: neither does the occurrence, in Latin, of borrowings such as *guttus* and *guttur* throw any light on this. The phonological form represented by *quto* is unclear. The *q-* can represent either /k-/, as in the Greek *κώθων* or Hesychius' *κῶθον* (*κ* 4788 Latte) from which the word is ultimately derived (cf. Colonna 1974:140-2), or /g-/ as in Latin *guttur*, *guttus* etc. which are thought to have a similar origin. The *-u-* may represent either /ū/, preserving the long vowel of the original Greek word, or /u/ as in Latin *guttur*, *guttus* etc.; the *-t-* may likewise represent /t/ or /tt/ (cf. Bréyer 1993:198-9 on *cuturnium*, 209-10 on *gūtus/guttus*). Reading the ending *-o* as an ōn-stem nominative /-ō/ or as an o-stem masculine nominative *-o(s)* /-os/ is impossible as the word appears to be qualified by the neuter adjective *duenom* (*eco quto *e uotenosio titias duenom duenas*). The ending might represent a second-declension neuter nominative *-o(m)* /-om/, but

this requires that an omission of *-m* that is without parallels in Early Faliscan (§3.5.7*a*). Alternatively, the word might perhaps be derived, not from Greek κώθων or κῶθον, but (through a hypothetical Etruscan intermediary **qutur*?) from a Greek *χύτωρ, in which case the ending might represent *-o(r)* (cf. Latin *guttur*). This requires assuming an omission of *-r* that is unparallelled (although not impossible) in Early Faliscan, but makes it more probable that the word was neuter. – Possibly a direct Latin equivalent *guttur* and cognate in *guttus*. No Sabellic equivalents or cognates.

32. [***haruspex*** n. 'haruspex'. Latino-Faliscan attestations only: *hariṣp[ex* LtF **231**, *harisp[ex* LtF **232**. No known Sabellic equivalents. Bréyer (1993:351-4) rightly argues against an assumed Etruscan origin of the word, which was based on the older false readings of the Faliscan attestations such as *haracna*.]

33. ***hic*** adv. 'here'. *ḥec* MF **88**, *hec* MF **94**, *hec* MF **146**, *he[* MF **149**, *hec* MF **158**, *he* LF **220**, *he* LF **221**, *hęç* LF **223**, *he* LF **224**, *[h]e* LF **226**; [and *heic* LtF **231**]; hypercorrective spelling with *f-* for *h-* in *fe[(c?)* MLF **56**, *fe* MF **305**. [I do not adopted the *haç* 'hanc' read by Vetter (1953:301) in MF **89**.) All attestations are from the sepulchral formula *hec cupat/cupant* 'lie(s) here'. The adverb is a fossilized locative */heḭ-ke/ of a demonstrative pronoun /ho-/. The same pronoun also underlies *foied* (see 34. *hodie*) – Direct Latin equivalent *heic* → *hic*. No cognate in Sabellic languages, where the pronominal root /ho-/ is absent and /eko-/ is used instead (cf. §4.8).

34. ***hodie*** adv. 'today'. *foied* MF **59-60** (with hypercorrect *f-* for *h-*, see §3.5.2). It cannot be ascertained whether the Faliscan form represents /hōi̯ēd/ from a fossilized ablatival phrase /hō+di̯ē(d)/, or /hoi̯ēd/ with a short /o/ as in Latin, either reflecting a compound form */ho-di̯ē(d)/, or the result of a shortening of an earlier */hōdiē/, but hardly a locative (as Meiser (1998:78) suggests). The /-d/ in *foied* may be due to its presence in the ablative underlying the word, but as in the fifth declension the d-ablative was an analogical development after that of the o-stems and the a-stems, it may also have been added to an already existing adverb **hoie* after analogy with those adverbs that had /-d/ because they where derived from o-stem or a-stem d-ablatives: see §4.6.4 and G. Giacomelli 1963:150. – Direct Latin equivalent *hodie*. No cognate in Sabellic languages: the existence of a direct formal equivalent in Sabellic is unlikely, as in Sabellic the pronominal root /ho-/ is not used, and the equivalent of *dies*, Oscan *zicolom TB* **14** etc., is derived differently.

35. ***huti[.]ilom*** EF **1**. Most modern editors have adopted Vetter's (1953:280) restoration *huti[c]ilom*: this has been interpreted in various ways (see §12.2), most of which involve a derivation from PIE */ǵ^{h}eu-/ 'to pour'. If that derivation

is correct, Faliscan would apparently differ from Latin, where the derivations from this root (*fundo* etc.) all have /#fV/ (*DÉ*, *LEW*, *EDL* s.v. *fundō*): see §3.3.3. The only author to have suggested a fundamentally different restoration is Radke (1965:138), restoring *huti[p]ilom*, but his derivation of this word as Etruscan *huθ* 'four' + a Latin suffix apparently related to *-plus/-plum* '-fold' is unconvincing: there is no reason why Faliscan should derive such a word from an Etruscan numeral rather than from its word for 'four' (cf. also §1.3.2.*2*).

36. † ***indu-*** praef. 'in, within'. G. Giacomelli (first 1963:41, 43) and Peruzzi (1964a: 163-4) divided *fitaidupes* EF **1** as *fita idupes*, interpreting *idupes* as containing a praefix *i(n)du-* equivalent to Latin *indu-* ← *endo* /endo/. It is is very unlikely, however, that Early Faliscan already had the form *indu-* when Latin still had *endo* in *CIL* 1^2.4: the closing of the vowels took place only at a later date (cf. §3.6.6.*1*).

37. ***infra*** adv. 'below, underneath'. *ifra* MF **40**, in *cupat ifra* 'lies below', a variation on the usual sepulchral formula *hic cuba(n)t* 'lie(s) here'. – Direct Latin equivalent *infra*, with a lengthened /ī/: whether Faliscan had /i/ or /ī/ cannot be ascertained (§3.5.6.*1*). The etymology of the Latin form is difficult, for in Roman Latin an original Proto-Italic */n̥d^h(e)rā/ → Proto-Latin */n̥ð(e)rād/ would have become †*end(e)rad* /end(e)rād/ → †*indrad* /īndrād/ → †*indra* /īndrā/ (§3.3.3). *Infra* is therefore explained either by assuming that it was originally a non-Roman form (*DÉ* s.v. *īnferus*) or by assuming that, when the form was still */enð(e)rā/, it was re-analysed as a compound */en+ð(e)rā/, so that the */ð/ developed to /f/, the regular word-initial development (*LEW, EDL* s.v. *īnferus*). Both are *ad hoc* solutions: the attestation of Faliscan *ifra* shows that the former is at least possible (G. Giacomelli 1963b). No known Sabellic equivalent.

38. **?** ***i*ice*** (vb., n., or adj.?). *i*ice* LF **309**, *į*ice* LF **315**. The word is usually explained as a verb because of the structure of *tito : uellmineo : iunlaį į*ice* LF **315**, where editors have interpreted *iunai* as a dative, being reluctant to assume a genitive in *-ai* for Faliscan (§4.2.2). Suggestions have been *ipice* = *impĭgit* pf. of **impingo* 'to fasten upon' (Herbig (1923:231-2), *ipice* = *impīgit* pf. of **impingo* 'to paint upon' (Stolte 1926:61), an Etruscan verbal form in *-ce* (Ribezzo 1931b:192, Pisani 1964:341): see also §5.3.1.*9*. I regard it rather as a noun or an adjective used as a cognomen, which fits the structure of both texts.

39. ***lectus*** n. 'bed', spec. 'the burial place for the dead in a tomb or loculus'. Nom. pl. *lete* MLF **285**, abbreviated (acc. sg.?) *let* MLF **361**, probably to be restored in · *iii* · *l[.....l.....]naį[?---l....]o uxo* MF **17** (either 'the third bed …' or 'three beds …'). [Also in *lectu* Lat **251** (twice), with the same meaning.] In Latin this specific meaning of *lectus* (*de mortuis, peculiariter de loco, ubi cadauer conditur*, *TLL* 7^2.1099.18-20) occurs only in *CIL* I^2.1990=Lat **251**. M. Mancini (2002:

28-33) therefore explains *lete* as */lētę̄/, the monophthongized form of the locative of */loi̯tā/ with the same meaning as *lectus*, unnecessarily introducing a hypothetical word to avoid giving *lete* (and perhaps *let*) a meaning that is in fact attested in the area, and assuming that Faliscan had a functional locative (cf. §8.2.1) with an ending that could be monophthongized (§3.7.6). For the omission of the syllable-final /k/ (*lete* = *le(c)te*), see §3.5.7*c*.

40. ****lego*** or ****legeo*** vb. 'to lie', spec. 'to lie in a grave or tomb': 3rd sg. pr. act. ind. *lecet* MF **88**. Once in place of the usual *cubat* in the sepulchral formula *hec cupat* 'lie(s) here', cf. §8.10.1. The Faliscan form is not without problems, since, as the IE cognates point to an original */leǵʰ-/, the expected Faliscan form would be **leh-* */leh-/ rather than /leg-/. The /g/ would therefore have to be due to an analogy, unless it is assumed that in Faliscan intervocalic (*/ǵʰ/ →) */gʰ/ developed to /g/ instead of to /h/: see §3.3.3. It is also unclear whether the Faliscan form represents */leg-e-t/ (as would be implied by its IE cognates, cf. *DÉ*, *LEW* s.v. *lectus*) or /legē-t/ (thus Vetter 1953:301): see §5.3.1.*11*. The verb was apparently replaced by *cubo* both in Faliscan (where *cubo* is the formulaic verb in sepulchral inscriptions) and in Latin (where it is not attested at all, although its existence is implied by the derivations *lectus* and *lectica*), in which case its occurrence in Faliscan can be described as an archaism (R. Giacomelli 2006:42). Interestingly, the unique attestation of South Picene *veialt* /u̯ei̯āt/ MC.1 ← Proto-Sabellic */leγi̯āt/ occurs side by side with *qupat* in *apaes : qupat [: e]smín : púpúnis : nl̂r : mefíín : veialt : vepetí* MC.1. (See also *DÉ*, *LEW* s.v. *lectus*, *WOU* s.v. *veiat*).

41. ***liberta*** n. 'freedwoman' and ***libertus*** n. 'freedman': Nom. sg. f. *l]oifirta* MF **41**, *loferta* LF **221**, perhaps abbreviated in *ti̯ [·] ti̯ria lo[?---]ll[e]a : cs : f* MF **155**. Another attestation (masc. or fem?) perhaps in *[---]*i : u[o]ltiai lo* MF **165** [and perhaps *l* LtF/Lat **292** (very uncertain)]. The word clearly designates the freedman and freedwoman, although it is unclear what the status of the freedman was in Faliscan society, and whether it differed from that of the Etruscan *lautni* and the Latin *libertus*: see §2.3.2 and Rix 1994:94-6. – Direct Latin equivalents *libertus* and *liberta*. No Sabellic equivalents or cognates. *Liberta* (and *libertus*!) has been explained as a calque on the Etruscan feminine form *lautniθa*, but this has rightly been rejected by Rix (1994:88-91).

42. ***libertas*** n. 'freedom'. Gen. sg. *loifi̯rtato* MF **31**, *loifirtato* MF **32**. – Direct Latin equivalent *libertas*. No attested Sabellic equivalent, although there is a close cognate in Paelignian *loufir* Pg 11 and abstract nouns derived by means of the suffix *-tas* are attested from the Sabellic languages.

43. ***magistratus*** n. 'magistracy'. Acc. (sg.?) *macistratu* LF **242** [and to be restored in LF **243**]. The attestation is from a formula appearing in LF **242** as *macistratu* l

keset, which is directly equivalent to Latin *magistratum gessit* (*TLL* 6^2.1939,1-1940,56) and may have been borrowed from Latin as part of the vocabulary relating to public office (§6.3.*6*): this does not imply that the words themselves did not exist in Faliscan. – Direct Latin equivalent *magistratus*. No attested Sabellic equivalents or direct cognates.

44. °***manus*** adj. 'good'. Attested in the superlative used as a cognomen *Manumus* 'Most Good' (rather than 'Best') in *man[o]mo* MF **80** and *[m]ano[m]o* MF **149**, and either *man]om[o* or *max]om[o* MF **89**; indirectly also in the gentilicium *Manius* in *mania* LF **225**, *m[e]ania* LF **224**. In Latin, *manus* was ousted probably already at an early date by *bonus*: since the latter occurs also in Early Faliscan, it is interesting to find the superlative *manumus* as a cognomen in Middle Faliscan, for if cognomina were a new element in the Middle Faliscan onomasticon (cf. §7.9.2), then the adjective *manus* must have been current recently enough to be remembered, especially as the form used for the cognomen is not the regular form but the superlative. – In Latin, the attestations of *manus* are all from glossographers (Var. *L.* 6.2.4, Fest. 112.24-5L, 132.3-7L, Paul. *Fest.* 109.4-7L, 133.10-2L, 151.6-7L, Macr. 1.3.13), where the word often has a sacral connotation, e.g. "*Matrem Matutam* antiqui ob bonitatem appellabant, et *maturum* idoneum usui, et *mane* principium diei, et inferi di *Manes*, et subpliciter boni appellati essent, et in Carmine Saliari *Cerus Manus* appellatur creator bonus" (Paul. *Fest.* 109.4-7). Apparently already by the time of the earliest attestations that could still be found or remembered, the word was associated with divine benevolence rather than human goodness, which may be why it disappeared from common use: even its onomastic derivation in Latin, the praenomen *Manius*, was not frequent. No Sabellic equivalent, although the stem *ma-* has been seen in Samnitic *maatúís* Sa 1A.10, B.13 (*WOU* s.v. *maatúís*, *DÉ*, *LEW* s.v. *mānis, -e*).

45. ***mater*** n. 'mother'. Nom. sg. *mate* LF **221**. – Direct Latin equivalent *mater*; direct Sabellic equivalents in South Picene *matereíh* AP.2, Umbrian *matres* Um 17, 19, 18, *matrer* Um 7, Samnitic *maatreís* Sa 30 (cultic epithet of a deity).

46. ***maxumus*** irregular superl. adj. 'greatest'. Attested as a cognomen *Maxumus/Maximus* in *maximo* MF **88**, *ɱaxoɱ[o]* MF **98**, *ma]x̣o̱mo* MF **162**, *maxomo* LF **220** and *max]om[o* or *man]om[o* MF **89**, probably not *[--- m]a*ome* MF **156** (*pace* Colonna 1972c:446-7) – Direct Latin equivalent *maxumus/maximus* from */mag-isVmo-/ (see §3.6.6.*1,2*). The Sabellic languages had */mag-imo-/ → */maị̂mo-/ → */maị̂mo-/ attested in Oscan *maimas TB* 3, 7 (*DÉ*, *LEW* s.v. *magnus*, *WOU* s.v. *maimas*).

47. ***me*** pers. pron. 1st sg. acc. 'me'. Acc. sg. *med* EF **1**, **9**; *met* MF **470***. (The abl. sg. *[me]d* has been proposed as a reading by G. Giacomelli (1963:44, 46, 1978:527)

in EF **3**). For the various explanations of the Faliscan and Latin form *med*, see §4.7.2. The *-t* in Middle Faliscan *met* can be explained either as an indirect attestation of weakening of word-final consonants (§3.5.7*c*) and/or as a hyper-correct form copying the replacement of /-d/ by /-t/ in ending of the third singular perfect, cf. the *facet* that immediately follows *met*: see also §5.2.4*e* – Direct Latin equivalent *med* /mēd/ → *me* /mē/. The only certain instance of a Sabellic semantic equivalent is Palaeoumbrian *míom* Um 4=**480**†, with a suffix /-om/ that also occurs in the personal pronouns of the second person and third person reflexive, attested in Oscan *tiium* Cp 37 and *siom TB* 5, 6, 9 respectively (cf. *WOU* s.vv. *miom*, *siom*, *tiiom*). See also §4.7.2. For the nominative *ego*, see 20. *ego*.

48. [***minor*** irregular comp. adj. 'smaller, younger'. Latino-Faliscan attestation only. Probably in *mino* LtF **173**, where its is apparently a woman's name, although the lexeme itself is likely to have existed in Faliscan. See §7.7.1.*43*.]

49. † ***nutrix*** n. 'wet-nurse'. Herbig (*CIE* 8225) considered interpreting *nut*[---]* MF **103** as *nutṛ[ix*, which was adopted by Vetter (1953:302). G. Giacomelli (1963:82-4) rightly rejected this, as the Middle Faliscan form would have been **notrix* or **noutrix* (cf. Latin *noutrix CIL* I^2.45): see §3.7.2. Peruzzi's attempt (1964d:312) to uphold Herbig's interpretation by assuming that *nutr[ix* was a *Luxuslehnwort* from Roman Latin is unconvincing: it would still be the oldest instance of the spelling *u* for original /o̯u̯/, only then in Roman Latin instead of in Faliscan. (Note there are no attestations of 'professional designations' in the Faliscan sepulchral inscriptions.)

50. ? °***oct...*** ord. 'eight' or card. 'eighth'. Perhaps attested in the praenomen *oct*i[....]* MLF **353**, which Herbig (*CIE* 8204) in fact read as *oc̣ṭo*. Most of the Latin names in *Oct-* discussed by Schulze (1904) and Kajanto (1965) are derived from the cardinal *octo* or the ordinal *octauus*, although *oct*i[....]* could conceivably represent a name in /ō̯kt-/ ← /aū̯kt-/ (§3.7.4). If attested, there are direct equivalents in Latin *octo*, *octauus* etc., as well as close cognates in the Oscan names *úhtavis* Cp 36, *οταφις* Lu 36.

51. † ***olla*** n. 'urn, pot'. *Olna* in *uel [·] uisni · olna* MF **82** was interpreted by Deecke (1888:131-2) as *olla*, but this is based on an erroneous etymology. It is rather a second gentilicium, as was first proposed by Schulze (1904:73 n.3).

52. ? ***ora-*** (vb.?) in *tulate tulas urate* EF/Etr **385**. The text is regarded as Etruscan by most editors and (therefore?) left unexplained. Pisani (1964:347) suggested a connection with Oscan *urust TB* 14, 16 (and thus indirectly with Latin *oro*, cf. *WOU* s.v. *urust*), interpreting it as 'chiacchierate'. Although this is not without difficulties (see §5.3.1.*23*), a connection between *urate*, *urust*, and *oro* is not impossible.

53. ***pario*** vb. 'to bring forth, to give birth to'. 1st sg. pf. act. ind. *pe:para[i* EF **1** (context unclear). Notwithstanding the punctation, this form has been read and interpreted thus since Herbig (1913:84-7), and although other proposals have been made (e.g. Peruzzi's (1964a:160-4) *pe : par a[dke]douiad* 'per par accedat'and *pe : para[te ke]douiad* ''per parate accedat'), these are not improvements, nor generally accepted. Assuming that the text is indeed to be read thus, *pe:para[i* (cf. Untermann 1968a:166 n.5) shows a reduplicative perfect /pe-par-/ that would also have been the early form of Latin *peperi* (*DÉ*, *LEW* s.v. *pariō*). Direct Latin equivalent *peperi*; no Sabellic equivalent, although the root may have distant Sabellic cognates (cf. *WOU* s.v. *amparitu*, *perstu*).

54. [****pescum*** (Sab.) n. 'votive offering'. Only in Torelli's (1974:741-6) reading of Cap **431**, which starts with the word *pesco*. This is a Sabellic word, cf. Marsian *pesco* VM 5: it is usually derived from */perḱ-sḱ-o-m/, and related to Umbrian *persklum TI* Ia.1 etc. (← */perḱ-sḱ-elo-m/): see *WOU* s.vv. *pesco*, *persklum*.[99]]

55. ***pater*** n. 'father'. Only indirectly attested in the theonym *[...]s pater* MF **62**, restorated either as *[ioui]s pater* or *[iouo]s pater*, or as *[die]s pater*. – Direct Latin equivalent *pater*, direct Sabellic equivalent Oscan *patir* Cp 2, *dí[·]pa[·]tír* Po 22, etc.

56. ***por-*** praefix. See 16. *do*. Occurring in *porded* EF **1**. In Latin, *por-* occurs in the compounds *polliceor*, *porgo*, *porricio*, and *portendo*. (Cf. DE s.v. *por-* and *porrō* in *porod CIL* I^2.560.)

57. ****postigna*** (Sab.) n. prob. 'likeness, statue'?. Nom. sg. *posticnu* MLF **474***. The form may be a Sabellic first-declension nominative singular (§4.2.1, §9.3.2), for the only known equivalent or cognate is South Picene *postiknam* CH.2 (acc. sg.). The meaning 'statue' assumed for both words is a conjecture based on the fact that the Faliscan inscription, *caui : tertinei :* | *posticnu* **474***, occurs on a bronze base which in the earliest drawings (Ritschl 1862 tab.XXXVI,B and Garrucci 1862 tav.IV.2) shows marks of the feet of a statuette.[100] The etymology is unknown (*WOU* s.v. *postiknam*): the word is perhaps a compound of Sabellic **posti* (cf. *WOU* s.v. *pústin*, also La Regina 1981:132). No known Latin cognate.

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[99] Untermann (*WOU* s.v. *pesco*) refers to Cap **431** but erroneously describes this inscription as 'aus dem Marsergebiet (Luco AQ)'.

[100] Untermann (*WOU* s.v. *postiknam*) all but rejects this, stating "der Gegenstand zeigt jedoch keine Spur einer Statue (Lejeune)." Lejeune's (1952:115) autopsy, however, is less decisive: "Dans l'état *actuel* de l'objet, il n'y a pas de moindre trace de soudure de la statuette jadis supportée par la base; *à peine peut-on discerner l'emplacement du pied gauche à une légère différence de coloration de la patine*, et il est difficile d'en affirmer seulement autant pour la pied droit; *sans doute le bronze a-t-il subi un décapage*?" (my italics throughout).

58. ***praetor*** n. 'praetor'. Nom. sg. *pretod* LF **242**, *p[reto]|r* LF **243**, *pret[or* LF **247**, *pre]tor* LF **248** [and *pretod* LtF/Lat **214**] (all from *cursus honorum* in sepulchral inscriptions); nom. pl. *pret[ores* LF **213** (public work). The word may well be a borrowed Latin term for a magistracy that was introduced in the ager Faliscus as part of the Roman presence there after the war of 241. Although Latin *praetor* was sometimes also used as a 'translation' or 'equivalent' of Etruscan *zilaθ*, it is unlikely that this is the case in the Faliscan attestations, as these all occur in the context of the Roman administration of Falerii Novi. – Direct Latin equivalent *praetor*; the Oscan equivalent in the abbreviated *pr TB* 23, 27, 28 may be a borrowing from Latin (cf. *WOU* s.v. *pr*). For the etymology, cf. also *DÉ*, *LEW* s.v. *praetor*: Bréyer (1993:378) discusses the possible derivation from or connection by popular etymology with Etruscan *purθ* (doubtful, as the Etruscan magistrate equated with the *praetor* was not the *purθ*, but the *zilaθ*).

59. **? *pramo-*** and ***propramo-***. *(1)* Abl. sg. *pramod*, *pramod*, *pramod* EF **2**; perhaps also *pro pramọd* EF **2**, although this may also be a form of the compound *propramo-*; *(2)* adv. *prameḍ*, *pramed* EF **2**; *(3)* compound nom. or acc. sg. *propramom*, and abl. sg. *propramọd* EF **2**, although this may also be read as also *pro pramọd*. The repetition of these enigmatic words forms the core of EF **2**. The words are in all probability derived from a */prH-mo-/*[101] that also underlies Latin *prandium* (← */prām(o)+ediom/, cf. *DÉ, LEW* s.v. *prāndium*, *IEW* s.v. *per* 2.A,g). Since *prandium* is usually interpreted as 'early meal' (like German *Frühstück*, or Greek *ἄριστον*), /prāmo-/ has been credited with a meaning 'early', even though the reflexes of */prH-mo-/ in Germanic (Old Saxon *formo*, Old English *furma*) and Baltic (Lithuanian *pìrmas*, Old Prussian *pirmas*) mean 'first' in the sense of 'foremost' rather than 'earliest'. Pisani (first 1937:233) observed that *pramed* could also be the subjunctive of a verb rather than an adverb, deriving it from a **pramo* (either **prāmāre* or **prāmĕre*) that would correspond to Latin *promo*.

60. **? *pro...*** Unclear, occurring in *pro[---]* LF **244**. Renzetti Marra (1990:338) interpreted *pro[---]* as "un *pro[* elemento architettonico di cui è data la localizzazione". If I understand this correctly, it would refer to (a place in) the loculus, which is elsewhere referred to as *lectus* (MF **17**, MLF **285**, perhaps MLF **361**, and Lat **251** (twice)); placing a body *before* another is described by *anteponat* in Lat **251**. *Pro[---]* may be part of a (woman's) name, perhaps *pro[tacia]*, the gentilicium attested from the same tomb in LF **242**, **244**.

61. **† *puia*** (Etr.) n. 'wife'. Although the possibility of reading *puia* in *[.?]ạ*ịạ* | *lepuia* | *uoltilia* MF **144** was rejected already by Herbig (*CIE* 8243*a*), this reading is still

[101] The nature of the laryngeal is uncertain in view of West Greek and Boeotian *πρᾶτος* vs. Attic-Ionic *πρῶτος* (cf. Beekes 1969:214-6, who seems to favour /h₃/).

adopted by Vetter (1953:305). It would be the only sepulchral inscription where [HUSBAND$_{GEN}$ *WIFE*] precedes [FILIATION] (attestations in §7.4.2). Note also that [HUSBAND$_{GEN}$ *WIFE*] or [*WIFE* HUSBAND$_{GEN}$] is part of an (onomastic) formula in which the word used for *WIFE* is always *uxor* (§7.4.2), which would make it even more unlikely that it would be replaced by *puia*. If in spite of these objections *puia* is still adopted, it is likely to be an interferential form, not a borrowing.

62. † ****putellius/*putellium*** n. 'infant'; ****putellus*** adj. 'little'. Vetter (1953:303-4, 80) interpreted *putellio* in *uolti[o :] marc[---] | putellio* MF **152** as 'infant' and on this basis restored *pu]tela* 'parvula' in EF **1**. The main problem is that the noun **putellius/*putellium* and the adjective **putellus* are to be derived from PIE */putlom/, but that the suffix */-tlom/ was continued in Italic as /-klom/: */putlom/ in fact occurs in the Sabellic languages as **puclum* in South Picene *poqloh* AQ.1, Marsian *pucle[s* VM 4, Paelignian *puclois* Pg 5, Oscan *puklum* Cp 37,4 etc. (In spite of this, R. Giacomelli (2006:42) still considers *putellio* as a possible 'sabinismo'.) A **putellius/*putellium* and **putellus* would therefore require a separate Faliscan development at the Proto-Italic stage, which is inadmissible (§3.1.2). **Putellius/ *putellium* could be a later derivation from /pu-/ (which occurs also in Latin *puer/puella*), but in that case it is unclear what the origin of the suffix would be. It is easier to interpret *putellio* as an onomastic element. A better case for a *p...* 'child' could in fact be made on the basis of *cẹịṣ[i.] | holc[osi] | ar · p[...]* MF **140** (or is this another case of *puia*?).

63. **?** °***quartus*** ord. 'fourth': very dubiously attested*[---]*[5-7]: cua* MF? **129**, which has been interpreted as an abbreviation of a name like Latin *Quartus* by Thulin (1907:305), an interpretation that has been rejected by later editors.

64. ***quaestor*** n. 'a magistracy, *quaestor*'. Nom. sg. *cụestod* LF **242**, *cues[tor]* LF **243**, *c]ues[tor* LF **245**, *cue[stor* LF **247** [and possibly also *[---]or* LtF **233**; *q* LtF **231** is probably not an attestation.] Probably (but not necessarily) a borrowing from Latin. – Direct Latin equivalent *quaestor*: the Sabellic counterparts, Umbrian *kvestur TI* Va.23, Vb.2 *cvestur* Um 9, and its derivative *kvestretie TI* Ib.45, IIa.44, Oscan *kvaísstur* Po 3, Po 4, *k]vaísstur* Po 9, Po 10, *kv]aísstur* Po 14, *ⱪaιστορ* Lu 6, Lu 7, *ⱪ]ιστορ* Lu 10, *ⱪaισ.* Lu 8, *kvaístureí* Cm 1A.2, *kvaízstur* Po 8 are borrowings from Latin (*WOU* s.v. *kvaísstur*).

65. ***-que*** encl. conj. 'and'. *-cue* MF **80**, *-cụe* MF **158**, *-cue* MLF **313**, probably also *-cụę* MF **170**, possibly also *-c[ue* MF **108**. All attestations are from names joined in sepulchral inscriptions. – Direct Latin equivalent *-que*. In the Sabellic languages, the formal equivalent *-pe* is often assumed to occur as a suffix (as e.g. in Latin *uterque*) in Umbrian *putrespe TI* IV.14 and *seipodruhpei TI* VIa.11, but this view has convincingly been challenged (cf. *WOU* s.v. *pútereípid*, *seipodruhpei*).

66. **? *qui*** (rel.?) pron. 'who'. (Nom. sg.?) *cui* LF **352** (not a locative or a dative, as Renzetti Marra (1990:336-7) suggests: see §4.9). The context (*[---?] precono[---]-[---] cuiteneṭ[---]-[---] let*) is unclear: I doubt whether the text in fact contains a pronoun at all. – If attested, there is a direct Latin equivalent *qui*, and Sabellic equivalents (with */k^{u}/ → /p/) in e.g. Umbrian *pisi TI* Va.3, 10 etc. (indef.) and *poi TI* VIa.5, VIb.24 etc. (rel.), Oscan *pis* Cp 32 etc. (rel.) and *paí* Cm 1B.8 etc. (rel.). (Cf. the indices to *ST*, and *WOU* s.vv. *pis*, *poi* for all Sabellic attestations).

67. **°*quinctus*** ord. 'fifth'. Attested only in the praenomen *cuicto* MLF **310**. The Latin equivalent has /ī/ as a result of compensatory lengthening (cf. Pfister 1977:100, Meiser 1998:78-9, 81): it is unclear whether this can also be assumed for Faliscan (§3.5.6.*1*). – Direct Latin equivalent *quin(c)tus*, both in the lexicon and the onomasticon. The Sabellic equivalent, attested only in the onomasticon (Paelignian *ponties* Pg 5, Oscan *púntiis* Po 1, *puntịeis* Cm 28, πομπτιες Me 1, πομπτοιες Me 3, abbreviated *pompt* tSa 9, 11), shows an o-vocalism that probably originated in the cardinal (cf. §3.2.10.*1* and *WOU* s.vv. *pomtis* and *púmperiais*),

68. ***rex*** n. 'king' (perhaps a sacral title). Nom. sg. *rex* MF **90**, perhaps also *ṛex* MF **91** (very uncertain), *rẹ[x]* LF **249** [and *rex* LtF **231**]. The only title to occur both at Falerii Veteres and at Falerii Novi: it may have been a sacral function, like that of the Roman *rex sacrorum* (cf. §2.3.3). The title is found at the end of a *cursus honorum* in LF **249** and LtF **231**, either because the status of the office was very high, or because the office fell outside the usual Latin *cursus*. – Direct equivalents in Latin *rex* (already *recei CIL* I^2.1, *rex CIL* I^2.2830) and probably in Oscan ρεγο Lu 5 (but cf. *WOU* s.v. ρεγο): a close cognate is Marrucinian *recen[ai* MV 1.

69. **? °*russus*** adj. 'reddish'. If the cognomen *Ruso* is read in *cauio[---]lruso[?---]* MLF **318** [and perhaps in *ce · paui[ceo ru?]so* LtF **290**], this might be connected to the adjective that appears in Latin as *russus* (note the unrhotacized *s* = /ss/).

70. ***sacer*** adj. 'sacred': nom. sg. f. *sacra* MF **127** (dedication) [and nom/acc. sg. n. *sacru* LtF/Lat **214** (dedication)]; possibly abbreviated to *sa* MF? **76**, **131**, although these are perhaps rather abbreviations of onomastic elements. – Direct Latin equivalent *sacer*; direct Sabellic equivalents Umbrian *sacru* Um12, Um 13, adv. *sacre* Um 6, *sacr* Um 19, and Oscan σακορο Me 1, Me 2, Me 3. An i-stem **sacris* occurs both in the Sabellic languages (cf. *WOU* s.v. *sakrim*) and Latin (*porci ... sacres* Pl. *Men.* 289-90, *sacrem* Fest. 420.26ffL). Bréyer (1993:381-3) discusses a possible Etruscan origin of the word.

71. ***salueo*** vb. 'to be healthy, to fare well' (imp. used as a greeting). 3rd sg. pr. imp. *salue[to]d* EF **3**, *salueto* EF **4**; 2nd pl. pr. imp. *saluete* EF **4**. – Direct Latin equivalent *salueo*; in the Sabellic languages, the only cognate is only the adjective **saluos*. Cf. *DÉ* s.v. *saluus*, *LEW* s.v. *salvus*, *WOU* s.v. *salavs*.

72. ***saluis*** adj. 'healthy, well'. Nom. pl. *salues* EF **4**. The Faliscan form is surprising in that it apparently shows a **saluis* where Latin and the Sabellic languages have **saluos*. Perhaps this may be compared to the coexistence of **sacros* and **sacris* in Latin and the Sabellic languages (cf. 70. *sacer*). – Close cognate in Latin *saluus* and Sabellic **saluos* in Umbrian *saluom TI* VIa.51 etc., Marrucinian *salaus* MV 7, *salas* MV 6, Oscan *salavs* Cm 18, 38, 39, *σαλαϝς* Lu 40.

73. °***scaeuus*** adj. '(coming from the) left' → 'propitious, well-omened' ("scaeua, id est sinistra, quod quae sinistra sunt, bona auspicia existimantur" Var. *L.* 7.97). Attested only in the woman's name *Scaeua* in *sceụa* MLF **312**, *sceiuai* LF **379**. – Direct Latin equivalent *scaeuus*, which also seems to have been used in the onomasticon rather than in the lexicon. No known Sabellic equivalent except for the Paelignian gentilicium *scaifia* Pg 14 (see also §7.7.1.*57*). Schulze (1904:369-419) assumed an Etruscan origin for the word, which in view of Greek *σκαι(ϝ)ός* is unnecessary. In Latin the word was also more common in the onomasticon (where it was perhaps, like *manus*, because of its sacral association), and that this is reflected in its use in Faliscan and Paelignian.

74. °***sextus*** ord. 'sixth'. Attested indirectly in the praenomina *z[e]xtos* EF **1**, *sesto* LF **329**, *zextoi* LF **330**, and *sextia* LF **311**. (For the abbreviated attestations of this praenomen, see §7.7.1.*61*.) In view of the uncertain quantity of the *e* of the corresponding Latin form (cf. Pfister 1977:190), Faliscan **sexto-* may represent either /seksto-/ or /sēksto-/, perhaps the latter (cf. §3.5.7*c*). – Direct Latin equivalent *sextus*; for the Sabellic languages only derivations of the cardinal are attested in Umbrian *sestentasiaru TI* III.2 (*WOU* s.v. *sestentasiaru*), and Oscan *sehsík[* Po 19 (*WOU* s.v *sehsík[*) and indirectly in the gentilicium *sehsímbriịṣ* Po 36.

75. ***socia*** n. '(female) companion, girlfriend'. Early Faliscan attest-ations only: dat. sg. *soç[iai]* EF **1**; nom./voc. pl *sociai* EF **2**. – Direct Latin equivalent *socia*, of uncertain etymology (*DÉ*, *LEW* s.v. *socius*, Schrijver 1991:249, Meiser 1998:98). No known Sabellic equivalent or cognate.

76. † [****sorex*** n. 'a type of priest, *sorex*'. Many editors have read *sorex* in LtF **231** (in my view, this should be read as *cen]lso rex*) and restored it as *sor[ex]* in LtF **232**. First interpreted as a cognomen *Sorex* (Garrucci 1860:277-9), it soon became entangled with the *Hirpi Sorani* and their cult of Apollo on Mount Soracte (§2.3.4), which was also known as *Sorax* (Porph. *in* Hor. *carm.* 1.9). In spite of it being based on an assumption only, this interpretation began to lead an independent life to such an extent that Peruzzi (1963b:435-40) in fact re-analyzed the word as derived from a */sor-ag-s/ 'lot-shaker, cleromantis'.]

77. † ***statuo*** vb. 'to place', spec. 'to place as a sacred object'. Thulin (1907:307) interpreted *statuo* MF? **29** as the active counterpart to the *sta(t)* read by him in

MF? **128** and MF? **28**, presumably similar in meaning to Greek *ἀνατίθημι*. It is rather a *Besitzerinschrift* 'Stat. Vo.'. See also 78. †*sto*.

78. † ***sto*** vb. 'to stand', spec. 'to stand as a sacred object'. Thulin (1907:304, 307) interpreted *[---]sta[?---]* MF? **128**, from the temple 'ai Sassi Caduti' and *sta* MF **28**, as verbal forms *sta(t)* meaning 'to stand (as a sacred object)'. It is rather a *Besitzerinschrift* 'Sta.'. See also 77. †*statuo*.

79. ***sum*** vb. 'to be'. The verb is attested in three forms:

(a) 1st sg. pr. ind. *esú* Cap **389**, **404**, **465**, a form occurring both in the Sabellic languages (South Picene *esom* TE.4, Praesamnitic *esum* PS 4, 5, Hernician *esu* He 3, and Umbrian *esu* Um 18) and in the border of the Latin-speaking area (*ṃorai eṣo[m]* from the ager Signinus (Colonna 1994) and *pari med esom kom meois sokiois trivoiai* in the Garigliano inscription): for a discussion, see §5.3.1.*5*;

(b) 3rd pl. pr. ind. *zot* MLF **285** [and *sot* LtF **172**?], which corresponds to Latin *sunt*, older *sont CIL* I^2.1529, while the Sabellic languages preserved the vocalism of Proto-Italic */sent/ in Oscan *sent* Po 32 etc., *set* Cm 1A.16 etc. and Umbrian *sent TI* VIa.15 etc.: see §5.3.1.*24*; and

(c) 2nd pl. pr. subj. *seite* = *s{e}ite* or *s‹ie›te* EF **4**, which has comparable forms in Umbrian (2nd sg. *sir TI* VIb.7, 26, *sei TI* VIa.23, *si TI* VIb.26, 3rd sg. *si TI* Va.6, 24, 27, Vb.3, 7, 3rd pl. *sis TI* Va.6, *sins TI* VIIb.4): see §5.3.1.*18*.

The verb itself of course has direct equivalents in Latin *sum* etc. and in the Sabellic languages (for attestations, see *WOU* s.v. *ezum*).

80. **? *sus...*** (n. or adj.?). The *sus[---]* in LF **227** is unclear: it may be part of a name, as many editors have suggested (but in that case it would appear to be the only instance of a woman's cognomen); perhaps it is rather to be read as *s us[or ?---]* or *s uχ[or ?---]*.

81. ***teneo*** vb. 'to hold, to occupy'. 3rd sg. pr. act. ind. *teneṭ* in *[---] cuiteneṭ[---]---] let* MLF **361**. Reading, context ('qui tenet ...'?) and the specific meaning of the word here are unclear (cf. Renzetti Marra 1990:336-7) – Direct Latin equivalent *teneo*; direct Umbrian equivalent *tenitu TI* VIb.25.

82. **? °*titus*** (adj. 'prosperous, propitious'?): dat. sg. m. *titoi* MF **113**, *tito* MF **114**, *titoi* MF **116**, *[t]ito[i]* MF **115**, *titoi* MF **118**, *[t]itoi* MF **119**, *[ti]toi* MF **120**, *[ti]toi* MF **121**, *titoi* MF **122**. All the attestations are from the theonym *Titus Mercus*, where *Titus* is probably a cultic epithet, since *Mercus* occurs by itself in MF **124-126**. It is unclear from these attestations whether the word may still have had a lexical function or was already restricted to the onomasticon: the praenomen *Titus* is not very frequent in the ager Faliscus (§7.7.1.*74*). – Latin equivalents in the praenomen *Titus* and also *titius* (in the name of the *Tities* and the *aues titiae* 'birds

of good omen', Var. *L* 5.81). The meaning of *titus* is debated: it is often explained as 'genius' or 'phallus' (cf. e.g. Bréyer 1993:398-400), but at least for Latin and Faliscan an adjective 'propitious, well-omened' is not unlikely (Combet Farnoux 1980:113-69). The interpretation of the South Picene equivalents *titúí* TE.5, *titum* AP.1 and *titiúh* CH.2, *titienom* TE.3 is unclear (cf. *WOU* s.v. *titienum*, *titúí*, *titiúh*).

83. **? *tol-/tul-*** vb. *tulate* and *tulas* in *tulate tulas urate* Etr/EC **385** have been regarded by most editors as Etruscan and (therefore?) left unexplained: Pisani (1964:347) connected *tulate* and *tulas* with Latin *tollo* ("sopportate - sopporta!"), in which case it is a subjunctive based on a zero-grade root */tl̥h₂-/: see §5.3.1.*20-21*. The verb has direct parallels in Latin *tollo* from the zero-grade root */tl̥nh₂-/ and in Umbrian *antentu TI* Ia.20 etc., *ententu TI* Ib.12 etc., *pertentu TI* IIa.31, *sutentu TI* IIa.23 (for all attestations, see *WOU* s.v. *-tentu*) from the full-grade root */telnh₂-/. I do not adopt Herbig's (1914:238 n.1) interpretation of *tulom* MF **68** as a perfect: see §5.3.1.*22*.

84. **† *ulna*** n. Several editors have interpreted *olna* in *uel [·] uisni · olna* MF **82** as a noun related to the burial (*ulna* 'loculus' Garrucci, *ulna* 'pulvinus' Vetter 1953:299). It is rather a second gentilicium, as was first proposed by Schulze (1904:73 n.3).

85. **? **ummum*** n. 'type of vase'. Early Faliscan attestation only. *[u]mom*, *umom*, *umo[m]* EF **2**. Apart from a connection with Latin *umidus* and *umor* that was rightly rejected already by Braun (in Giglioli 1935:241), there were no explanations of this *umom*. M. Mancini (2003:239-41, 2004:205-7) rightly compares *udmom* in the Hernician (?) inscription *[---]matas udmom ni hvidas mi kait[sis ---]* He 2, which is probably the name of a type of vase. Rix (1998a:250-1) explains the word as /ud-mom/ ← PIE */u̯ed-/, comparing Latin *unda* ← */ud-nā/. The Faliscan word probably represents */ummom/ ← */udmom/ (cf. §3.3.4.*3*).

86. ***urna*** n. 'urn, vase'. Early Faliscan attestations only. Acc. sg. *urnam* EF **1**; nom. sg. of the diminutive *u̯rne[[a* EF **1**. – Direct Latin equivalent *urna*, of unclear etymology, perhaps an adaptation of a borrowed word (see *DÉ*, *LEW* s.vv. *urceus*, *urna*); Umbrian cognates perhaps in *urnasier TI* Va.2, 15 and *urnasiaru TI* III.3, although other etymologies for this word have been proposed (see *WOU* s.v. *urnasier*).

87. ***uxor*** n. 'wife'. Nom. sg. *uxo* MF **17**, *uxor* MF **41**, *uxor* MF **42**, *ux[o(r)* MF **43**, *uxor* MF **101**, *ux[o(r)]* MF **102**, *uxo* LF **222**, *uxo* LF **242**, *uxor* MF **265** [and *uxo* LtF/Lat 300, *[u]xor* LtF/Lat 301], perhaps *us[o(r)* or *ux[o(r)* in LF **227** (see also *sus...*). The usual word for 'wife', always in the female onomastic formula in sepulchral inscriptions (cf. §7.4.2). Direct Latin equivalent *uxor*, of unclear etymol-

ogy (*DÉ*, *LEW* s.v. *uxor*); possible direct Sabellic equivalents in Paelignian *usur* Pg 9 (uncertain) and Oscan *usurs* Cp 37 (uncertain), *usurum TB* 6 (the interpretation of these forms is debated, see *WOU* s.v *usur*).

88. ***uinum*** n. 'wine'. Acc. sg. *uino* MF **59-60**; very doubtful is Herbig's (*CIE* 8079) restoration acc. sg. *u[in]o[m]* EF **1** (revived by Radke 1994). – Direct Latin equivalent *uinum*; direct Sabellic equivalents in Umbrian *vinu TI* Ia.4, 22, Ib.6 etc. and Volscian *uinu* VM 2. The *i* in the Early Faliscan, Umbrian, and Volscian forms points to an original */u̯iH̯nom/: for this form and its relation to its IE cognates such as Greek (ϝ)οἶνος, cf. Beekes 1987:22-3.

89. ***uir*** n. 'man'. Late Faliscan attestations only. Attested indirectly in (gen.pl?) *duum]luiru* LF **243**, *duum[uir* LF **247**, *duu[muiru* LF **248**, and *[duu]m̥uiru* LF **249**, which is probably an imported Latin word. Although therefore it cannot be used as an argument that *uir* also occurred in Faliscan, this seems likely in view of its occurrence both in Latin *uir* and in Umbrian *uiro TI* VIa.42, 50 etc., although the meaning of this word might differ slightly from that of its Latin equivalent (cf. *WOU* s.v. *uiro*).

90. ***uos*** pers. pron. 'you (pl.)'. Early Faliscan attestation only. Nom/voc. pl. *ues* EF **4**. The attestation is clear, but the vocalism is difficult to explain in view of that of the direct equivalents Latin *uos* and Paelignian *uus* Pg 9 (twice) vs. that of the possessive pronoun, Latin *uoster/uester* and Umbrian *uestra TI* VIb.61 (cf. *DÉ* s.v. *uōs*, *LEW* s.v. *vōs*, *WOU* s.vv. *uestra*, *uus*): see §4.7.3.

91. ****e[..]tom*** in EF **1** has been restored in various ways: *d̥e[lec]tom* 'delectum' Olzscha in Radke 1965:136-7, Radke 1965:134), *m̥e[re]tom* 'meritum' (Vetter 1953:280), *me[lc]tom* or *me[lq]tom* 'mulctum' (Vetter in Knobloch 1958:138), *me[le]tom* or *me[la]tom* 'molitum' (Joseph & Klein 1981:294). [Pisani (1946:54), however, connected it with the preceding *far* as *farm̥e[n]tom*, a reading which I reject, mainly on phonological grounds.] For an extensive discussion of all restorations for this part of EF **1**, see §12.2.

92. ***[2-3]tela*** in EF **1** has been restored in various ways: preferable, in my view, is *ti]tela* (Watkins 1995a:129, based on *eco urna tita uendias* **479**†); possible, too, are *lu]tela* 'lute(ol)a' (G. Giacomelli 1963:41-3, 1978:525-6) and *pa]tela* 'patula' = 'larga, ampia' (Pisani 1946:53, 1964:347-8). For *pu]tela* 'parvula' (Vetter 1953:280), see 62. †**putellius*. For an extensive discussion of all restorations for this part of EF **1**, see §12.2.

93. ****[3-4]*ad*** in EF **1** has been restored in various ways, but always as a 3rd sg. pr. act. subj. (although it may also be a 3rd *pl.* pr. act. subj., cf. Peruzzi 1964:157). The only restoration that fits both the size of the lacuna and the traces surrounding it appears to be *p[ore]k̥ad* 'porrigat' (Peruzzi 1964:157). Other proposals have

been *a[dkap]iad* (Herbig *CIE* 8079), *a[dtul]ad* (Ribezzo 1927:151-2), *a[ddou]iad* (Ribezzo 1936:46), *[dou]iad* (Herbig 1913:75), *f[in]kad* (Olzscha 1965:123), *[fe]rad* (Vetter 1953:280), and *[pa]rad* (Joseph & Klein 1981:294).

94. ***[---]ostro***, reconstructed from *[---o]stro* LF **244** and *[---]ostr[o---]* LF **245**. Although the reading is certain, restoration and meaning are unclear. Renzetti Marra (1990:338) interprets LF **244** as referring to a double burial in one *loculus*, with *po]stro*, but the syncopation required for this is irregular in Faliscan (§3.6.6.2).[102] For the Sabellic languages, **post(e)ros* is attested for Umbrian (*postra TI* VIb.13) and Oscan (*pústreí* Cp 33, abbreviated *pústr* Cp 34).

6.3. The Faliscan lexicon and its Latin and Sabellic equivalents

6.3.1. The Faliscan lexicon in comparison. Comparison of the Faliscan lexical elements with the corresponding elements in Latin and the Sabellic languages show that the extant Faliscan lexicon is essentially Latin. The extant Faliscan lexicon is extremely limited, however: it is not even possible to construct a more or less complete Faliscan core vocabulary with words like 'water'/'fire', 'day'/'night' (although 'father'/ 'mother' and 'son'/'daughter' *are* attested). In the comparisons with Latin and the Sabellic languages, the picture may be influenced by the fact that far less is known of the Sabellic than of the Latin lexicon, as well as by the different nature of the Sabellic epigraphic material. Even with these restrictions, however, it is abundantly clear that the extant Faliscan lexicon is Italic, and that where Latin differs from the Sabellic languages, Faliscan sides with Latin (e.g. in the use of *filius/filia* for 'son'/'daughter', and in the use of the indicative pronoun /ho-/ rather than /eko-/).

As far as lexical borrowing or interference is concerned, there is two instances of words that have only Sabellic parallels, namely *pesco* Cap **431** and *posticnu* MLF/Cap **474***. Since *pesco* apparently shows a Sabellic development of the internal cluster */rk-sk/ and *posticnu* appears to have a Sabellic ending, these words can be regarded as interferential forms from a Sabellic language: see §9.3.2. *Umom* EF **2** on the other hand also has only Sabellic parallels, but shows an assimilation */udmom/ → /ummom/ that is Latin rather than Sabellic (§3.3.4.*3*).

Borrowings from Etruscan are apparently limited to *clipeus*, **gutto/*guttum/ guttur*, and possibly of *cella*, all of which also occur in Latin. This is all the more remarkable as the Faliscan area must have contained a sizeable number of native speakers of Etruscan and was presumably in far more frequent contact with Etruscan than Latium (§9.2.1). It might be objected that this absence of Etruscan influence in the

[102] I admit, however, that I can think of no Latin word that fits the text apart from *nostro* or *uostro*, *ostro* = *austro*, *clostro* = *claustro*, *plostro* = *plaustro*, or *rostro*.

Faliscan lexicon is a false picture, biased by the limited amount of attested Faliscan lexical elements, but when the same Faliscan lexicon is compared to the attested Sabellic lexicon, there are many direct equivalents or close cognates, even though there are far fewer Sabellic than Etruscan texts. Neither can this conclusion be regarded as biased by the different *nature* of the texts, for the typology of the Faliscan texts has more in common with that of the Etruscan texts than with that of the Sabellic texts.

6.3.2. Lexical subsets. Looking at several subsets of the lexicon reveals a picture that is in some respects more detailed:

(1) Numerals. Of the numerals from 1-10 the following are attested in some way: 'two' in the adverb *bis*, and possibly in *du-*; 'four' dubiously in *Qua...*; 'five' in the praenomen *Quinctus*; 'six' in the praenomen *Sextus*; 'eight' dubiously in *Oct...*; 'ten' in the gloss *decematrus* (§6.6.2). This entire subset appears to be common Italic.

(2) Family ties. As in all Italic languages, 'father' and 'mother' are *pater* and *mater*: 'son' and 'daughter', on the other hand, are *filius* and *filia*, new words that Faliscan shared with Latin, while the Sabellic languages continued PIE words, **puclom* and **fu(h)tēr*. 'Wife' is *uxor*, which may be attested also from Sabellic, but has no Indo-European cognates: *coniunx*, if attested at all, may be due to Latin interference.

(3) Social groups. The only words that belong under this heading are *liberta* and *libertas*. These correspond to Latin words, but it cannot be established whether the connotation of the words was identical. The word is not a calque on Etruscan *lautniθa*.

(4) Burial ritual. The word for 'burial chamber, tomb' is *cella*, which occurs also in Latin, but not in this meaning, and in Etruscan: I assume that *cella* is Latin rather than Etruscan. The word for 'loculus' or 'place in the loculus' is *lectus*, which also occurs in Latin.[103] The formulaic verb for 'to lie in a tomb' is *cubo*, which is used in this sense also in Latin and in the Sabellic languages (cf. also §8.10.1). These all appear to be common words where the specialized sepulchral meaning is secondary. Faliscan also provides an instance of **lego* or **legeo*, which has an (indirect) parallel in South Picene, but must have occurred in Latin as well.

(5) Dedications and ritual. Here the only word that can be considered certain is *sacer*, which occurs both in Latin and the Sabellic languages. (The only attestations of longer texts of this type are the Latin dedications that have been excluded from the comparison, namely Latin **217-218**, **219**, **377**, and Capenate **421** and **431-438**.) *Ṛesco* Cap **431** is an interferential form.

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[103] Steinbauer (1999:472, 473) translates *ouθi* as "Grab(stelle)" and *tamera* as "(Grab)kammer". The Etruscan word corresponding to 'loculus' may have been *tunu-* or *tusu-* (cf. Steinbauer 1999:483, 484).

(6) Public office. The Middle Faliscan inscriptions only yield *aedilis* (perhaps a calque based on Latin), and *rex*, a 'general Italic' word. All other words for public offices or magistracies, *quaestor*, *praetor*, *duumvir*, and *censor*, are attested only from Late Faliscan, Latino-Faliscan, and Latin inscriptions, and reflect the structure of the Roman administration of Falerii Novi: it may be questioned whether these words were ever really part of the Faliscan lexicon (§9.4). The same applies to the Latin formula for functioning as a magistrate, *magistratum gero*.

6.4. Theonyms

I have included the theonyms in the chapter on the lexicon rather than in the chapter on the onomasticon, for although they are onomastic elements in the strict sense of the word and are therefore primarily referential, theonyms refer to individual entities that are thought of as having an everlasting lifespan, and can therefore not be bestowed upon newborn members of the group while others die. They are names that refer to specific individuals that are an enduring part of a group's cultural heritage, and as such may be taken over, together with the deity to which they refer, by other groups, even those with altogether different languages (cf. below on *Apollo* and *Ganymedes*), or they may even be translated (cf. below on *Cupido*). Note that the list below contains only those deities that are in some way attested *epigraphically*: deities mentioned only in the literary sources are discussed in §2.3.4.

*Symbols preceding the lemma: † = rejected by me, but discussed here because of frequent mention in the literature on Faliscan; ? = attestation doubtful; ° = attested only in the onomasticon; * = reconstructed.*

1. ***Apollo.*** Nom. *apolo* LtF **63** (dedication, although also explained as an abbreviated human name); gen. *apolonos* EF **10** (dedication of *c.*500-475, the first attestation of the name in an Italic language); [dat. *[a]polinei* Lat **219** (dedication)]. An early loan from Greek, the deity is attested all through Central and Southern Italy. The Faliscan forms, like Etruscan *Apulu* (first Vc S.1 and OI S.5, both from the first half of the fifth century, cf. *apulu* Etr **XXXI** from Falerii Veteres, if not a *falsum*), Latin *Apollo* (first in the fourth- and third-century inscriptions from Praeneste, *CIL* I^2.563 and *ILLRP* 54?), and Marsian *apols* VM 7 (cf. also *aplone* VM 6), show the o-vocalism of Attic-Ionic Ἀπόλλων, while Vestinian *apellune* MV 10 and Oscan *appelluneís* Po 14, *appelluneí* Si 20, [α]ππελλουνηι Me 1, αππελλ[ου]νηι Me 2, αππελλουνηι Me 3, and α]ππελλουνηις Me 5 show the e-vocalism of West Greek Ἀπέλλων.[104] The difference is due to two separate borrowing processes. For the worship of Apollo in the ager Faliscus, see §2.3.4.

[104] For the distribution of Ἀπόλλων and Ἀπέλλων in the Greek dialects, see Buck 1955:46.

2. ***Ceres.*** Nom. *ceres* EF **1** (context unclear, (sixth (or seventh?) century) is the earliest attestation of the deity's name: cf. Le Bonniec 1958:303-4). The equivalents in the Italic languages show slightly different formations: Latin *Ceres* (first in third- or second-century (gen.) *cereres CIL* I^2.973?) was an s-stem */keres-/ → /kerer-/ (nom. /kerēs/), while in Oscan *keri* Cp 37 and Samnitic *kerrí* Sa 1.A 3, B 7, it became an e-stem /ker(e)sē-/ (cf. *WOU* s.v. *kerrí*). The Sabellic languages also have derivations such as **Cerrio* in Umbrian, Paelignian, Marrucinian, and Oscan (see *WOU* s.vv. *kerríiúí* and *cerfum*).

3. ***Cupido.*** Nom. *cupi‹d›o* MF **62** (label in mythological scene, the first attestation (*c.*380-370) of both the word and the theonym). – Direct Latin equivalent *Cupido*, epigraphically attested in *cupido ILLRP* 1204). The Latin and Faliscan forms are a *Lehnübersetzung* of Greek Ἔρως or Πόθος. In Latin, the noun is feminine, but the personification is masculine, probably due to its representation in art. (The figure on the Faliscan vase is also male.) No known Sabellic equivalents or cognates.

4. ***Diespiter.*** See 7. *Iupiter* or *Diespiter.*

5. ***Ganymedes.*** Nom. *canumede* MF **62** (label in mythological scene, the first attestation (*c.*380-370) of the theonym in an Italic language). It is surprising to find *Ganumede(s)* = Greek Γανυμήδης here, as in Latin the name encountered is usually *Catamitus* (first Pl. *Men.* 144; for other attestations, see *TLL Onomasticon* 2.255,20-60), a borrowing from Etruscan *Catmite* (*catmite* Ta S.12 and *ça0mite* OI S.46). *Catmite* is often derived from Γανυμήδης by the assumption of several *ad hoc* phonetic adaptations (cf. the critical discussion in Bréyer 1993:155-6): it is easier to derive it from a Greek **καταταμητός* 'gelding, catamite'.[105]

6. † ***Euius.*** Based on the reading *l[o]ụfir* in EF **1** (see 8. †*Liber*), G. Giacomelli (first 1963:41-2) and Peruzzi (1964a:166) interpreted *euios* EF **1** as Εὔιος = *Liber.* If *l[o]ụfir* is rejected, there is no ground for this interpretation (which formed the basis for G. Giacomelli's (1963:46) *euotenosio* EF **3** = 'colui che tiene da Evio').

7. ***Iupiter*** or ***Diespiter.*** Nom. *[...]s pater* MF **62** (label in mythological scene), variously restored as *[die]s pater*, *[ioui]s pater*, or *[iouo]s pater*. The various forms of are discussed by Wachter (1987:150-3), who notes that *dies pater* was the usual form of the nominative in the fourth century. *[Die]s pater* has a direct Latin equivalent in Latin *diespter CIL* I^2.564, *d]iespater CIL* I^2.568, while a *[ioui]s* or *[iouo]s* (or *[iou]s*?) would be have equivalents in Latin *Iupiter* and in the Sabellic languages in Umbrian *iupater TI* IIb.24, *iuvepatre TI* IIa.5, IIb.17, IIb.22, IIb.26, III.22, and *iuve patre TI* IIb.7, and Oscan *dí[·]pa[·]tír* Po 22.

[105] I wish to point out that this derivation, which in my view is the correct one, is not my own, but that I cannot recollect in which publication I first read it.

8. † ***Liber.*** The name of *Liber* has been read *(1)* by Wissowa (1902:23), who in interpreted *loifiṛtato* MF **31** and *loifirtato* MF **32** as *loifir tato* 'Liber pater', which was rejected by Herbig (*CIE* 8011); *(2)* by Vetter (first 1925:27-8), who read *l[o]ụfir* in the damaged first part of EF **1**, which both Radke (1965:134-5, 1994) and my own autopsy have shown to be epigraphically impossible; *(3)* by *AntFal* (p.43), who read *leper* 'Liber' in the unclear first part of EF **4**, which is epigraphically difficult (the text probably reads *lepeḳ*) and linguistically impossible.

9. ***Mercus*** or ***Titus Mercus.*** Dat. *titoi* | *mercui* MF **113**, *tito* | *mercui* MF **114**, *[t]i to[i]* | *ṃercu[i]* MF **115**, *titoi* | *mercụ[i]* MF **116**, *titoi : mercụ[i]* MF **118**, *[t]itoi : mercu[i]* MF **119**, *[ti]toi : mercu[i]* MF **120**, *[ti]toi : mercui* MF **121**, *titoi : ṃ[e]rcui* MF **122**, *[---?]merc[ui]* MF **123**, *[m]ęrcui* MF **124**, *ṃercui* MF **125**, *meṛ[cui]* MF **126** (all dedications). *Mercus* (a u-stem /merku-/, connected with the /merk-/ underlying Latin *merx* etc.) is undoubtedly connected with Latin *Mercurius* (derived from the same */merku-/ as the Faliscan name, cf. *DÉ* s.v. *merx*) and Oscan *mirikui* Cm 12 (either */merku-/ or */merko-/: the attestation predates the introduction of the sign *ú*). *Titus* is clearly a (cultic) epithet, probably meaning 'propitious, well-omened' or 'prosperous' (see also §6.2.*82*, where Sabellic cognates are given). For an more extensive discussion of the name, see §14.1.2 and especially Combet Farnoux 1980:113-69.

10. ***Menerua/Minerua.*** Nom. *menerua* MF **62** (label in a mythological scene, the first attestation (*c.*380-370) a non-Etruscan text) [and *menrva* Etr **XXVIII**, *menerua* LF/Lat **209** (dedication)]. The deity has been thought to have been of Etruscan origin (see *REA* s.v. *Minerva*, *DÉ* s.v. *Minerua*, *LEW* s.v. *Minerva*), but may well have been Italic (*/menes-u̯ā/, cf. Rix 1991:117-120, 1998b:209). Apart from labels in mythological scenes on mirrors (for which see *ET*), the name appears in Etruscan only in a few inscriptions from South Etruria (*menervas* Ve 3.10, *meṇ[er]ạvas* Ve 3.29, *men]ervạ[s* Ve 3.33, and *men]ervas* Cr 4.1). On the basis of Ovid. *Fast.* 3.383-4 it has been assumed that worship of Minerva reached Rome through *euocatio* of the Faliscan cult of Minerva (cf. §2.3.4), although it is not necessary to assume that this was *the* way in which the cult spread (thus Girard 1989). – Direct Latin equivalents *Menerua* and *Minerua*: Wachter (1987:448) notes that *Menerua* is both older and more frequent (10 instances including Lat **209**) than *Minerua* (5 instances including Lat **218**, three of which from the first century).[106] Direct Sabellic equivalents in Paelignian *minerua* Pg 4, *meneruai* Pg 8, and Oscan *menerẹ(vas)* Po 38.

[106] Interesting but hardly significant is the fact that both forms are first attested from the ager Faliscus, *Menerua* first in *CIL* I^2.454=MF **62**, *Minerua* first in *CIL* I^2.364=Lat **218**.

Of the theonyms thus attested, *Ceres*, *Iupiter* or *Diespiter*, and *Mercus* have equivalents or close cognates both in Latin and in the Sabellic languages, while *Menerua/Minerua* is probably likewise of Italic origin as well. Greek loans are *Apollo* and *Ganumedes*, while *Cupido* is a *Lehnübersetzung* of Greek Ἔρως or Πόθος: of these, *Apollo* also occurs in Etruscan and Latin, while the Sabellic languages have **Apello*; *Ganumedes* occurs also in Latin, although contemporary Latin and Etruscan rather used *Catamitus* and *Catmite* respectively.[107] For other deities associated with the ager Faliscus see §2.3.4.

6.5. Toponyms, potamonyms, and ethnonyms

I have treated the category of geographical names and ethnonyms separately, as they differ in several respects from normal lexical items. Like anthroponyms, their function is primarily referential, although there is a greater possibility that a geographical name may consist of or contain lexical elements. Unlike anthroponyms, however, geographical names are connected to a (unique) geographic feature that exists within a specific language area and cannot normally be relocated elsewhere. Toponyms therefore often retain features of the language in which they originated even when the language of that area is replaced by a different one, or when they are borrowed into another language. Ethnonyms are another special case: these may originate either within the group they designate or among 'outsiders' that come in contact with this group (§2.2.2), so that several different ethnonyms may be used for the same group (thus e.g. *Tusci* and *Etrusci* beside *Rasenna*, if that is indeed an ethnonym). Both geographical names and ethnonyms may therefore reflect contact with other areas, including language contact (see §9.1).

In collecting the attestations of geographical name, I have therefore included the data from Latin and Etruscan inscriptions from the ager Faliscus and Capenas as a possible source-material. Note also that with the possible exception of the ethnonym *Faliscus* the data on geographical names are all derived from occurrences or derivations in the onomasticon: the same limitations on the use of such forms therefore apply as in the case of lexemes (cf.§6.1).

*Symbols preceding the lemma: † = rejected by me, but discussed here because of frequent mention in the literature on Faliscan; ? = attestation doubtful; ° = attested only in the onomasticon; * = reconstructed.*

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[107] The Etruscan labels in mythological scenes on mirrors, gems and vases also name the Etruscan *acaviser* Etr **XLI**, *a·χavisu·r* Etr **X**, *σetlans* Etr **XLI**, *tinia* Etr **XXXI**, *turan* Etr **XLI**, *turms* Etr **XXXI**, and *uslaṇes* or *usle*es* Etr **XLI** (cf. Ambrosini 1995, Maras 2002), and the Greek figures *aχle* Etr **XXXII**, *atmite* Etr **XXVII**, *aivas* Etr **XXXII**, *alcestei* Etr **XXVII**, *ariaθa* Etr **XXVIII**, *kukne* Etr **XXV**, *herkle* Etr **XXV**, *hercle* Etr **XXVIII**, *vile* Etr **XXVIII**, *mine* Etr **XXVIII**, *θevrumines* Etr **XXVIII**, and *φerse* Etr **XL**.

POTAMONYMS

1. ? °***Fa(r)farus.*** Perhaps attested indirectly in the gentilicium *Fafarn-* occurring in abbreviated form as *fafaṃ* MF **136** and perhaps also in *faf[---]* MF **139**. The gentilicium might be connected to the name of the river *Farfarus* (G. Giacomelli 1963:191) mentioned by Ovid (*Met.* 14.328-30). *Farfarus* is apparently a local form of the name, since Vergil (*A.* 7.716) mentions the same river under the Latin name *Fabaris*, with the Roman word-internal /b/ corresponding to a word internal /f/ in non-Roman Latin, Faliscan, and the Sabellic languages (cf. §3.3.3). The Latin form also has no *r* in the first syllable,[108] so that the Faliscan name *Fafarn-*, if connected to the name of the river at all, may represent /fafarn-/ as well as [fa^{r}farn-] with omission of /r.C/ (§3.5.7*b*): perhaps rather /fafarn-/, as in MF **136** /r.C/ *is* written out in the second syllable. The Farfarus/Fabaris, originating in the Sabine area near Reate (modern Rieti), flows into the Tiber close to Monte Soratte, near the border between the agri Faliscus and Capenas.

2. ? °***Nar.*** Perhaps attested indirectly in the gentilicium *Narionius* in *narionio* MLF **206** (Schulze 1904:80).

3. °***Tiberis.*** Attested indirectly in the gentilicium *Tiberilius* in *tiperilia* LF **229**, and perhaps also in the abbreviated name *tif* MLF **460** from the ager Capenas. *Tiperilia* is clearly derived from the Latin form of the name, *Tiberius*, while *tif* may be an abbreviation of its Faliscan equivalent, which would have been **Tiferios.*

4. ? °***Vomanus.*** Attested indirectly in the gentilicium *Vomanius* in *uomanio* Cap **388**, if this is indeed derived from a potamonym *Vomanus*, as Schulze (1904:481) suggested: the nearest river of that name known from the sources was part of the Po estuary. Perhaps *Vomanius* was derived from another river of the same name closer to the agri Faliscus and Capenas.

TOPONYMS

5. [°***Abella.*** (Latin attestation only.) Indirectly attested in the gentilicium *abelese* Lat **251**. It cannot be established whether this *Abellensis* refers to the Campanian town of *Abella* (modern Avellino). The adjective derived from this Abella was *Abellanus* in Latin and in Oscan (*abellanúí* Cm 1.A3 etc.).]

6. ? °****Acarcelum*** **(=*Ocriculum*?).** Perhaps attested indirectly in the gentilicium *acarcelini* LF **221**, *acarcelinio* LF **223**, *acarcelinio* LF **226**. Peruzzi (1963b:441-6) suggested that this name was derived from a toponym; A. Mancini (1981) plausibly derived it from an */akarkelom/ that would be equivalent to (but not

[108] The scansion of Vergil's words, *qui Tiberim Făbarimque bibunt*, shows that *Fabarim* cannot be a copist's error for *Farbarim*.

necessarily identical with) Latin *Ocriculum* and Umbrian **Ukriçlum* */okriʃlom/ ← */okrikelom/ implied by the Etruscan gentilicium *ucrislane* Cl 1.2609, 2611-2613 etc. The Ocriculum that is known from the ancient sources is located on the east side of the Tiber close to the Tiber crossing near the Grotta Porciosa site (to which it was connected, from *c.*220 onwards, by the Via Flaminia), and thus the nearest town beyond the borders of the ager Faliscus in this direction.

7. ? °****Cali-*** or °****Cale-.*** The name *calitenes* MF **265** may be derived from an Etruscan toponymic adjective **Calite*, in turn derived from the name of an otherwise unknown town *Cali-* or *Cale-*. *Cale* has in fact been proposed as the original name of modern Gallese (Cifani 2002:33) in the northern ager Faliscus.

8. ? °***Capena.*** Perhaps attested indirectly in the names *ḳapena* EF **4** (reading and context uncertain), and *kape* Cap **403** (or is this to be read as *k ape*?).

9. ? °****Feliginum*** **(*=Fulginium/Fulginiae*).** Indirectly attested in the gentilicium *feliçinate* MF **42** (gen. sg.) and *[fel]içinatiu* MLF **384** (gen. pl.). **Feliginas*, occuring also as an Etruscan gentilicium (*felcinatial* Pe 1.485, 1.1235, and *felcinatnal* Cl 1.2673) is derived from a toponym **Feliginum* (**Felginum* Rix 1965:233 n.133), an older form of the *Fulginium* that occurs as an alternative name of the Umbrian town *Fulginiae* (modern Foligno) on the Via Flaminia.

10. ? °***Fescennium.*** Perhaps attested indirectly in the gentilicium *hescuna* MLF **346**: Colonna (1990) suggests that this name may be derived from the Faliscan toponym *Fescennium* (with the Faliscan change of /#fV/ → /#hV/, §3.5.2). For the sources on *Fescennium*, perhaps the name of the site at Narce, see §2.1.2.

11. ? °****Ortica*** or °****Orticum.*** The gentilicium *ortecese* MLF **339** (probably connected with the Etruscan gentilicium *urtcsnas* Etr **XXXV**) may be read as *Orticensis*, a name that appears to be derived from an otherwise unknown toponym **Ortica* or **Orticum.*[109] This (rather than Colonna's (1990:118) *Xurcle*) may be related to the ancient name of modern *Corchiano* (older *Orchiano*), the earliest recorded form of which is *Orclanum,*[110] perhaps a contraction of an older **Orticulanum.*

12. ? °[?]***Veii.*** Very uncertain. The name of the town has been read in *furc · t · p · c · ef · i · uei* · LtF **205**. Even if this *uei* is connected to the name of the town, it is perhaps rather an abbreviation of a (related) gentilicium like *Veianius*, attested in *CIL* XI.3805 from Veii and in Varro ("fratres Veianii ex agro Falisco" *R* 3.16.10).

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[109] Or, perhaps, **Hortica* or **Horticum*, but neither Faliscan *ortecese* nor Etruscan *urtcsnas* has *h-*, and there are no certain attestations of omission of *h-* in Faliscan (§3.5.2).

[110] "ORCHIANUM "forte *Orchia* Castellum, quod tamen in antiquis donationibus Monasterii Farfensis *Orclanum* dicebatur" " (*De Italiae medii aevi dissertatio chorographica*, c.CCXX, in Muratorius 1726 t. X): see also Gamurrini (1894b:146-7) on *Corchiano* and *Vitorchiano.*

ETHNONYMS

13. ***Faliscus*** (see §2.2.2). The ethnonym is attested in *falesce · quei · in · sardinia · sunt* Lat **218**, a rare example of an Italic ethnonym being used by the members of the group themselves. *Feluskeś* in *[mi a]ụvileś feluskeś tuśnuta[a pa]\panalaś* Vn 1.1 may be an Etruscan rendering of **Falescos* (Poccetti 1997). The same may be true of *fẹlẹṣkẹnas* in *[m]i larisa fẹlẹṣkẹnas aṃ**[?---]* AS 1.40 (perhaps a patronymic gentilicium 'Faliscanson', cf. *creicnal* Ar 1.4 'Greekson' from *creice* = *Graecus*): see §2.2.2 and §2.4.2. (The corresponding Etruscan ethnonym may have been **Falsaχ* or **Felsaχ*.)

14. °***Graecus.*** Attested in the praenomen *kreco* MF **150** (with *k* representing /g/, cf. §11.2.4) and perhaps also in the gentilicium *Grae...* (or *Crae...*?) in *cra[---]* MF MF **144**, *cre[---]* MF **145**, *cṛ[---]* MF **146** and in the abbreviated gentilicium *cr* MF? **33**. The ethnonym is also found in Etruscan names, mainly from Clusium (*creice* Cl 1.1280, 1510, 1511, 2466, 2467, *crei[ce]* Cl 1.1512, *cr[ei]c[e* Cl 1.1514, *creices* Cl 1.1669, *creicia* Cl 1.352, 1513, *cr]eicia* Cl 1.794, *c]reicia* Cl 1.1515, *creiceơa* Cl 1.1281, 1282, 1302, 1686, 1744) and Tarquinii (*creice* Ta 6.15, *creices* Ta 1.17, *creic[ia]l* Ta 1.217), but also elsewhere (*creici* Cr 1.149, Vc 1.5, *craica* Vc 2.34, *creice* Pe 1.889, *kraikaluś* Fe 2.7): cf. Rix 1965:231. The ethnonym occurs in Sabellic texts only in *graex* Pg 40, where it is a cognomen.

15. ? °***Hirpi*** and ***Hirpini.*** Indirectly attested in the gentilicium *írpios* Cap **389**, which is probably connected to the *Hirpi Sorani* mentioned in the Latin sources (most notably Serv. *in* Verg. *A.* 11.785 and Plin. *NH* 7.2.19). These were sometimes confused with the *Hirpini* (e.g. by Servius): see §2.3.4 for further sources. The name may well go back to the Sabellic word *hirpus* 'wolf', see §6.6.5.

16. °***Latinus.*** Attested indirectly in the gentilicium *latinaio* MF **135**. The ethnonym is attested also from Etruscan inscriptions, most notably in *mi titeṣ latineṣ* Ve 2.4 (*c.*600) and *mi latines* Cm 2.57 (fifth century?), and has numerous derivations in the onomasticon (the indices of *ET* name 75 attestations of *latin-*, 69 of which are from Clusium). There appears to be no attestation of the ethnonym in Sabellic texts.

17. ? °***Sabinus.*** Probably indirectly attested in the abbreviated gentilicium *sab* Cap **400**. Note that this is the Latin form with *b*, not the Faliscan form, which would have been **Safin-* (§3.3.3) or possibly **Safen-* (from */saβeno-/, see Rix 1957). The Sabellic inscriptions yield both the ethnonym, in South Picene *safinús* TE.5, *safinúm* TE.6, *safinas* TE.5 and *safina[* TE.7, and the name of the region in Paelignian and Samnitic *safinim* nPg 2, Sa 4. (Cf. Dench 1997:48-9). There are no Etruscan attestations of this ethnonym.

18. °***Umber*** and °***Umbricus.***[111] Attested indirectly in the gentilicia *Umbrius* in *umrie* Etr **XLIII**, and its derivations *Umbricius* in *u]mpricius* Lat **219**, and *Umbricianus* in *upreciano* MF **363** and MF **364**. (Note that Etr **XLIII**, MF **363**, and MF **364** are all from the same tomb.) The ethnonym is attested from the Etruscan onomasticon in several forms, including *Umr-* (*umres* AH 1.74, *umria* Cl 1.2620, 1.2621, *umriaś* Cl 1.1294, 1.1913) and *Umrc-* (*umrceś* AS 1.129, *umrcial* AS 1.395), corresponding to the *Umbrius* and *Umbricius/Umbricianus* of the ager Faliscus (cf. also Rix 1965:321). The ethnonym is attested from the Sabellic languages only in South Picene *ombriíen* CH.2: there is no mention from the Umbrians themselves (cf. Bradley 1997:56).

Although with the exception of *Faliscus* all the potamonyms, toponyms, and ethnonyms are attested at best indirectly in the onomasticon, and often very dubiously, too, these draw a picture that encompasses all the surrounding areas and peoples. The Faliscans, Latins, Sabines, and Umbrians all make their appearance, as do the Greeks. Among the towns that may be attested are both those of the area itself (Fescennium, and perhaps Gallese and Capena), and those on the route of the Via Flaminia (Ocriculum and Fulginium), and there is reference to the rivers Tiber and perhaps Farfarus/Fabaris.

6.6. Faliscan glosses

Only a few glosses are ascribed by the ancient authors explicitly to the Faliscans or pertain to matters Faliscan, probably because the glossographers referred not so much to Faliscan as to the local Latin of the second century. The Faliscan glosses were first listed by Mommsen (1850:364): in later literature, they were increasingly ignored, apart from their occurrence in the lists by Deecke (1888:230-42), Conway (1897:324, 384), and Vetter (1953:362-78).

Glosses present several specific problems. Consisting of second-hand data whose primary source is unknown, their reliability is questionable, and their attribution to a specific language or dialect is at best unverifiable. This is particularly so in the case of Latin dialect glosses, not only because these are more difficult to recognize than glosses from other languages, but also because of the tendency to ascribe the differences from 'standard' urban Latin to unspecified *antiqui* or *rustici* (see also §3.5.2). A further problem is that it is usually impossible to establish to what stage of a language or dialect the author is referring: in the case of the Faliscan glosses, this is probably the 'rustic Latin' of Roman Falerii.

[111] Although in Latin the gentilicium is *Umber*, the Etruscan, Faliscan and Latin onomasticon also shows an *Umbricius* that may be derived from an alternative ethnonym **Umbricus* (cf. the Greek Ὄμβρος and Ὀμβρικός).

1. ***cenaculum.*** "ubi cenabant, *cenaculum* uocitabant, ut etiam nunc Lanuui apud aedem Iunonis et in cetero Latio ac Faleris et Cordubae dicuntur" (Var. *L* 5.162). – *Cenaculum* is dialectal only in its meaning: the word existed in Roman Latin, but there meant 'top-storey, garret, attic' (*OLD*), the word for 'dining room' being *cenatio*. The form of the word, probably from */kert(e)snā-/ (cf. *WOU* s.v. *kerssnaís*) rather than from */kersinā-/ (Schrijver 1991:432), corresponds to that of Latin rather than that of the Sabellic languages, which appear in Oscan *kersnu* Cm 14, *kerssnaís* Cp 31 and Umbrian *śesna TI* Vb.9 etc. The suffix *-culum* shows an anaptyxis that is not attested in the Faliscan inscriptions: its presence here is probably due to the fact that in written Latin the anaptyctic form was the normal one.

2. ***decimatrus.*** "*quinquatrus* appellari quidam putant a numero dierum, qui feriis his [Scaliger: *fere his* MSS, Lindsay] celebrantur. quod scilicet errant tam hercule quam qui triduo Saturnalia et totidem diebus Competalia. nam omnibus his singulis diebus fiunt sacra. forma autem uocabuli eius exemplo multorum populorum Italicorum enuntiata est, quod post diem quintum iduum est is dies festus, ut apud Tusculanos *triatrus* et *sexatrus* et *septematrus* et Faliscos *decimatrus*." (Fest. 304.33-306.2L); "*quinquatrus* festiuus dies dictus, quod post diem quintum iduum celebraretur, ut *triatrus* et *sexatrus* et *septematrus* et *decimatrus*" (Paul. *Fest.* 305.10-2L).[112] – MS E of Paulus Diaconus has *decematrus*. If this is correct, the form could be regarded as an instance of the presumed Faliscan lack of weakening of short vowels in medial syllables (§3.6.6), but *decematrus* may just as well have been remodelled on *septematrus*, or either or both may be due to reanalysis after *decem* and *septem* (by anyone from the original source of the word to the copist of E).

3. ***haba.*** "quem antiqui *fircum*, nos *hircum*, et quam Falisci *habam*, nos *fabam* appellamus, et quem antiqui *fariolum*, nos *hariolum*" (Ter. Sc. *CGL* 7.13.8-9). – The attribution of *haba* to Faliscan is not implausible in view of the Middle Faliscan development /#fV/ → /#hV/, but cf. §3.5.2. Note that *haba* for *faba* is also ascribed to the *antiqui*, both by Terentius Scaurus himself (*CGL* 7.13.8) and by Velius Longus (*CGL* 7.69.10), echoing the passage quoted here.

4. ***Halaesus.*** "uenerat Atridae fatis agitatus Halaesus, a quo se dictam terra Falisca putat" (Ov. *Fast.* 4.73-4); "Faliscos Halaesus condidit: hi autem immutato *h* in *f* *Falisci* dicti sunt, sicut *febris* dicitur quae ante *hebris* dicebatur, *Formiae* quae

[112] These words are often regarded as a compounds with *ater* 'so-and-so-many days of the dark = waning moon' (*DÉ* s.vv. *ater*, *Quinquatrus*, *LEW* s.v. *quinquatrus*); the element *-atrus* was in fact considered meaningless by Gellius (2.21.7). A discussion of the etymologies and their possible relation to Etruscan is given by Bréyer (1993:465-6).

Hormiae fuerunt, *ἀπὸ τῆς ὁρμῆς*: nam posteritas in multis nominibus *f* pro *h* posuit" (Serv. *in* Verg. *A.* 7.695). (For other sources on Halaesus, see §2.4.1; for other grammarians on the variation of *f-* and *h-*, see §3.5.2.) – The derivation of *Faliscus* from *Halaesus* presupposes that the Middle Faliscan change /#fV/ → /#hV/ (§3.5.2) was well under way; Servius' remark apparently shows that the hypercorrect use of *f* for an /#hV/ that did not reflect an original /#fV/ was also known. The oldest source for an Argive origin of Falerii is Cato (Plin. *NH* 3.51), but it is unknown whether he already made the link with Halaesus; the first author who certainly makes this connection is Ovid (both *l.c.* and *Am.* 3.13.31-5).

5. ***Hirpi.*** "Soractis mons est Hirpinorum in Flaminia conlocatus. in hoc autem monte cum aliquando Diti patri sacrum persolueretur (nam diis manibus consecratus est) subito uenientes lupi exta de igni rapuerunt. quos cum diu pastores sequerentur, delati sunt ad quandam speluncam, halitum ex se pestiferum emittentem, adeo ut iuxta stantes necaret: et exinde est orta pestilentia, quia fuerant lupos secuti. de qua responsum est, posse eam sedari, si lupos imitarentur, id est rapto uiuerent. quod postquam factum est, dicti sunt ipsi populi *Hirpi Sorani*: nam lupi Sabinorum lingua uocantur *hirpi. Sorani* uero a Dite: nam Ditis pater *Soranus* uocatur: quasi *lupi Ditis patris*" (Serv. *in* Verg. *A.* 11.785). (For other sources on the *Hirpi Sorani*, see §2.3.4). – *Hirpus* is referred to as Sabine (Servius) as well as Samnitic (Paul. *Fest.* 93.25-6L, Str. 5.4.12). The word is usually connected to Latin *horridus*, *hirsutus* etc., and originally meant 'shaggy animal' (apparently from a Proto-Italic */ǵ^{h}er-k^{u}o-/: *horridus* etc. are usually derived from */ǵ^{h}ers-/, however): see *EDL* s.v. *hircus*. In the passage from Paulus Diaconus the word is given as *irpus*, with a dialectal omission of *h-*. This *h*-less form is attested in the gentilicium *írpios* Cap **389**, although the omission of *h-* seems to have been non-Faliscan (§3.5.2).

6. ***Struppearia.*** "*stroppus* est, ut Ateius Philologus existimat, quod Graece *στρόφιον* uocatur et quod sacerdotes pro insigni habent in capite. quidam coronam esse dicunt, aut quod pro corona insigne in caput inponatur; itaque apud Faliscos diem [Augustinus: *idem* MSS, Lindsay] festum esse qui uocetur *Struppearia*, quia coronati ambulent; et a Tusculanis quod in puluinari inponatur Castoris *struppum* uocari" (Fest. 410.6-9L). – Ateius' derivation of the word from Greek *στροφεῖον* or *στρόφιον* 'headband worn by priests etc.' (*LSJ*) seems to be correct. The Latin spelling with *u* and *pp* may be due either to an Etruscan intermediary (Bréyer 1993:227-8, cf. §6.2.*31* on **gutto/*guttum/guttur*) or to Latin developments (cf. Pfister 1977:155-6, Allen 1978:49 n.2). It seems likely that the word was quoted simply because the festival was unknown in Rome or in Latium, but there may have been a different reason, as appears from a comparison of the few instances of *struppus* and *stroppus* in Latin:

> "*struppi* uocantur in puluinaribus (fasciculi de uerbenis facti, qui pro de⟩orum capitibus ponuntur" (Fest. 472.15-6L, restored from Paul. *Fest.* 473.4-5L)
>
> "tumque remos iussit religare struppis" (Andr. 9L)
>
> "ubi id audiuit, lecticam iussit deponi, struppis, quibus lectica deligata erat, usque adeo uerberari iussit, dum animam efflauit" (Gracch. *ORF* 49 = Gel. 10.3.5)
>
> "tenuioribus [coronis] utebantur antiqui, *stroppos* appellantes: unde nata *strophiola*" (Plin. *NH* 21.2.3)

In the last instance, several MSS have *struppos*, a reading that cannot be rejected out of hand, since *struppos* may easily have been corrupted into *stroppos* under the influence of *strophiola*, while it is difficult to see how or why *stroppos* could have been corrupted into *struppos*. If *stroppos* is correct, it appears that there is a difference in meaning between *struppus* 'a (plaited) leather strap'[113] (Andronicus, Gellius) or 'a bundle of twigs or herbs used in *lectisternia*' (Festus) on the one hand and *stroppus* 'a headband or ribbon worn on festive occasions' (Pliny, Festus) on the other. If the two forms were distributed in this way, the original reason for quoting Faliscan *Struppearia* may have been that it implied a use of *struppus* as 'headband', which in Roman Latin would have been *stroppus*.

To sum up, it can be said that *decimatrus*, *Hirpi*, and *Struppearia* are quoted as words for local Faliscan institutions, *cenaculum*, and perhaps *Struppearia*, to illustrate a difference of meaning between the Faliscan and the Roman word, and *haba* and *Halaesus* to illustrate the Faliscan realisation of /#fV/ as [h], which was ascribed also to have existed also in 'Old Latin' and 'Sabine' (used in the sense of 'marginal Latin'): for such attributions, see §3.5.2. Interestingly, in several instances forms labelled as Faliscan are quoted side by side with forms from other Latin dialects: with Lanuvian and Corduban (and indeed 'Latian') in the case of *cenaculum*, with Tusculan in the case of *decimatrus* and *Struppearia*, and with 'Old Latin' in the case of *haba*.[114] The exception is Sabellic *Hirpi*, which is probably a Transtiberine import.

[113] *OLD* translates 'a twisted cord', but 'a (plaited) leather strap' is more appropriate: Andronicus' *struppis* translates *τροποῖς ἐνὶ δερματίνοισι* δ 782 = θ 53 (Erasmi 1975:82-3), and in the passage from Gellius, the *struppi* are the shoulder-straps attached to the carrying-poles.

[114] Similarly *manus*, attested in Faliscan in the cognomen *Manumus* (see §6.2.*44*) is ascribed both to the *antiqui* (Var. *L* 6.2.4) and to the Lanuvians (Macr. 1.3.13).

Chapter 7

The onomasticon

As a large part of the Faliscan material is onomastic, no study of Faliscan can be complete without an assessment of the Faliscan onomasticon: it has in fact been the subject of a separate study by Hirata (1967). This chapter opens with a short discussion of the problems inherent in the use of the onomasticon as a subject of linguistic study (§7.1). The next section treats the names in the Early Faliscan inscriptions (§7.2). This is followed by sections on the onomastic formulas of men (§7.3) and of women (§7.4), the formulas of filiation (§7.5), and the onomastic formulas of freedmen and -women (§7.6). The next sections treat the attested praenomina (§7.7), gentilicia (§7.8), and cognomina (§7.9). The chapter concludes with a discussion of the onomasticon from the perspective of ethnic identity (§7.10).

7.1. The onomasticon: methodological issues

7.1.1. Names and language. In using onomastic data as the basis of linguistic study, several specific problems present themselves, and these are all the more important in a study of material like the Faliscan inscriptions, where the onomastic data far exceed the lexical ones. Onomastic elements are *associated* with a certain language rather than a *part* of it, for although they adhere to the morphology and phonology of the language in which they originate, they are not a part of its lexicon, in the sense that they do not necessarily have a meaning apart from their reference to a specific person. This is true even if a name consists of a lexeme, as in the case of a nickname such as *Plautus* or a name of good omen such as *Scaeua*. Using these words as names changes their point of reference: they no longer refer to 'flat feet' or 'good luck' themselves, but to a specific person presumably possessing these. Such 'telling names' may have an added value because they can be 'understood', but they are still names, not words.

For this reason, onomastic elements can move between language communities with far greater ease than lexical or morphological elements (cf. §1.3.2.2). Names are the constant companions of the people they refer to, even if a person moves between language communities, both in the sense that that person migrates between areas where different languages are spoken and in the sense that that person is bi- or multilingual and changes between the frameworks of the different languages at his or her disposal. The Faliscan material is very illustrative in this respect: whereas the main conclusion of the preceding chapter was that the extant Faliscan lexicon contains few or no Etruscan elements, in the onomasticon Etruscan names abound (§7.7.2, §7.8.2).

A name is, in a sense, the ultimate vehicle of the whole range of a person's identities. Apart from 'just' referring to a person, names, in countless unspoken ways, express a person's ties to his or her gender, family, ethnic group, and religion, and are therefore a kind of condensation of all that person's identities. As such, a name is a definition not only of *who* the person is, but also of *what* he or she is, and stays with that person even, or perhaps even more, among strangers, whether these speak the same language or a different one. Names are carriers, not of meaning, but of associations of personal and cultural significance: a great difference from lexical elements.

This of course does in no way preclude that a person's name may be *adapted* in various ways if it is used within the framework of a language different from the one it originated in. For instance, the phonological form may be adapted in order not to sound too 'foreign', especially if the name contains phonemes or phonotactics that are alien to the language to which it is adapted. An example of this is the way in which the Sabine chieftain Attus Clausus adapted his gentilicium to *Claudius* (Liv. 2.16). The morphological form of a name may have to be adapted, if it is to be declined according to the morphology of a different language: such adaptations resulted in the Latin versions *Arruns* and *Lars* of the Etruscan names *Arnθ* and *Larθ*. Names may have their derivational suffixes altered so that they resemble names of a different language: thus, the Faliscan onomasticon has *Succonius* beside *Zuχu* (§7.8.2). Names that have recognisable lexical elements may even be translated, so that Etruscan *Ziχu* became *Scribonius* (CI 1.318-320), or they may be replaced by similar-sounding ones, or ones regarded (rightly or not) as etymological equivalents, so that in the ager Faliscus the very frequent *Gauius* was ousted by *Gaius* (§7.7.1.*24-25*).

Such adaptations always show a desire to adapt and fit in, whether the choice to do so is made willingly, hoping perhaps for a better acceptance or better chances within a different community, or under some form of pressure, where people bearing names from a specific ethnic or social background are discriminated against, or where a new administration sets new rules as to the use of names. Similarly, being able to *preserve* the old name unadapted in a new environment may also speak volumes both about the person able to do so and about the environment in which this can occur.

How do these preliminary remarks apply to the study of the Faliscan onomasticon? First, the onomasticon is not so much of linguistic as of socio-linguistic interest. This has already been pointed out in the preceding chapter: lexical elements can only be derived from the onomasticon in exceptional circumstances. Even when a name contains lexical elements, it can never be assumed as a matter of fact that these elements where also present in the lexicon, for the name may have originated in a different area and contained lexical elements that in the ager Faliscus may have had different associations or meanings, had become obsolete, or simply did not exist. On the other hand, the way in which people choose, use, adapt or preserve their names may be of considerable sociolinguistic interest.

Second, gentilicia are often used to pinpoint the 'roots' of a family, as is done e.g. by Peruzzi (1990:283-9) for the Etruscan gentilicia from Corchiano. This can of course be done to some extent, and it can be of great use in socio-historical studies if there is abundant additional historical material to substruct such links. Yet a simple similarity of a name means close to nothing in the case of a socio-linguistic study. The fact that a person at Falerii Veteres had an Etruscan gentilicium that occurs also or even exclusively at Perusia is in itself not very significant, not only because the families may still be entirely unrelated, but, more importantly, because it is impossible to make any valid inferences about that person's personal ethnic or linguistic background that are relevant to the interpretation of the text they occur in.

This is connected with a third and more serious fallacy, namely the assumption that a person with an Etruscan or Sabellic or Latin name *ipso facto* had that specific cultural background, identified with that specific cultural background, or was a speaker of the language associated with that background. It is a dangerous kind of simplification to equal names (even though they demonstrably originated within a specific culture or language) with specific cultures, peoples, or languages, and treat these as if they were in a one-to-one relation. Recent studies on ethnic identity have shown that distinctions were certainly not so clear-cut (cf. e.g. Cornell 1997 on ethnic identity in early Rome). I shall return to this question in chapter 9.

7.1.2. The problem of abbreviations. Some very simple problems in the material are caused by abbreviations. In many inscriptions, names are abbreviated, and many *Besitzerinschriften* consist entirely of abbreviated names. Although editors have generally ignored this (not small) number of inscriptions, they do contain data that might be used for onomastic research. I have made use of this material as follows:

- Inscriptions consisting entirely of abbreviations are assumed to contain *one* name even if they consist of consonant clusters such as *mr* or *cs* (which can be abbreviations of *Marcus* or *Caesius*), unless the letters are separated by an interpunct.
- Inscriptions consisting of one abbreviated name have *not* been used, as it cannot be established *(a)* whether the name is a praenomen or a gentilicium; *(b)* whether the name is male or female; *(c)* what name is represented by the abbreviation.
- Inscriptions consisting of two abbreviations are assumed to consist of a praenomen and a gentilicium: these have been used in the lists of praenomina and gentilicia (§7.7.1, §7.8.1), but not in the discussion of onomastic formulas (§7.3-6), since it cannot be established whether the name is male or female.
- Abbreviations in longer inscriptions are usually praenomina and have been used both in §7.3-4 and §7.6. The abbreviations in FILIATION present a problem of their own, for, unless these are followed by *SON/DAUGHTER*, abbreviations of patronymic adjectives and of the father's praenomen cannot be distinguised: see §7.5.

7.2. Names in the Early Faliscan inscriptions

7.2.1. The Early Faliscan onomastic formulas. Considering the date of the Early Faliscan inscriptions, the names occurring in these texts may be expected to be praenomina and *Individualnamen*, and early instances of gentilicia.

Gentilicia are first found in the area in the Etruscan inscriptions: this may be due to cultural factors, or it may simply be due to the fact that there are more Etruscan than Faliscan inscriptions from the sixth and fifth centuries. The earliest instances may be *lar*s ruvries* Etr **XIX** from Mazzano Romano (*c.*650-625), and *leθaie* Etr **XLVIII** from Mazzano Romano (*c.*570-560). The first certain instances of gentilicia in Etruscan inscriptions from the ager Faliscus are from the second half of the sixth century, *velθarus velanas* Etr **XVI** from Narce (*c.*550-500) and *larisa zuχus* Etr **XXXII** from Corchiano (*c.*525-500). Gentilicia then appear regularly from the fifth century onwards in Etruscan inscriptions: the first instance in a non-Etruscan inscription from the area occurs in the Sabellic inscription *pa‹qu›is blaisiís* **468*** of unknown provenance.

The single names that occur in the Early Faliscan inscriptions are the following:

*eco quto *e uotenosio* (= *uo(l)tenosio* or *uo‹l›tenosio*) *titias duenom duenas salue[to]d uoltene :* EF **3**

praụ[i]os urnam : soc̣[iai] porded karai : EF **1**

eko lartos EF **6**

eko kaisiosio EF **7**

tele[1-2?] med fifiked* EF **9**

aịṃiosio eqo EF **467***

These show several names that occur also in the later inscriptions, namely the praenomina *Aemius, Caesius, Lars*, and *Titia. Voltenus* appears to be connected to the later Faliscan praenomen *Volta* (see §7.7.1.*85*), and might be considered a gentilicium if the inscription is not too early for this. *Tele...* is perhaps a Greek name in Τηλε- or Τελε-. *Praụ[i]os* may be connected to Latin *prauus*, and be a nickname or a play on the 'good' or 'beautiful' theme of many of the early Faliscan, Latin, and Etruscan inscriptions. (All these names, as well as those given below, are discussed in §7.2.2.)

More difficult to asses are the strings of names that occur in EF **1** and EF **4**. Thus, apart from the *praụ[i]os* already mentioned, EF **1** has:

*ceres : far *[0-2]e[1-3]tom : *[3-5]uf[1-4]ui[..]m : *[3-4]*ad euios : mama z[e]xtos med f[.f]i̯qod :* EF **1**

Here, *euios : mama z[e]xtos* has been variously interpreted. The early interpretation as PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM COGNOMEN (Herbig *CIE* 8079 ('Sextus Mama Euius'), Ribezzo 1918:56 etc., Vetter 1939a:155) can be ruled out: even apart from the difficulties encountered in interpreting the verb *f[.f]i̯qod* as third person *singular*, it would be

quite early for a gentilicium, and far too early for a cognomen (see §7.9). Most authors have interpreted *mama z[e]xtos* as praenomina instead. *Mama* is probably of Etruscan origin, comparable to the Latin praenomen *Mamus* (G. Giacomelli 1963:202, Salomies 1987:75), while *z[e]xtos* is quite clearly the numeral praenomen *Sextus*, which occurs also in later inscriptions, albeit rarely (§7.7.1.*62*). If and how *euios* is connected to these names is rather more difficult. It has been taken as a gentilicium *euios* to go with the praenomina *mama* and *z[e]xtos*, which might not be impossible if *euios* is regarded as singular (Meister 1916:101): interpreting it as a plural (Norden 1939:206-7, Vetter 1953:280) is difficult or impossible (cf. §4.3.6). Another possibility is that it is a third praenomen (cf. perhaps Praesamnitic *eyies* Ps 4), although in that case it is unclear why it should be separated from *mama z[e]xtos* by an interpunct. G. Giacomelli (1963:41-2) interpreted *euios* as a theonym to go with the fragmentary words that precede it, and although this interpretation is based on Vetter's untenable reading *l[o]ufir* and can only be maintained with great difficulty, it is possible that *euios* should be taken with the preceding words rather than with *mama z[e]xtos*.

Even more difficult is the reading and interpretation of EF **4**, where there appear to be two groups of names, one of women's names and one of men's:

> *e**azieputilepeḳapena* (*e**azieputilepe ḳapena*?) *rufia ḳalęptia ues saluete sociai ofetios kaios uelos amanos salueto salues seiteiofeteqemeneseseie* EF **4**

Of the women's names, *rufia* can hardly be interpreted as anything else than as a woman's name (cf. *ruvries* in Etr **XIX**), which leaves no other possibility than the same interpretation for *ḳalęptia* (even if individual letters of this part of this name have been read differently). A third name *ḳapena* has often been read in the unclear first part of the text, *e**azieputilepeḳapena*, and this would appear to be a gentilicium rather than a praenomen (cf. Prosdocimi 1990:302-5). Of these names, *rufia ḳalęptia* looks like a praenomen followed by a gentilicium, but I wonder whether it is not far too early to assume this formula: in view of the following *ues saluete sociai*, these may be separate names belonging to two different women. The men's names are likewise difficult. *Ofetios* sounds very much like Italic names such as *Opetius* or *Ufentius*, but cannot be directly connected to either: see §7.2.2.*9*. *Kaios* is clearly the Latin praenomen *Gaius*, but this name does not appear elsewhere in the Faliscan onomasticon: see §7.7.1.*24*); *uelos* is in all probability the Etruscan praenomen *Vel* (§7.7.1.*80*), but whether it is a genitive (Pisani 1937:238-9, cf. §4.5.2) or a thematized nominative **Velus* is unclear. *Amanos* had tentatively been linked by G. Giacomelli (1963:173-4) to the Etruscan gentilicium *Amana* (as a thematized nominative?); Salomies (1987:99) also pointed to *Amanus* and *Amanius* in Latin. How these names are to be strung together is unclear. Vetter (1925:26, 1953:284) took *ofetios kaios uelos amanos* as a gentilicium *ofetios* followed by three praenomina ('the Ufentii, Gaius, Vel, [and] Amanus'), just like he had interpreted *euios : mama z[e]xtos* in EF **1** (see above). If *uelos* is a genitive, this could of course be a genitive of the father's name (*kaios uelos* = 'Gaius [son]

of Vel' or *ofetios kaios uelos* = 'Ofetius [and] Gaius [sons] of Vel'). This could be another argument against taking *amanos* as the gentilicium, for placing the filiation after the praenomen and before the gentilicium is in accordance with the later Umbrian and Volscian custom, but not with that of the Middle and Late Faliscan texts: see §7.5. (The place of the filiation may not yet have been fixed, especially at a time when gentilicia were just making their first appearance.) The only alternative seems to be to leave *amanos* as an isolated name without filiation.

7.2.2. The names attested in the Early Faliscan inscriptions. The names that occur in the Early Faliscan inscriptions are the following. For ease of discussion I have classed the names under their closest Latin equivalent or approximation, and have arranged the lemmata according to the order of our own alphabet.

1. ***Aemius.*** praen. m. *aịṃiosio* EF **467*** (gen.). – A patronymic derivation of *Aemus*, attested for Middle Faliscan in *eiṃoi* MF **293** and possibly in the abbreviation *ạ[i?]ṃ* MF **89** (either a praenomen or a patronymic adjective), that can represent either *Aemus* or *Aemius*. This name does not occur elsewhere in Italy except in Venetic ·‹*a*›·*i*·*mo*·*i*· Le 26: see also §7.7.1.*3*.

2. ***Amanus.*** m. *amanos* EF **3**. – Either a gentilicium (G. Giacomelli 1963:173) or a praenomen (Hirata 1967:33-4): see §7.2.1. Salomies (1987:99) points to the *Amanus* in Sil. 17.44 and the Latin gentilicium *Amanius*. The name could be an adaptation of the Etruscan gentilicium *Amana* (*amanas* Vs 1.92, also *] amanaš[* Ve 3.4?): see §7.8.2.

3. ***Caesius.*** praen. m. *kaisiosio* EF **7** (gen.). – The name occurs also in the later periods: see §7.7.1.*18*.

4. **? *Caleptius.*** gent. (?) f. *ḳaleptia* EF **4**. – However these letters are read (*kalketia* G. Giacomelli 1963:180, *kalẹstia* Hirata 1967:40-1, *kaliptia* Prosdocimi 1990:295, etc.), it can hardly be anything other than a woman's name (cf. §7.2.1), albeit one that is without parallels in the Etruscan, Latin or Sabellic onomasticon. The same is true of the other readings that have been proposed.

5. **? *Capena*** or ***Capenus.*** f. *ḳapena* EF **4**. – The name looks like an Etruscan gentilicium, or it might be the feminine of a gentilicium *Capenus* adapted from an Etruscan **Capena* (cf. §7.8.2). Etruscan had *Capn-* (*capna* AT 1.200, Cl 1.454, Pe 1.869, 1.973, *capnal* Cl 1.202, 1.578, *capna[l]* Cl 1.203, 1.633, *capnas* Pe 1.975, *capnaś* Cl 1.2214; *capnei* Cl 1.201; *capni* Pe 1.436), and *Capan-* (*capanei* Pe 1.213, 214). The *Capenus Sequanus* in [Liv.] *Per.* 120 appears to be a Gaul. If and how the name is connected to the toponym *Capena* is unclear.

6. **? *Euius.*** m. *euios* EF **1**. – G. Giacomelli's (1963:41-2) interpretation of *euios* as a theonym Εὔιος = 'Liber' was largely based on Vetter's untenable reading (first

1925:27-8) *l[o]ụf[ir* in the same text. If *euios* is an anthroponym (see §7.2.1), possible parallels are Praesamnitic *eṿies* Ps 5 (also read as *efies*), and perhaps in the Latin gentilicium *Euius* (Hirata 1967:49). Salomies (1987:83) compares *Euius* to the Oscan praenomen *Ovis* (*úvis* Cm 35, elsewhere abbreviated, see *ST*), but this is difficult, as it requires that the rounding */eu̯/ → */ou̯/ did not take place during the Proto-Italic period, but at a later stage (see §3.2.5).

7. ***Lars.*** praen. m. *larṭos* EF **6** (gen.). – This is the only direct attestation of this praenomen in a Faliscan inscription, although it is indirectly attested for Middle Faliscan in the patronym *lartio* MF **265**. It does recur in the Etruscan inscriptions from the area (*larθ* Etr **XXXIV**, **XXXV**, **XXXIX**, *lazi* Etr **XI-XV**, *lazia* Etr **XVII**): see §7.7.2.*33*.

8. ***Mama/Mamma.*** praen. m. *mama* EF **1**. – This praenomen is of Etruscan origin (thus G. Giacomelli 1963:202, cf. *mama* OA 2.58?), rather than a shortened form of a name such as *Mamarcus*, as Stolte (1928:295) suggested. Salomies (1987:75) also discusses the apparently Oscan praenomen *Mamus*. Note also the (patronymic?) gentilicia *Māmius* and *Mammius* in Latin and in Oscan (*maamiis* Cm 47, *maamieịs* Po 55).

9. ***? Ofe(n)tius.*** m. *ofetios* EF **4**. – Vetter (1953:286-7) rendered this name as *Ufentius*, a name derived from the potamonym *Ūfens* (either the modern Ofento in Southern Latium, or another, unknown, river of the same name): for such potamonymic names, see §7.8.2. Although attractive at first sight, this derivation presupposes an impossibly early monophthongization of /ou̯/ → /ō̯/ (see §3.7.2), as G. Giacomelli (1963:208) pointed out. There appear to be no other names that can easily be connected to *ofetios*, however.

10. ***Prauius.*** m. *praụ[i]os* EF **1**. – G. Giacomelli (1963:213) classed it as a gentilicium, but I doubt whether it is not rather some kind of nickname or pun on the Latin adjective *prauus*, referring to the 'good' or 'beautiful' theme of several of the Early Faliscan inscriptions and their Latin and Etruscan counterparts: see §7.2.1.

11. ***? Rufia*** f. *rufia* EF **4**. – Although editors generally read *rufia* (*roḟia* Vetter 1953:285-7), this presupposes an impossibly early monophthongization of /ou̯/ → /ō̯/ → /ū/ (see §3.7.2), unless it is assumed that the name is entirely unrelated to the Latin adjective *rufus*. For the feminine in *-ia* beside a masculine in *-us*, cf. *Titia : Titus* and *Tullia : Tullus* (§7.7.2).

12. ***Sextus*** praen. m. *z[e]xtos* EF **1**. – The name is attested also for the later periods: see §7.7.1.*62*.

13. ***Tele...*** m. *tele*[1-2?]* EF **9**. – Unclear: perhaps a Greek name in Τηλε- or Τελε-?

14. ***Titia*** praen. f. *titias* EF **3** (gen.). – The name is attested for the later periods in *titias* MF **201** (gen.), as well as in a number of attestations of its male equivalent *Titus*: see §7.7.1.*75*.

15. ***Vel*** praen. m. *uelos* EF **4** (either a genitive or a thematized form, see §7.2.1). – The praenomen is also attested for Middle Faliscan: see §7.7.1.*80*.

16. ***Voltenus*** m. *uotenosio* (= *uo(l)tenosio* or *uo‹l›tenosio*) EF **3** (gen.), *uoltene* EF **3** (voc.). – A problem with this is that the derivation is not clear, unless it is a thematized adaptation of an Etruscan gentilicium **Voltena*, which itself would have to be based on the Faliscan praenomen *Volta* (for which see §7.7.1.*85*): for such thematizations, see §7.8.2.

Of these names, *Lars* and *Vel* are clearly Etruscan; perhaps Etruscan too are *Mama*, *Amanus*, and *Voltenus*. Others are Latin-Faliscan: *Rufia* (?), *Sextus*, *Titia*, and probably *Prauius*. *Ofe(n)tius* seems to be of Italic origin, and the same could be true of *Euius*, if it is indeed a name. Of unclear origin are *Aemius*, *Caesius*, *Caleptia* (?), *Capena*, and *Tele...*

7.3. Middle and Late Faliscan male onomastic formulas

As mentioned in the preceding section, the gentilicium had become a normal onomastic element from the fifth century onwards at least in the Etruscan inscriptions from the area, and by the Middle Faliscan period, the full formula for a man's name in Faliscan inscriptions had become PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM. It was of course still possible to use PRAENOMEN or GENTILICIUM, but these formulas are massively outnumbered by the full formula PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM. In many cases, especially in sepulchral or public inscriptions, FILIATION was added to PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM: see §7.5. During the Middle Faliscan period, cognomina begin to make their appearance, so that the full formula now became PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM [FILIATION] COGNOMEN: see §7.9.

In the enumeration of the instances below, I have only included the instances where the man's name is the primary subject of the text, as owner, maker, deceased, official, or dedicant. I have excluded the instances where the man's name occurs in FILIATION (normally as PRAENOMEN) and HUSBAND$_{GEN}$ *WIFE* (normally as PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM), since these formulas 'require' a specific form of the man's name. These instances are discussed in §7.9 and §7.4.2 respectively.

(1) **PRAENOMEN** (14-16 instances). When using a single name, there is a preference for the use of PRAENOMEN (in contrast to the women's names, where GENTILICIUM seems to have been preferred: see §7.4.1). The use of PRAENOMEN is virtually limited to *Besitzerinschriften*, where, within the context of the household, this would have been

enough. In sepulchral inscriptions it is understandably rare (2 instances, against 105 instances of PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM): although in a family tomb the gentilicium would not require specification, it would still be useful to know which family member was buried where. (PRAENOMEN is also the normal formula in FILIATION, as the gentilicium had already been named in the name of the son or daughter: see §7.6.)

(a) Besitzerinschriften (14-17 instances): *caisioi* MF **20**, *serui* MF **34-36**, *tulom* MF **68** (if indeed genitive *plural* of a praenomen); *iuna* MF **73**, *iuna* MF **74**, *iunai* LF **112**, *iuna* MF **198**, *uli* MF? **261-262** (perhaps a gentilicium); *cauios* MLF **382**, *uoltai* MLF **367-370**; *iunai* MLF/Cap **475***.

(b) sepulchral inscriptions (2 instances): *iuna* MLF **297**, *iuna* MLF **298**.

(c) others (0 instances): -

(2) **GENTILICIUM** (9-12 instances). This formula also occurs mainly in *Besitzerinschriften*, where of course an item might be regarded as the property of the family rather than of one individual. There is only one uncertain instance of its use from the sepulchral inscriptions, where it would not be expected to be very frequent: given that most burials were in tombs that belonged to one or two families, inscribing a *loculus* with GENTILICIUM only would have been of little use.

(a) Besitzerinschriften (8-10 instances): *ani* MF **45**, *licinio* MF **259-260**, *ulties* MF/Etr **64** (or a woman's name?), *hermana* MF/Etr **265**; *tulie* MLF **383** (or a woman's name?), *[fel]ịcinatiu* LF **384**; *aḍiuaiom* Cap **465**, *setorio* MLF/Cap **476***; *anni* LtF **63**.

(b) sepulchral inscriptions (1 instance?): ? *manileo* MF **355** (I would rather read this as *m anileo*, i.e., PRAENOMEN + GENTILICIUM).

(c) others (1 instance): *pleina* MF/Etr **199** (signature?)

(3) **PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM** (156-158 instances, 43-68 with FILIATION). This is by far the most frequent formula in all the categories into which men's names can be divided, except, perhaps, the *Besitzerinschriften*. It is also the only formula where FILIATION and sometimes COGNOMEN are added, showing that this was the 'official' formula. FILIATION only occurs in the sepulchral and the (mainly Latino-Faliscan and Latin) public inscriptions and dedications, and once in a potter's signature (*oufilo : clipeaio : letei : fileo* MF **470***).

(a) Besitzerinschriften (22-24 instances): ? *f ọfiti* MF **58** (doubtful), *tiroi · colanioi* MF **69-71**, *caui : turi* MF **273**, *marci : anel[i]* MF **472***, *cauio : petṛọṇẹọ* MF **473***; *larise uicina* MF **371**, *larise | uicina* MF **372**, *statio cailio* MLF **376**, *m adicio* LF **378** (or *ma dicio*?), *uolti : catinei* MLF **469***; *c · pscni* Cap **387**, *ḳ · uomanio* Cap **388**, *a · írpios* Cap **389**, *k · pa · aiedies* Cap **390**, *at · fertrio* Cap **391**, *f · pacios* Cap **392**, *sex | senti* Cap **399**, *k · sares* Cap **404**, *m · anio* Cap **420**, *sex · sen·ti* Cap **430**, *p · iunio* Cap **462**, *ueiụeto* Cap **464** (if read as *uei ụeto*, and not a *falsum*).

Fig. 7.1. The onomastic formulas of men's names.

Fig. 7.2. The onomastic formulas of women's names.

(b) sepulchral inscriptions (105 instances, 39 with FILIATION, and a further 25 where FILIATION is probable or possible): *uolti ƚ teti* MF **11**, *cau‹i›o : pauiceo :* | *l̩[oc]i̯es* MF **12** with FILIATION, *o hạθi* MF **13**, *teti atron* or *teti atroni̯* MF **13**, *uolta* | *ne·roni* | *ca fi* MF **15** with FILIATION, *iuna* | *malio* MF **39**, *iuna · oufilio* MF **48**, *cauio · aufilio* MF **49**, *caui[o] · aufilio* MF **50**, *ka̯i[s]i[o · auf]ilio · iun[?eo]* MF **51** with FILIATION; *[---]a · aufi[lio ?---]* MF **53** (where FILIATION can be restored), *puponio · firmio* MF **54**, *uel zu[con]leo* MF **56**, *ca lin[---]* MF **57** (where FILIATION can be restored), *leiuelio pạrtis* | *uolti* MF **79** with FILIATION, *[ma]rco : pleina : marcio : man[o]mo* MF **80** with FILIATION, *uel [·] uisni · olna* MF **82** (double gentilicium), *[.]pi : uesθi* MF **83**, *caui [:] ị**(*)[i]* MF **84**, *mar : eina* MF **87**, *[uo]ltio [:] ueicọno* MF **88**, *[4-5]ạ hac****a : [?]ạ[?]m̩ : maximo* MF **89** with FILIATION, *[leu]elio : cailio [: ...*| *max]om[o :]* MF **90** (where FILIATION can be restored), *la : ie[---]* MF **93** (where FILIATION can be restored), *iuna : ce[lio---]* MF **96** (where FILIATION can be restored), *cẹịṣ[i.]* | *holc[osi]* | *ar · p[...]* MF **140** with FILIATION?, *[---]io : cre[---]* MF **142** (where FILIATION can be restored), *[---]o : cṛ[---*|*---]leo : c[---]* MF **143** (where FILIATION can be restored), *ca[u]io : le[ueli]o : cau[i]* | *hileo* MF **146** with FILIATION, *i[un]a lẹ[---]* MF **148**, *[u]olṭa : pupelio* | *[m]ano[m]o* MF **149**, *tulo · pup[elio ?---]* | *i̯uneo* MF **151** with FILIATION, *uolti[o :] marc[---]* | *putellio* MF **152** (with FILIATION?), *cais[io]* | *: zaconiọ* MF **153**, *iu · uiụị[---]* MF **157** (where FILIATION can be restored), *[---]l su*l*[---]* MF **191** (where FILIATION can be restored), *cauio : arutlo* MF **195**, *cauio ṣ*[---]* MF **197** (where FILIATION can be restored), *aruz : ceṣie : aruto* MF **257** with FILIATION, *ueltur · tetena* | *aruto* MF **266** with FILIATION, *arute macena* MF **269**, *larise : mar*||*cna : citiai* MF **270** (with FILIATION?), *cauio : nomes*|*ina : maxomo* MF **272**, *cauio : oufilio* | *uolteo* MF **275** with FILIATION, *ceisio : oufilio* | *uolθeo* MF **276** with FILIATION; *c mecio : a[---]* MLF **211** (where FILIATION can be restored); *tito : uelmineo* | *titọi* MLF **305** with FILIATION, *iuna uelmineo* | *titio* MLF **307** with FILIATION, *cauio uelminẹo* | *popliai file* MLF **308** (with FILIATION?), *tito ƚ uelmineo* | *nu i*ice* MLF **309** with FILIATION, *cuicto uelmineo* |*[---?]* MLF **310** (where FILIATION can be restored), *uoltio [:] uelmineo* | *titio* MLF **312** with FILIATION, *uolta : uelmineo* MLF **313**, *tito : uel*|*mineo : iun*|*ai̯ ị*ice* MLF **315** with FILIATION, *popli[o]* | *uelmi*|*no* MLF **316**, *cauio · latrio* MLF **324**, *m · tito · tulio · uoltilio · hescuna* MLF **346** (double gentilicium) with FILIATION, *aufilo · aratio* MLF **348**, *cauio · aratio* MLF **349**, *tito · ar‹a›tio* MLF **350**, *caisio · tirio* MLF **351**, *f aino* MLF **352** (if not to be read as *faino?*), *oct*i[....] uoltili* MLF **353** (if read as *oct* i[....] uoltili* or *oct*i [...] uoltili*) with FILIATION, *tito polafio* MLF **354**, *m anileo* MLF **355** (if not to be read as *manileo*), *[iu]na : upreciano* MLF **363**; *uoltio · uecineo* | *maxomo* | *iuneo* LF **220** with FILIATION, *marcio : acarcelinio* LF **223**, *ca · uecineo [·] uoltiọ* LF **224** with FILIATION, *ca · uecineo* LF **225**, *tito [:] acarcelinio :* | *ma : fi* LF **226** with FILIATION, *l · clipiạr[io]* LF **230**, *c · clipeạr[io]* | *m · f* LF **231** with FILIATION, *c · ạu[---]i̯si* LF **236** with FILIATION, *[.]a · protacio · m · f* LF **242** with FILIATION, *[---]o [·] spuṛ[ilio* LF **248** (where FILIATION can be restored), *sesto ƚ* | *fulczeo* LF **329**, *uoltio* | *folcozeo* | *zextoi* | *fi* LF **330**

with FILIATION, *cesio folcuso* LF **331**, *celio *olcuzeo* | ****io* | *poplia* | *uelcei f*|*le* LF **332** (with FILIATION?), *[..] folcosio* | ******oi* LF **333** with FILIATION, *cauio* | *uetulio* LF **335**, *tito · marhio* | *uoltilio* LF **336** with FILIATION, *ueltur* | *ortecese* LF **339**; *cailio · tirio* MLF/LtF **358**, *tito · batio* MLF/LtF **359**; *m · c[i]peario · m [·f* LtF **233** with FILIATION, *m · pani[---]* LtF **239**, *uo · nel[n---]* LtF **299**, *m · neroni* | *a ·f* LtF **325** with FILIATION, *st · aco[---]* LtF **327** (where FILIATION can be restored), *[se]x · ne[?]ro·[---]* LtF **328** (where FILIATION can be restored), *c · neroni* LtF **340**, *m · aco[---]*| *rutil · ce[---]* LtF **341** (with FILIATION?); *m · spurilius · c ·f* Lat **237** with FILIATION, *c · spurilius* | *m · f* Lat **238** with FILIATION, *Pu(blius) Fuluius C(aii) f(ilius)* | *C(aii) n(epos) Suto(r)* Lat **250** with FILIATION, *l · uecilio · uo ·f* Lat **251** with FILIATION, *[. ·]uecilio · l · f* Lat **251** with FILIATION, *l · c · leuieis · l · f* Lat **251** with FILIATION.

(c) others (28 instances, 14 with FILIATION): ***(i)*** signatures (4 instances, 1 with FILIATION): *ç cutri* MF **200**, *arθ[3-5]rę* MF/Etr **267**, *oufilo : clipeaio : letei : fileo* MF **470*** with FILIATION, *cauios frenaios* MF **471***; ***(ii)*** inscriptions on public works, public dedications (16 instances, 10-12 with FILIATION): *a [.]osena* MLF **206**, *uę narionio* MLF **206**, *cauio lullio* MLF **207**, *cauio latinaio* MLF **210**; *[..]· hirmio · m[· f ·]* LF **213** with FILIATION, *ce · tertineo · c · f* LF **213** with FILIATION; *c* *(*)coṇẹo · l***(*)* LtF **290** with FILIATION (or a cognomen?), *ce · pauı[ceo 1-2]so* LtF **290** with FILIATION (or a cognomen?), *[---]ilio · c[· f ?---]* LtF **215** with FILIATION; *la · cotena · la · f* LF/Lat **214** with FILIATION, *l · latrius · k · f* Lat **218** with FILIATION, *c · salu[e]na · uoltai · f* Lat **218** with FILIATION, *[. · u]mpricius · c · f* | *[?]aburcus* Lat **219** with FILIATION, *c · egnatius · s[ex ·] f* Lat **291** with FILIATION, *c · didius · t · f* Lat **456** with FILIATION, *m · uettius · m · f* Lat **456** with FILIATION; ***(iii)*** private dedications (5 instances, 1 with FILIATION): *[.] ṃunio regena** Lat **377**, *mar · popi st · f* Cap **421** with FILIATION, *l · calpurnius* Cap **432**, *m · t · u · genucilio* Cap **435** (three *liberti*), *[---]rcius* Cap **436** (a *libertus*); ***(iv)*** reversed filiation (1 instance): *marci : acarcelini* LF 221; ***(v)*** statue (1 instance): *caui : tertinei* MLF/Cap **474***; ***(vi)*** unknown (1 instance): *st · clanidio* Cap **394**.

To these instances should be added the following 33 damaged sepulchral inscriptions: ***(a)*** with only the praenomen preserved (7 instances, 1 with FILIATION): *ueṇe[?---]* MF **43**, *[u]ọlt[---]* MF **145**, *kreco : [---]* MF **147**, *uol[ta :]**[---]* MF **158**, *[leu]elio · [---*|*---]io · ca[---]* MF **159**, *[u]olṭ[---*| *u]oltịl[i---]* MF **163** with FILIATION; *cauio [---]*| *ruso[?---]* MLF **318** (*ruso* may be a cognomen); ***(b)*** with only the gentilicium preserved (19 instances, 8 with FILIATION): *[.....]*| *neṛ[oni.]* | *ị[.....]* MF **16** with FILIATION, *[---] ḥiṛṃeo iu ·* MF **19** with FILIATION, *[---] oụ*[..]o *ą**[---]* MF **52** with FILIATION, *[--- c]ęlio · cesi · fi*|*[---]* MF **94** with FILIATION, *[---] celio [---]* MF **95** possibly with FILIATION, *[--- c]elio [---]* MF **97** possibly with FILIATION, *[---] reiç[lio]* | *[---] ṃaxoṃ[o]* MF **98** probably with FILIATION, *[---] reiclio [?---]* MF **99** possibly with FILIATION, *[.....]*| *reị[cli.]* | *m*[....]* MF **100**, *[---]iena : ụ[---]* MF **102**, *faf[---]* MF **139**? possibly with FILIATION, *[---] crą[i---*| *iu?]nẹo* MF **141** with FILIATION *[---]ronio : uol[t---]* MF **156** with FILIATION, *[---*|*---] ṃarcio* LF **228** (or a patronym?) *[---p]rotacio[---]* LF **244**

possibly with FILIATION *[---]fate* MLF **285**, *[---?] precono[---]* MLF **361**, *[---] upreciano* MLF **364**, *[---]nio · ia · ** LtF **341** with FILIATION; *[---]** · ueil[---] t · f* LtF 327 with FILIATION; ***(c)*** with only the cognomen preserved (1 instance, with FILIATION): *[--- ma]ẋọmo ⸗ uoltilio* MF **162** with FILIATION; ***(d)*** with only the FILIATION clearly preserved (6 instances, all with FILIATION): *[---]cẹla[---]---] iun[---]* MF **166**, *[---]f* LF **247**, *[---]*o · c · f* LF **249**; *[---]ọ ce ʻ F* LtF **171**, *[---] c · f · mo[---]* LtF **172**, *[---?] decon[---]---]a · f* LtF **174**

I have not included the following instances: ***(a)*** unclear reading or interpretation: *apolo* MF **65** (a theonym), *namureṭua* (?) MF/Etr **66**, *ạcṛẹẓ cat* (?) MF **67**, *tuconu* (?) MF **85** (perhaps PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM, if read as *t u(e?)conu*), *[--- pu]peḷ[i---]* MF **150**, *[---u]oltio :* | *[---]o :* MF **164**, *[---]io : uolti[---]* MF **167**, *[---ar]uto r[---]* MF **169**, *cẹsit : fere* MF **263**, *puiatu* MLF **208**, *laris : ṃ : ɾφçχa* | *uạịẹṣiỵsist* (?) MLF/Etr **290**; *[--- ?]anco ma* LF/LtF **232**, *[---] cuba* |*[---]nte* LtF **326**; ***(b)*** either a man's name or a woman's: *uentarc[i .....* MF **80**, *uoll[---]*MF **86** (GENTILICIUM?), *[---] ueneḷies* MF **258** (probably a gentilicium), *popl[---]*| *[u]elṃi[ne---]* MLF **317**, *[---?]*a*ḳit*ue* a · f* LF **234** (PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM FILIATION?), *[---]a · neln fl[---]uxo · ohi*[..]* LtF **300**; ***(c)*** isolated names in *-e(s): acre* MF/Etr **279**, *ame* MF/Etr **280**, *aṃẹ* MF/Etr **282**.

The material is presented in tabular form in fig.7.1. From this table the following tendencies may be read:

- The use of the single name (whether PRAENOMEN or GENTILICIUM) is normal only in the *Besitzerinschriften* (22-27 instances, out of a total of 44-51) and very rare in sepulchral and other inscriptions (3-4 instances altogether, out of a total of 136-137).

- If the single name is used, it is PRAENOMEN (16-19 instances) rather than GENTILICIUM (9-12 instances). The use of GENTILICIUM is very rare in all categories. This is a contrast with the formulas of women's names: see §7.4.1.

- PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM is the normal formula in the sepulchral inscriptions (105 instances, out of a total of 107-108). It is also quite frequent in *Besitzerinschriften* (22-24 instances, out of a total of 44-51).

- In the categories other than *Besitzerinschriften* and sepulchral inscriptions, PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM appears to have been the normal formula in public inscriptions, including public dedications (20 instances altogether, out of a total of 29).

- Note also that in FILIATION, the normal formula for the father's name is PRAENOMEN, with the exception of *ca uipi : leueli* | *filea* MF **14**.

Resuming, it may be said that PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM FILIATION is the official formula from the first Middle Faliscan inscriptions onward: in that respect, the Faliscan usage does not differ from that of Etruscan, Latin, or the Sabellic languages. The use and the frequency of FILIATION are discussed in §7.9.

7.4. Female onomastic formulas

7.4.1. The formula of women's names. In Faliscan usage, as in Etruscan, contemporary Latin, and apparently also in the Sabellic languages (although the material is limited in this case)[115], it was normal for a woman to have a praenomen as well as a gentilicium: *pace* G. Giacomelli (1963:160), there is no great difference between the ager Faliscus and the surrounding areas in this respect. Views on this subject can be and have been obscured by the later Roman usage, where women's praenomina became increasingly rarer (see Kajava 1995:114-8). This decrease in the use of praenomina does not appear to have occurred in the ager Faliscus, however: the use of the double name remains regular throughout all periods (see below). The full formula for women's names in Faliscan is therefore PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM, which may be extended with FILIATION (§7.5) and the marital formula HUSBAND$_{GEN}$ *WIFE* (§7.4.2). Yet even in the ager Faliscus and Capenas women were often designated by one name only, and this is usually GENTILICIUM, as in Latium, whereas in the case of men there was a preference for PRAENOMEN (§7.3). There are no instances of Faliscan women having a cognomen, as is to be expected: in Etruscan, woman's cognomina are extremely rare in South Etruria, and occur with any frequency only at Clusium (cf. Rix 1965:40-2), while in Latin the earliest examples are probably from the second half of the second century (Kajanto 1977a:64-7, Kajava 1995:30-1): see §7.9.

(1) **PRAENOMEN** (11 instances, 4 with FILIATION). This formula was used both in *Besitzerinschriften* and in sepulchral inscriptions. The use in *Besitzerinschriften* can be compared to the quite frequent use of PRAENOMEN in *Besitzerinschriften* where the owner is male (see §7.3). In sepulchral inscriptions, the use of PRAENOMEN for women (9 instances) is more frequent than that of PRAENOMEN for men (2 instances), even though the number of recognizable women's names in sepulchral inscriptions (59) is far smaller than that of men's (107-8). This is probably due to the fact that women were buried with their husbands in the tomb of the husband's family: what mattered in these inscriptions was not the woman's own gentilicium, which differed from that of her husband's, but the fact that she was related by marriage to one of the family owning the tomb. In 6 out of the 9 instances of PRAENOMEN in women's sepulchral inscriptions, the name of the woman follows that of a man whose gentilicium is given (MF **48**, **49**, **50**, MLF **312**, LF **242**, LF **332**) and who was presumably her husband.

(a) Besitzerinschriften (3 instances, 1 perhaps with FILIATION): *titias* MF **201**; *locia eiṃoi* MLF **293** with FILIATION (?), *sceiuai* LF **379**.

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[115] Only the Paelignian sepulchral inscriptions (Pg 12-17, 28-33, 51-54) give some insight in the formulas of women's names; all other Sabellic languages yield only a few instances of women's names each (Um 3, 30, 38; MV 6; MV 7; Hi 4, 7; Po 51, 66?, Cm 25, Lu 46).

(b) sepulchral inscriptions (9 instances, 3 with FILIATION): *ca uipi : leueli* | *filea* MF **14** with FILIATION, *poplia* MF **48**, *θanacuil* MF **49**, *poplia* MF **50**, *[p]ọpliạ* MF **160**; *sextia* MLF **311**, *sceụa* MLF **312**; *cauia · uxo · a · f* LF **242** with FILIATION, *poplia* | *uelcei fl*e LF **332** with FILIATION.

(c) others (1 instance): *popliai* MLF **308**.

(2) **GENTILICIUM** (25-26 instances, 3 of which with FILIATION). If a single name is used, GENTILICIUM appears to have been the preferred formula in the case of women, whereas in the case of men there was a preference for PRAENOMEN. This formula, too, appears to be used both in *Besitzerinschriften* and insepulchral inscriptions.

(a) Besitzerinschriften (9-10 instances) *turia* MF **22**, **23**, **24**, **25**, **26**, **27**, ? *ulties* MF/Etr **64** (unclear); *pupiias* MLF **304**, *seralia* LF **380**, *tulie* MLF **383**.

(b) sepulchral inscriptions (15 instances, 3 with FILIATION): *loụṛia* MF **41**, *uolḷia* MF **47**, *latria* MF **75**, *θania* MF **81** (where two other women are designated as *ca : u[eculi]a* and *ca : e[c]ṇata*), *[---] : cẹsiḷị[a]* MF **99**, *cincia* MF **135**, *uoltaia* MF **196**, *morenez* MF **269**, *zeruatronia* MF **272**; *fulonia* MLF **313**; *m{e?}ania* LF **224** (in LF **225** she is described as *ca mania*); *hlaulelea · m · f ·* LtF **325** with FILIATION, *plenes · q · f* LtF **231** with FILIATION; *plenese* Lat **251**, *claudia · c · f* Lat **393** with FILIATION.

(c) others (1 instance): *citiai* MF **270** (in FILIATION?).

(3) **PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM** (35-38 instances, 8 of which with FILIATION). As in the men's names, this appears to have been the official formula, as it is the regular formula in sepulchral inscriptions (35 instances, out of a total of 59 recognizable women's names in sepulchral inscriptions) and is moreover virtually restricted to sepulchral inscriptions (35 instances out of a total of 35-38 instances of PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM). Yet even in the sepulchral inscriptions there is a large number of instances where a single name is used (24 instances out of a total of 59 recognizable women's names), and the number of attestations of single names is slightly larger (39 instances) than that of PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM (35-38 instances).

(a) Besitzerinschriften (0-3 instances): ? *uei uatia* MLF **463** (unclear); ? *ca · e**sa* Cap **458** (very unclear), ? *sta sediu* Cap **466**.

(b) sepulchral inscriptions (34 instances, 8 with FILIATION): *poplia* | *ḥirmia* MF **18**; *fasies : c[ai]sia* MF **41**; *cauia : satelie* MF **42**; *cauiacue* | *[u]eculia : uoltilia* MF **80** with FILIATION; *ca : u[eculi]a* MF **81**; *ca : e[c]ṇata* MF **81**; *tan[---]* | *cail[ia ?---]* MF **92**; *tanacu[il]* | *anelia* MF **101**; *poplia* | *fafaṃ* MF **136**; *[.?]ạ*ịạ* | *lepuia* | *uoltilia* MF **144** with FILIATION; *ian[ta : ..]lni[a]* MF **146**; *iata : leue[lia]* MF **147**; *ṭị [·] ṭiria lo[?---]ll[e]a : cs : f* MF 155 with FILIATION; *poplia : calitenes* MF **265**; *poplia* | *zuconia* MF **271**; *[---]nθia* MLF **212** (or a patronym?); *ịạ : firmia : titia* MLF **302** with FILIATION; *poplia : cocelia* MLF **303**; *cauia loriea* MLF **314**; *tana* | *lartia* MLF **338** (or is *lartia* a patronym?); *tan‹a›cuil · aratia* MLF **347**; *cauia* | *hadenia* MLF **360**; *iata :*

senθia MLF **362**; *ca ạconia* LF **220**; *uipia : zertenea* LF **221**; *cauia : uecinea* LF **223**; *ca · mania* LF **225**; *pola marcia : sus[?---]* LF **227**; *cau[ia ·] uecin[e]a · uotiliạ* LF **222** with FILIATION; *pop · petrunes · ce · f* LF **226** with FILIATION; *cesula : tiperilia : te f* LF **229** with FILIATION; *ceịsịa *e[0-4?]i*ia · ce* LF **235** with FILIATION; *cauia* | *uetulia* LF **334**; *po[l]ae · abelese* Lat **251**; ? *a[rria]* | *plaria* LtF **340**

(c) other (0 instances): -

To this should be added 17 damaged sepulchral inscriptions: ***(a)*** with only a praenomen preserved (5 instances): *cauia * *|[---]a* MF **94**, *iataçue : l[---]* MF **158**, *[po]plia [: ---]* MF **161**, *cauia* | *[---]* MLF **306**, *mino · s[---]* LtF **173** ***(b)*** with only a gentilicium preserved (5 instances): *iuna : ce[lio---]* | *arutielia [?---]* MF **96** *[---pu]peḷ[i---]* MF **150**, *[---] : zaconiai* MF **154**, *[---] ueneḷies : sapnonia* MF **258**, *st · aco[---]*| *leuia[---]* LtF **327**; ***(c)*** with fragmentary women's names: *ueṇe[?---]na ·* | *ux[o(r) ?---]* MF **43**, *[---]* | *cai[lia ---]* MF **93**, *[---]iena : ụ[---|---]ono : ux[o(r)]* MF **102**, *[---?]uoxie[.]eai* MLF **310**, *[---]*lia · c · f* LF **249** with FILIATION, *[....]nea · *a* | *[u]xor ia·** | *ma · oṣcin** LtF **301** with FILIATION, *[---]nio · ia · * [---]ilia · cọ** LtF **341**.

I have not included: ***(a)*** unclear reading or interpretation: *ṛica* MF/LtF **21**, *namureṭua* (?) MF/Etr **66**, *açrẹẓ cat* (?) MF? **67** (praenomen or gentilicium?), *ipa* MF? **78**, *[---]ạltai i* MF **109**, *aie** MF **110**, *[---]a*ome* MF **156**, *apa* Cap **457**; ***(b)*** either a man's name or a woman's: *uentarc[i .....* MF **80**, *uoll[---]*MF **86** (GENTILICIUM?), *[---] ueneḷies* MF **258**, *popl[---]*| *[u]elṃi[ne---]* MLF **317**, *[---?]*a*ḳit*ue* a · f* LF 234, *[---]a · neln f\[---]uxo · ohi*[..]* LtF **300**; and ***(c)*** isolated names in *-e(s): acre* MF/Etr **279**, *ame* MF/Etr **280**, *aṃẹ* MF/Etr **282**.

The material is presented in tabular form in fig.7.2. From this table the following tendencies may be seen:

- In single names, GENTILICIUM (28 cases) is preferred to PRAENOMEN (11 cases), in spite of the fact that in the ager Faliscus women did have praenomina.

- Not only is GENTILICIUM more popular than PRAENOMEN, it appears to become more popular as time progresses, perhaps due to Latin influence:

praenomina	MF: 6	MLF: 3	LF: 2	LtF: -	Cap: -	Lat: -
gentilicia	MF: 17	MLF: 6	LF: 1	LtF: 2	Cap: -	Lat: 2

- The use of the single and the double name appears to have been equally popular:

single name	MF: 23	MLF: 9	LF: 3	LtF: 2	Cap: -	Lat: 2
double name	MF: 23	MLF: 0-1	LF: 10	LtF: -	Cap: 0-2	Lat: -

- The use of PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM is virtually limited to sepulchral inscriptions (35 out of 35-38 cases of the use of the double name). The single name can be used in *Besitzerinschriften* (13 out of 39 cases of the single name) and in sepulchral inscriptions (24 out of 39 cases of the single name).

7.4.2. Adding the husband's name: the marital formula.[116] In several instances, the woman's onomastic formula is further expanded by adding HUSBAND$_{GEN}$ *WIFE*. Leaving aside cultural and personal motives to add the husbands name, the primary aim in doing so in the Faliscan family-tombs will have been to clarify the relationship between the various deceased buried in the same tomb, as a wife would of course have had a gentilicium that differred from that of her husband's family. With the exception of LF **242** (below) the formula is only used in sepulchral inscriptions of women whose husband had not or not yet been buried in the same loculus. In the case of *cau[ia ·] uecin[e]a · uotiliạ* | *maci : acacelini : uxo* LF **222**, the text was in fact replaced after the husband's burial in the same loculus by *marcio : acarcelinio* | *cauia : uecinea* | *hęç cupat* LF **223**, which shows the usual Faliscan custom of simply stating the names (sometimes joined by *-cue*) when husband and wife were buried together.

Adding this marital formula is mostly an Etruscan custom (cf. the numerous instances of *puia* and *puiac* in *ET*). The Latin sepulchral inscriptions yield only 24 instances where the name of the woman (either as the deceased or as the 'procurateur', cf. §8.9.2) is accompanied by *uxor* (*CIL* I^2.171, 184, 288, 300, 1220, 1289, 1294, 1328, 1349, 1352, 1424, 1432, 1490, 1536, 1595, 1824, 1829, 1830, 1843, 1886, 1907, 2284, 2460, 2636). The only Sabellic instance of this custom appears to be Paelignian *[4-5] pracom p[20-30]* | *ụsur pristafalacirix* Pg 9. The relative frequency of the formula in the ager Faliscus is probably due, not to direct Etruscan influence, but rather to the fact that the Etruscan and Faliscan areas shared the same mode of burial, and the function of the sepulchral inscription was therefore the same in both areas.

The instances of the addition of HUSBAND$_{GEN}$ *WIFE* occur in Middle Faliscan, Late Faliscan, and Latino-Faliscan inscriptions:

(a) **HUSBAND$_{GEN}$** ***WIFE*** (4-8 instances). This appear to have been the regular formula, with the components in the same order as in the filiation formula FATHER$_{GEN}$ *SON/DAUGHTER* (cf. §7.5). It occurs in *cauia : satelie* | *caui : feliçinate* | *uxor* MF **42**, *fasies : c[ai]sia* | *louci : teti : uxor* MF **41**, *poplia : calitenes* | *aronto : cesies* | *lartio : uxor* MF **265**; *cau[ia ·] uecin[e]a · uotiliạ* | *maci : acacelini : uxo* LF **222**, probably also in *· iii · ḷ[.....*|*.....]naị[?---*|*....]o uxo* MF **17**, *[---]iena : ụ[---*|*---]ono : ux[o(r)]* MF **102**, *pola marcia : sus[?---]* LF **227** (if *sus[?---] = s us[o(r)]*), and perhaps in *[---]a · neln ḷ[---]uxo · ohi*[..]* LtF **300**. Note that LF **222**, *cau[ia ·] uecin[e]a · uotiliạ* | *maci : acacelini : uxo*, has both FILIATION and [HUSBAND$_{GEN}$ *WIFE*], in this order. This is to be expected, not because of a greater role of the father or of the gens the woman was born into, but rather because FILIATION was at once a more common (everyone has a father, but not everyone has a husband) and a more general (men and women both have fathers, but only women have husbands) part of the onomastic formula.

[116] I refer to this formula as *marital* rather than as *gamonymic*, restricting the latter term to the Venetic use of the gamonymic adjective (cf. Lejeune 1974:60-3).

(b) *WIFE* HUSBAND$_{GEN}$ (1-4 instances). This appears to have been a (rare) variant where the members of the formula appear in reversed order, occurring in *tanacu[il]* | *anelia* · · | *uxor* · *ia* MF **101**, perhaps also *[....]nea* · **a* | *[u]xor ia* · * | *ma* · *oṣcin** LtF **301**, perhaps also *cauio [---]lruso[?---]* MLF **318** (if *uso[?---]* = *uso[(r)* ... = 'uxor ...'), perhaps also *ueṇe[?---]na* · | *ux[o(r) ?---]* MF **43**. The fact that this reversed formula occurs at all may indicate that the marital formula was not as fixed as FILIATION.

(c) An exceptional case is *[.]a* · *protacio* · *m* · *f* · *maṣistratu* | *keset* · *cuestod* · *pi* · *pretod* · *pis* | *cauia* · *uxo* · *a* · *f* LF **242**: *(a)* it is the only instance where the marital formula is added to PRAENOMEN, while in elsewhere it is added to PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM; *(b)* it is the only certain instance where the marital formula consists of *WIFE* only; and *(c)* it is the only certain instance where FILIATION follows the marital formula instead of preceding it, as in LF **222**. All these exceptional features arise from the simple fact that the normal usage in Faliscan inscriptions was to use the marital formula HUSBAND$_{GEN}$ *WIFE* only in cases were husband and wife were *not* buried together: it almost looks as if the composer of the text of the inscription, which focuses entirely on the husband and his impressive *cursus honorum*, had misunderstood the marital formula.

(d) Unclear is *m* · *cl[i]peario* · *m [*· *f* | --- |---*]or* LtF **233** (if *---]or* = ... *ux]or*).

In a few inscriptions, a word other than *uxor* appears to have been used. In two Latino-Faliscan or Latin inscriptions the word *coniunx* may have been used, but these texts are too damaged to be sure: *m* · *aco[ ]nio* · *ia* · * | *rutil* · *ce[ ]ilia* · *cọ** LtF **341** and *[---?] decon[---|---]a* · *f* LtF **174**, if to be read as *de con[---]*): note that, as said above, in Latin inscriptions the word used is always *uxor*, never *coniunx*. I find it hard to agree with Vetter's (1953:305) suggestion to read *lepuia* in *[.?]ạ ịạ* | *lepuia* | *uoltilia* MF **144** as an abbreviated husband's name *le* followed by Etruscan *puia* 'wife': not only would this be an instance of interference from Etruscan, which is very rare (§9.2.2), but it would be an instance of interference within a formula, but it would also be an instance of HUSBAND$_{GEN}$ *WIFE preceding* FILIATION.

7.5. The formula of filiation

7.5.1. FILIATION. The onomastic formula can be extended with FILIATION. As may be seen from the tables presented earlier in this chapter (figs. 7.1-2), its use appears to have been 'formal'. First, FILIATION is found only in sepulcral and official inscriptions (including public dedications), with the exceptions of the *Besitzerinschrift locia eiṃoi* MLF **293**, the signature *oufilo : clipeaio : letei : fileo : met : facet* MF **470***, and the private dedication *mar* · *popi* · *st* · *f* · *n* · *mart* · *d* · *d* · *me* Cap **421**. Second, FILIATION is normally added only to the full onomastic formula PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM, although there are rather more exceptions in the case of women: not only the *Besitzerinschrift*

locia eiṃoi MLF **293**, but also within the sepulchral inscriptions, *ca uipi : leueli* | *filea* MF **14**, *cauia · uxo · a · f* LF **242**, *poplia* | *uelcei fl*le LF **332**, *hlaulelea · m · f ·* LtF **325**, *plenes · q · f* LtF **231**, and *claudia · c · f* Lat **393**. These exceptions are probably due to the fact that in women's names the use of the single name was more common than in men's names. With regard to the use of FILIATION over time, I can find no discernable tendency in the tables other than a slight increase in its use in the case of men in the Late Faliscan and Latin inscriptions, which is at least partly due to its use in public inscriptions, which are more frequent in these categories.

7.5.2. FATHER$_{GEN}$ [*SON/DAUGHTER*] and the patronymic adjective. In the Faliscan inscriptions, FILIATION was always added after the gentilicium, as in Etruscan, Latin, and the majority of the Sabellic languages, not after the praenomen, as was the custom in Umbrian and Volscian.[117] However, FILIATION could be expressed in two completely different ways, namely *(1)* by the formula FATHER$_{GEN}$ [*SON/DAUGHTER*], and *(2)* by means of a patronymic adjective (see also fig.7.3):

***(1) The formula* FATHER$_{GEN}$ *SON/DAUGHTER and* FATHER$_{GEN}$.** In Faliscan, one of the ways to express filiation was the formula FATHER$_{GEN}$ *filius/filia*, as in Latin. Whether FATHER$_{GEN}$, which occurs in several inscriptions (see fig.7.3), was an independent formula or just a shortened form of FATHER$_{GEN}$ *filius/filia* cannot be established. In Etruscan, the frequency of FATHER$_{GEN}$ clearly shows that it was a separate formula that could be used as an alternative to FATHER$_{GEN}$ *clan/seχ*. In the Sabellic languages, FATHER$_{GEN}$ was in fact the normal formula, whether placed after the praenomen, as in Umbrian and Volscian, or after the gentilicium, as in Oscan and the other Sabellic languages. It may be significant that in the only clear Middle Faliscan examples of FATHER$_{GEN}$, *aruz : ceṣie : aruto* MF **257** and *ueltur · tetena* | *aruto* MF **266**, the names are of the persons involved are all Etruscan.

(2) Patronymic adjectives. In Faliscan, filiation could also be expressed by patronymic adjectives, derived from the father's praenomen by means of the suffix /-io-/, e.g. *Marcus* → *Marcius* 'Marcusson' or *Titus* → *Titius* 'Titusson'. When the father's name itself was already derived with this suffix, the suffix *-ilio-* (possibly originally a diminutive suffix) was used instead, e.g. *Voltius* → *Voltilius*. The same suffixes appear in the Latin and Sabellic patronymic gentilicia, although in the Sabellic languages *-idio-* was used rather than *-ilio-*. When the father's name belonged to the first declension, as in the case of the Faliscan praenomina *Iuna* and *Volta*, the resulting adjectives were *Iunius* and *Voltius* rather than *Iunaeus* and *Voltaeus*. In view of the spellings *i̯uneo* MF **151**, *iuneo* LF **220**, perhaps also *iu?]ṇẹo* MF **141**, and *uolteo* MF **275**, *uolθeo* MF **276**, this

[117] Two inscriptions from the area that have been interpreted as showing the Umbrian order are *k · pa · aiedies ·* Cap **390** and the older reading of Cap **388**, *t ç · uomanio*.

may be doubted, since the *-eo* may stand for /-ę̆ŏs/ ← /-ă̯i̯ŏs (§3.7.6). On the other hand, I read *uoltio* in LF **224**, and when the patronymic adjectives of *Iuna* and *Volta* are used as a praenomen or a gentilicium, they are always spelled with *i* (gentilicium *iunio* Cap **462**; for the attestations of the praenomen *Voltius*, see §7.7.1.*86*).

Patronymic adjectives are of course well known from other Indo-European languages: they were used e.g. in various Greek dialects (especially Lesbian, Boeotian, and Thessalian, see Buck 1955:134-5) and in Venetic (cf. Lejeune 1974:52-7), and must have been used in both Latin and the Sabellic languages as well, as many Latin and Sabellic gentilicia are of patronymic origin. There are in fact several instances of Sabellic forms in *-is* occurring in the usual position of the filiation that cannot be genitives and could be patronymic gentilicia. This interpretation is debatable, however, and some of the forms may simply be graphical errors. The instances are: Umbrian *titis* in *vu‹v›çis titis teteies TI* Ib.45 (probably an error for *tit‹e›s* or *titi‹e›s*: this line and the preceding one contain several errors), South Picene *taruis* in *[---]s : taruis : petrúnis* AP.5 (unclear) and *pet{i}eronis* in *noúínis : pet{i}eronis : efidans* AP.4 (perhaps a gentilicium), and Praesamnitic *veneliis* in *vinuχs veneliis peracis estam tetet venelei viniciiu* Ps 3 (a patronymic adjective if *peracis* is a gentilicium).

It is therefore not the *existence* of patronymic adjectives in Faliscan that is remarkable, but the fact that they continued to be used long after they had become fossilized as gentilicia throughout the rest of Central and Southern Italy: the Faliscan material shows instances of patronymic adjectives even from the Late Faliscan inscriptions (see fig.7.3). Although the remarkable use of the patronymic adjectives in Faliscan has often been pointed out, it should be noted that this was always an *option* and not the only possible variant: the patronymic adjective and the formula FATHER$_{GEN}$ [*filius/filia*] occur side by side from the Middle Faliscan period onwards. There is no indication that, originally, the Faliscan way of expressing filiation was *exclusively* by means of the patronymic adjective and that FATHER$_{GEN}$ [*filius/filia*] was due to influence from other traditions: FATHER$_{GEN}$ [*filius/filia*] appears already at times when it is hardly possible to ascribe its use to Latin influence, and although it could conceivably be modelled on the Etruscan formula FATHER$_{GEN}$ [*clan/seχ*], there is certainly no need to assume this.

On the other hand, the *disappearance* of the use of the patronymic adjective may well be ascribed to Latin influence, as can be seen from fig.7.3, where the instances of the patronymic adjective and of FATHER$_{GEN}$ [*filius/filia*] are presented in tabular form. This clearly shows that the patronymic adjective is the more frequently used option in the Middle Faliscan inscriptions, but in the Late Faliscan inscriptions it is less frequent than FATHER$_{GEN}$ [*filius/filia*], while the Latino-Faliscan and Latin inscriptions have *only* FATHER$_{GEN}$ [*filius/filia*].[118]

[118] Even if my interpretation of the forms in *-oi* in MF **40**, MLF **293**, **305**, and LF **330**, **333** as genitives is not adopted, this picture remains the same: in fact, it becomes more pronounced.

[a] Perhaps to be read as *ar · p.* [b] The interpretation of this form is unclear. [c] Perhaps a gentilicium rather than a patronym [c] Possibly a dative. [e] I read a patronymic adjective *uoltiǫ*, where previous editors have read a genitive *uolti·*. – Not included in this table are ***(1)*** damaged instances (MF **16**, **158**, **166**; LF **211**, **215**); ***(2)*** abbreviated filiations (MF **19**, **88**, MLF **309**, LF **235**); ***(3)*** the problematic cases MF **11-12**, **263**; ***(4)*** instances where previous editors have in my view erroneously presupposed a filiation: MF **152**, MLF **354**, Cap **388**, **390**.

Fig. 7.3. FILIATION in the Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions.

[a] Context unclear. – Not included in this table are *(1)* damaged instances (MF **16**, **158**, **166**; LF **211**, **215**); *(2)* abbreviated filiations (MF **19**, **88**, MLF **309**, LF **235**); *(3)* the problematic cases MF **11-12**, **263**; *(4)* instances where previous editors have in my view erroneously presupposed a filiation: MF **152**, MLF **354**, Cap **388**, **390**.

Fig. 7.4. FILIATION in the Latino-Faliscan and Latin inscriptions.

It would be interesting to know if this shift in usage in the formula of filiation was also a shift in the expression of ethnic identity. The use of the patronymic adjective appears to have been associated exclusively with Faliscan inscriptions, and may well have been regarded as distinctive. In the sense that in the period after 240 the choice for FATHER$_{GEN}$ [*filius/filia*] could be associated with adhering to a (Roman) Latin formula rather than to a local standard, it can be regarded as a change in expressing identity at least in the use of the onomastic formular. I doubt, however, whether this shift was very great or of very great importance, as the use of FATHER$_{GEN}$ [*filius/filia*] was already well-established within Faliscan itself.

7.6. The names of freedmen and freedwomen

The texts from the ager Faliscus and Capenas contain several examples of freedmen and freedwomen, some explicitly designated as such. As was discussed in §2.3.2, there is no way of concluding whether the status of the Faliscan freedmen and -women corresponded more to that of the Latin *libertus* or that of the Etruscan *lautni*. The first four of the following instances have also been discussed by Rix (1994:94-6).

In the Middle Faliscan inscriptions, two women are explicitly designated as freedwomen. The first occurs in MF **41**, which consists of two inscriptions separated by a triple interpunct, the first reading *fasies : c[ai]sia* | *louci : teti : uxor* 'Caesia Fassia, wife of Lucius Tettius', the second, *loụṛia* | *[l]oifirta* 'Luria, freedwoman'. The freeborn woman is designated by PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM [HUSBAND$_{GEN}$ *WIFE*], the freedwoman by GENTILICIUM, but as it is not uncommon for a woman to be designated by GENTILICIUM in a sepulchral inscription (16 instances out of a total of 59), I doubt whether this difference is in fact significant. It is useless to speculate whether Luria was a freedwoman of Caesia Fassia, or, if not, what the relationship was between the two.[119]

The second instance occurs in LF **221**, which is a special case: *uipia : zertenea : loferta* | *marci : acarcelini* | *mate : he : cupa* 'Vibia Sertinia, freedwoman, mother of Marcius Acarcelinius, lies here'. Here the freedwoman is interred in the tomb because she is the mother of Marcius Acarcelinius, who lies buried in the same tomb, and who apparently had become an important man in Falerii Novi. As has been suggested, the gentilicium *Acarcelinius* may well be a new formation: the *gens Sertinia* may have been the *gens* to which Vibia belonged when a slave rather than her original gentilicium. Note that here the woman is designated by PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM and a 'reversed filiation', as she does not owe her status and burial in the family tomb to her father, but to her son.

Two other instances are less clear, and consist of fragmentary texts with the word *lo*, which could be interpreted as an abbreviation of *loferta*. These are *ṭi [·] ṭiria lo[?---]ll[e]a : cs : f* MF **155** and *[---]*i : u[o]ltiai lo* MF **165**. Of these, the first appears to show another freedwoman with PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM, although the text has also been read as *ṭi[n]ṭiria* with GENTILICIUM only.

Further examples of freedmen and freedwomen designated as such can be found in the Capenate dedications from Lucus Feroniae, where we find an *a[rria]* or *sal* | *plaria · t · l* Cap **431** (see below), *m · t · u · genucilio · sen · l* Cap **435**, and *[---]rcius · l · l* Cap **436**.

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[119] Peruzzi (1964b:140-2) implausibly connected these inscriptions to the role played by *libertae* in Bacchanalia-upheaval, which, according to Livy (39.8-19), also affected Falerii.

In Etruscan, freedmen and -women could also be designated by double gentilicia, the second being the gentilicium of the former master, as has been discussed extensively by Rix (1994:97-111). Of double gentilicia, too, there are at least two examples from the ager Faliscus, *uel [·] uisni · olna* MF **82** and *m · tito · tulio · uoltilio · hescuna* MF **346**. An isolated instance of a freedwoman apparently designated *only* by two gentilicia is *a[rria]* | *plaria · t · l* in Lat **431** from Lucus Feroniae, but this depends on the restoration, which is very dubious: the text has been read in a entirely different way by Torelli (1941:741-6), and in his reading the name is *sal* | *plaria · t · l*, with a well-attested praenomen *Saluia*.

7.7. The praenomina

7.7.1. The praenomina attested from the Middle Faliscan period onward. The praenomina that are attested in the Middle Faliscan, Late Faliscan, Latino-Faliscan, and Latin inscriptions from the ager Faliscus and Capenas are presented in the following list (for the Early Faliscan inscriptions, see the list in §7.2.2).

I have included all abbreviations that can be considered praenomina, as explained in §7.1.2: contextless abbreviations are included between [ ], but *only* if the abbreviations are attested elsewhere in a context where they clearly represent praenomina, or if they can easily be matched with an existing praenomen. Names occurring only in Latin inscriptions from the area are included as lemmata between [ ]; names occurring only in Etruscan inscriptions have been included only if the same name or an obviously related name is attested in the Faliscan onomasticon. As the data for the Sabellic onomasticon are relatively few, they have only been noted when cognates or derivations *are* attested, not when they are not. Note that for ease of reference I have used the closest Latin equivalent as the header to the lemma (except in the case of abbreviations) and ordered the lemmata according to the modern alphabet.

1. ***A.*** abbr., see *Aulus*.

2. **? *Acr-.*** *ącrẹz* MF **67** (gen.?), *acre* MF/Etr **279**. – G. Giacomelli (1963:172) hesitatingly classed this name as a praenomen, in which case it is probably connected with Etruscan *Acri* (*acri* Pe 1.871 (perhaps a gentilicium?), *acriś* Pe 1.86, Pe 1.928, *acrial* 1.1242): such a praenomen must have formed the base of the Latin patronymic gentilicium *Acrius*. Hirata (1967:32) classed it as a gentilicium: see §7.8.1.*6*.

3. ***Aemus.*** m. *eiṃoi* MLF **293** (gen. or dat.).

4. ***Aemius.*** m. *aiṃiosio* EF **467*** (gen.). *Pace* G. Giacomelli (1963:173) and Hirata (1967:33) this is a praenomen rather than a gentilicium.

The abbreviation *ạ[i?]m̩* MF **89** (either a praenomen or a patronymic adjective) can represent either *Aemus* or *Aemius*.
The praenomen itself is not attested for any other language of ancient Italy except Venetic *·‹a›·i·mo·i·* Le 26, although *Aemius* must have formed the basis of the old Latin patronymic gentilicium *Aemilius*, and an abbreviated gentilicium *aḿ* is attested for Samnitic in *m · t · g · aím · ḥ[n]* tSa 15. The origin of the praenomen is unclear: G. Giacomelli (1963:173) and Hirata (1967:33) suggested that it may have been Etruscan.[120]

5. ***Aim.*** abbr., see *Aemus*.

6. **? *Am-*** or ***Amm-.*** *ame* **280**, **282** (without context). Hirata (1967:34) classed the name as a praenomen, pointing to the Latin (patronymic) gentilicium *Ammius*. G. Giacomelli (1963:173) regarded it as a gentilicium: see §7.8.1.*12*.

7. **? *Ancus.*** m. very dubiously in *[---?] anco ma* LF **232**. According to Salomies (1987:20-1, in Latin the praenomen occurs only in the names of Ancus Martius and of an Ancus Publicius from the time of Tullus Hostilius (Dion. 3.43.3). As there are no attestations at all for Etruscan or the Sabellic languages, this makes it even more unlikely that it should occur here. Its origin is either Etruscan or Sabine: note also the Sabellic (?) form Ἄ(μ)πυς appearing (together with Ταρπίνιος) in the list of kings in Cod. Vat. 1307 (Conway 1897:48).

8. ***Ar.*** abbr., see *Arruns*.

9. ***Arruns.*** m. *ar]uto* MF **169** (gen.), *aruz* MF **257**, *aruto* MF **257** (gen.), *aronto* MF **265** (gen.), *aruto* MF **266** (gen.), *arθ[3-5]rẹ* MF/Etr **267**, *arute* MF **269** (acc. used as nom.?). Cf. also Etruscan *arnθial uṛ[4-5?]* Etr **XXVII**. The abbreviation ***Ar.*** that may perhaps be read in MF **140**, **168** probably represents this praenomen. Derived from this praenomen are the Faliscan gentilicia *Arruntulus* and *Arruntielius* (see §7.8.1.*20-21*). The curious nominative *arute* MF **269** has been regarded as showing epenthetic [-e] added to an unusual word-final consonant or cluster and as an accusative *arute(m)* used as a nominative: see §9.2.2.*4*. – An almost emblematically Etruscan praenomen attested from all over the Etruscan area (numerous attestations in *ET*). In Latin literary sources it is always the name of Etruscans: in Latin epigraphic sources, it appears outside Etruria only in *] ar uesc[---] CIL* III.10444 from Aquincum. The name is also attested for Oscan, as *arút* Po 47. Apart from these attestations, it formed the base of the patronymic gentilicium *Arruntius* that occurs both in Latin (e.g. *[arr]untia[e] · c · l · erotidi CIL* XI.3189 from Vignanello) and in Oscan (*arruntiis* Po 58, αρροντιες tLu 1).

[120] The only Etruscan counterpart referred to by G. Giacomelli (1963:173) and Hirata (1967:33), however, the gentilicium *Eimi*, does not occur in the indices to *ET*.

10. ***At.*** abbr. m. *at* Cap **391** [without context also in LtF/Lt **294**]. Perhaps *Atta, Attus* or *Attius* (Stolte 1928:301), for which see Salomies 1987:21. This name is often taken together with *Appa, Appius*: this name is read by G. Giacomelli (1963:176) and Hirata (1967:36) in the contextless *apa* Cap **457**.

11. ***Au.*** abbr., see *Aufilus/Oufilus* and *Aulus.*

12. ***Aufilus/Oufilus.*** m. *oufilo* MF **470***, *aufilo* MLF **348**, perhaps also *ohi*[..]* LtFLat **300**? Derived from this is the gentilicium *Aufilius/Oufilius* (see §7.8.1.*25*). Abbreviations: *(1)* ***Au.***, see under *Aulus*; *(2)* ***A.***, see under *Aulus*; *(3)* ***O.***, dubious reading in MF **13**. – A corresponding praenomen occurs in Etruscan as *Aufle* (4 attestations in *ET*) and *Afle* (6 attestations in *ET*) from Perusia: Rix (1965:66) suspected that *Aufle* in fact rendered the Faliscan name. Latin had an (unrelated?) name *Ofillus* or *Ofellus* (Salomies 1987:91), as well as patronymic gentilicia *Aufilius/Aufillius* and *Ofilius/Ofillius*, see §7.8.1.*25*. There are no correspondents or derivations in the Sabellic languages, except perhaps the Umbrian gentilicium *ufeŕie[r]* Um 8, which would correspond to **Ofidius*. Salomies (1987:91) also points to Oscan *úpfals* Cp 2, *upfals* Cp 3 etc., which occurs once as *úfff[alleís]* Fr 1, but this name appears to be unrelated.

13. ***Aulus.*** m. The praenomen is found in the area in full only in Etruscan *auvilesi* Etr **VIII**: note also *a]ụvileś feluskeś* Vn 1.1 from Vetulonia, which according to Poccetti (1997) may be 'Aulus the Faliscan'. Possible abbreviations are *(1)* ***Au.*** Cap **459**; *(2)* ***A.*** MLF **206**, LF **234**, **242**, Lat **174**?, **325**, Cap **389**: both abbreviations could also stand for *Aufilus*. – This praenomen appears to be limited to the inscriptions from the period after *c.*240 (see §7.10.5), implying that its occurrence in the area was due to Latin influence, even though it is of Etruscan origin. It was not very frequent in Etruscan (*ET* gives slightly over 40 instances, and *c.*30 instances of the abbreviation *av*) or in Latin: according to Salomies 1987:24-5, *c.*3-4% of Roman men were called *Aulus* at any given time, with a maximum of *c.*6% (*c.*10% in Etruria). It may be attested for Oscan in the abbreviation *avl* Sa 28.

14. ***C.*** abbr., see *Gaius* and *Gauius.*

15. ***Ca.*** abbr., see *Gaius* and *Gauius.*

16. ***Cau.*** abbr., see *Gauius.*

17. ***Caelius.*** m. *celio* LF **332**; *cailio* **358**; perhaps also unclear *ce[---]* LtF **231**? Abbreviations of this name may be *(1)* ***Ce.*** m. LF **213**, **226**, **235**, LtF **171** [and without context in MF? **30**, MF? **68**, MLF **320**, **321**], although this could also be an abbreviation of *Caesius*; *(2)* ***Cl.*** in *cl · anu* Cap **397**. *Caelius* occurs also as a gentilicium (see §7.8.1.*31*). – Both the praenomen and the gentilicium are (patronymic) derivations of the Etruscan praenomen *Caele* (*caile* Vc 7.24, Vs S.4,

kailes Cs 2.3). Latin had only the gentilicium: the praenomen occurs only (in its Etruscan form) in the story of Caele Vibenna (Varro *L* 5.8). The praenomen is attested for Oscan in the abbreviation *kaíl* Fr 1.[121]

18. ***Caesius*** and ***Caesula.*** m. *kaisiosio* EF **7** (gen.); *caisioi* MF **20** (gen.), *ḳai[s]i[o* MF **51**, *cesi* MF **94** (gen.), *cais[io]* MF **153**, *cẹsi* MF **263**? (gen.?), *ceisio* MF **276**; *caisio* MLF **351**; *cesio* LF **331**; perhaps also fragm. *ce[---]* LtF **231**?; f. *c[ai]sia* MF **41**. Either m. or f. is *cẹiṣ[i.]* MF **140**. Indirectly attested in the patronymic adjective or gentilicium *cesilia* MLF **211**. Abbreviations of this name may be *(1)* ***Ce.*** masc. LF **213**, **226**, **235**, LtF **171** [and without context in MF **30**, MF? **68**, MLF **320**, **321**], although this may also be an abbreviation of *Caelius*; *(2)* [***Cs.*** without context in MF? **204**, an abbreviation that may expressly have been chosen to avoid confusion with *Caelius*]; *(3)* ***K.*** occurring in Lat **218**, Cap **388**, **390**, **404**. This is of course the abbreviation of the Latin praenomen *Kaeso*, but it may well have been used for the Faliscan name that came closest.[122] – The name is probably originally a patronymic adjective of a **Caesus* that also seems to underly the (diminutive) praenomen *cesula* LF **229** (cf. also Kajava 1995:36). Etruscan, too, had a praenomen *Caisie* (*kaisie* Cr 3.14, *kaisiès* Vs 2.1; Latin had *Kaeso*, which may have had a different origin (Salomies 1987:26-7), although *Caesia* occurs as a women's praenomen in *ceisia · loucilia CIL* I^2.559 from Praeneste (but cf. Kajava 1995:36) and the existence of *Caesius* is indirectly attested by the Latin patronymic gentilicium *Caesilius*. Similar gentilicia are attested for Paelignian (*caisies* Pg 27) and Oscan (*kaísillieís* Cp 25, *caisidis* Lu 51). The unrhotacised *s* is either a case of a name preserving an archaic form or a simplification of /ss/.

19. ***Ce.*** abbr., see *Caelius* and *Caesius*.

20. ***? Cincus.*** m. perhaps *cicoi* in *[---]o cicio · cicoi : cupat : ifra* MF **40**. G. Giacomelli (1963:88, 184-5) regarded *cicoi* as an Etruscan feminine gentilicium = *Cicui* (cf. Etruscan *cencui* Cr 1.724, 1.1491). I would prefer to regard the form as a genitive in *-oi* (see §4.4.4) of a father's praenomen that would apparently be **Cincus*, related to the gentilicium *Cincius* that is attested for Faliscan in *cincia* MF **135**. Not also the Etruscan gentilicium *cẹncu* Etr **XXI**: see §7.8.1.*38*.

21. ***Cl.*** abbr., *cl · anu* Cap **397**. *Cl.* may stand for *Caelius*, like *Cs.* stood for *Caesius*. G. Giacomelli (1963:185) and Hirata (1967:45) read the text as a gentilicium *clanu*.

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[121] Vetter (1953:301-2) read *[c]elio : cailio* in MF **90**, which forced him to render the praenomen as 'Gellius' rather than as 'Caelius'.

[122] As *Kaeso* was already becoming rare in Latin (Salomies 1987:26-7), the relatively frequent occurrence of *K.* in the area can be explained by assuming that either *Kaeso* was regarded (or used) as a Latin counterpart of *Caesius*, or that the abbreviation *K.* was used for *Caesius*.

22. ***Cs.*** abbr., see *Caesius*.

23. ***F.*** abbr. m. *f* MF **58**?, MLF **352**, Cap **392**. Already Garrucci (*SIL* 813) interpreted the *f* in Cap **392** as an abbreviation of *Fertor*, comparing the gentilicium *fertrio* in Cap **391** (§7.8.1.*60*). Salomies (1987:71) agrees with this, quoting also *f · grecia CIL* I^2.350 from Praeneste, and rejects the *F(austus)* originally proposed by Henzen (1864:146).[123] *Fertor* is only attested in the name of Fertor Resius, king of the Aequicoli: see Salomies 1987:102 and Ámpolo 1972.[124]

24. ***Gaius.*** m. *kaios* EF **4**. (I do not adopt Bormann's reading (*CIL* XI.3162*b*,5) *caio* in LF **332**.)

25. ***Gauius*** and ***Gauia.*** m. *cau‹i›o* MF **12**, *caui* MF **42** (gen.), *cauio* MF **49**, *caui[o]* MF **50**, *caui* MF **84** (gen.), *ca[u]io* MF **146**, *cau[i]* MF **146** (gen.), *cauio* MF **197**, *cauio* MF **207**, *cauio* MF **210**, *cauio* MF **272**, *cauio* MF **275**, *caui* MF **273** (gen.), *cauios* MF **471***, *cauio* MF **473***; *cauio* MLF **308**, *cauio* MLF **318**, *cauio* MLF **324**, *cauio* MLF **349**, *cauios* MLF **382**, *caui* MLF/Cap **474*** (gen.); *cauio* LF **336** (*falsum?*); f. *cauia* MF **42**, *cauia* MF **80**; *cauia* MLF **314**, *cauia* MLF **360**, *cau[ia* LF **222**, *cauia* LF **223**, *cauia* LF **242**, *cauia* LF **334**. Cf. Etruscan *cavies* Etr **XLV**. Abbreviations of these praenomina are: *(1)* ***Cau.*** m. or f. Cap **459** [and without context in LtF **277**, Cap **398**]; *(2)* ***Ca.*** m. MF **15**, LF **224**, LF **225**, LtF **231**, fem. MF **14**, **81** (twice), LF **220**, **225**, Cap **458**, m. or f. MF? **38**, MF **57**? [and without context in MF? **133**, MLF **323**, Cap **405**, **406**, **407**, **408**.]; *(3)* ***C.*** m. MF **200**, MLF **211**, LF **213**, *c[* LtF **215**, **249** (twice), **340**, Lat **218**, **219**, **237**, **238**, **250**, **251**, **291**, Cap **387**, **393**, **395**, **456**, probably m. Cap **396**, **400**, **419**, **424**, **427**, **429**, m. or f. LtF **236**, LtF **172**, **173**.

For ease of discussion, I treat these praenomina together although I very much doubt that they were related, let alone identical. Authors who regard them as identical (e.g. G. Giacomelli 1963:182-3) usually assume that the name was originally /gāu̯̯io-/ (perhaps related to *gaudeo* ← PIE */ǵeh$_2$uid^h-/) and that this somehow lost its /u̯̯/, although there appears to be no regular development to which this loss can be ascribed. Salomies (1987:29) follows *LHS* I p.138) in assuming that /gāu̯̯io-/ or /gāu̯io-/ was a derivation of a */gāu̯o-/ (which in itself is perfectly feasible): this would then have become */gāo-/ by the same process by which *Gnaeuos* became *Gnaeus*, and this */gāo-/ was then reformed to /gāi̯̯io-/ → /gāi̯̯o-/ *Gaius* (apparently not to the rather more expected */gāi̯o-/, since this would have given **Gaeus*).

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[123] Salomies erroneously ascribes the interpretation *Fertor* to Vetter (1953:328) and the interpretation *Faustus* to Degrassi (*ILLRP* 1233).

[124] Just like the Faliscans (see §2.2.3), Fertor Resius is named as the source of the *ius fetiale* in *CIL* VI.1302, *Lib. Praen.* 1 (where this attribution is ascribed to Varro), and *Vir. Ill.* 5.4.

The evidence, however, does not support this theory, for whereas *Gnaeuos* was still used as an archaic form (attestations in Salomies 1987:29-30), there is no trace at all of either **Gauos* or **Gaos*, in spite of *Gaius* being by far the more frequently used praenomen;[125] furthermore, the attestation of Early Faliscan *kaios* EF 1 and the Etruscan derivations of *Gaius* (see below) would place this whole process before the sixth century, and therefore well before the loss of /u̯/ in *Gnaeuos*. However, whether etymologically related or not, the distribution of *Gauius* and *Gaius* in the agri Faliscus and Capenas indicates that they may well have been *regarded* as equivalents, as is discussed below.

The praenomen *Gaius* is in all probability of Latin origin, and its attestations are likewise almost exusively Latin, apart from one instance in Umbrian (*cais* Um 23) and one in Oscan (*cạis* Fr 10). Etruscan has a frequently attested gentilicium *Cae* or *Cai*, which is probably derived from the Latin praenomen (cf. Rix 1965:217). *Gauius* on the other hand is usually associated with the areas where Sabellic languages were spoken: it occurs in South Picene *kaúieis* AQ 3 and in Oscan *gavis* Hi 10, *ga[vis* Cm 14,3, *gaavị[eís]* Fr 1, [γ]αϝις Lu 45, [γ]αϝ[ις] Lu 63, (γ)αϝιμ Lu 47, γαϝιν Lu 46, Samnitic *[ga]avíeís* Sa 14 (for the abbreviated instances, see *ST*). There are also a number of instances from Etruscan, virtually all from Southern Etruria (*kạvị[e* Cr 2.56, *kavie* Cr 5.1, *cavies* Cr 2.74, *kaviiesi* AT 3.1 *kạv[ies* Vs 1.99, *kavies* Vs 1.159, *cavies* Fa 2.25=Etr **XLV**, *kavias* OA 2.11, *cavias* OA 2.52; from Northern Etruria are *cavial* Vt 1.124 and *caviaś* Fe 2.15). Yet the number of Faliscan instances of *Gauius* is in fact greater than that of the Sabellic and Etruscan instances put together: perhaps *Gauius* should be regarded as a common Central Italic, perhaps even Faliscan praenomen, rather than a Sabellic one. Although it is certainly not unique to the ager Faliscus in the way *Iuna* and *Volta* are, its frequency in the area allows it to be classed as a Faliscan praenomen and may have played a role in establishing ethnic or cultural identity.

This is made even more feasible by the distribution of *Gaius* and *Gauius*. *Gaius* is absent from the Middle and Late Faliscan onomasticon, while *Gauius* is the most frequently attested Middle and Late Faliscan praenomen: on the other hand, there is no trace of *Gauius* in the Latino-Faliscan and Latin inscriptions, where the abbreviation *C.* is the most frequently attested praenomen. This can be explained either by assuming that the abbreviation *C.* was used for *Gauius* as well as for *Gaius* (thus G. Giacomelli 1963:178), or, as I would prefer, by assuming that Latin *Gaius* and Faliscan *Gauius* were regarded as equivalents (whether this was etymologically justifiable or not is irrelevant). Someone called *Gauius* could then

[125] Salomies (1987:29) calculates that *c.*20% of Roman men were called *Gaius* at any given time, while describing *Gnaeus* as "In der republikanischen Zeit ebenso selten wie *Aulus*" (1987:30), i.e., *c.*3-4%, with a maximum of 6%.

just as easily give his name as *Gaius* and abbreviate this as *C.* when adapting to or adopting the framework of Latin: see §7.10.5. With the spread of Roman influence, this may ultimately have lead to the disappearance of *Gauius*.

26. ***Graecus*** m. *kreco : [---]* MF **147**. The name may have been a nickname, but the occurrence of *Graecus* and *Gr.* elsewhere (Latin *CIL* I^2.336, 3279) rather implies that it was an older existing praenomen, perhaps Etruscan (Salomies 1987:71-2). The Etruscan attestations of *Craic-/Creic-* (*ET* gives 29 attestations) are all of gentilicia, which in itself could be in an indication that the praenomen existed if these gentilicia were patronymic (note the patronymic gentilicium *creicnal* Ar 1.4). The name also occurs in Venetic (*gra·i·ko·i·* Le 77).

H- see also F-

27. ***? Her-.*** A very dubious attestation in *cęsit : fere* MF **263** (with hypercorrect *f*). G. Giacomelli (1963:192) and Hirata (1967:51) compared the Latin gentilicium *Herius* and various Etruscan gentilicia in *Fer-*; Salomies (1987:73) includes it in her discussion of the praenomina *Herius* and *Herennius*. The interpretation of the inscription is debated, note that *fere* does not occupy the position of a praenomen.

28. ***Iantus*** and ***Ianta.*** f. *ian[ta* MF **146**, *iata* MF **147**, *iata* MLF **362**. Abbr. ***Ia.*** m. MF **101**, LtF **301**, LtF **341**; f. MLF **302**. – The Faliscan instances are almost the only attestations of a very infrequently attested Etruscan praenomen: the only other attestations are Etruscan *iantia* Vn 2.7 and perhaps *ianzu* Vt 4.6, and possibly also the Umbrian abbreviation *ia* Um 8; it must also have formed the basis for the Latin patronymic gentilicium *Iantius*. Perhaps related, too, is Venetic *ia·n·t··s·* Le 124. G. Giacomelli (1963:195) noted that the form *Iantus/Ianta* is entirely based on Herbig's restoration (under *CIE* 8586) *ian[ta* in MF **146**, while the other attestations are without *n*: the omission of syllable-final *n* is so common in Faliscan, however, that this can hardly be an argument to doubt *Iant-* (§3.5.7*a*).

29. ***Iuna.*** m. *iuna* MF **39**, *iuna* MF **48**, *iuna* MF **73**, *iuna* MF **74**, *iuna* MF **96**, *iunai* LF **112** (gen.), *i[un]a* MF **148**, *iun[---]* MF **166**, *iuna* MF **198**; *iuna* MLF **297**, *iuna* MLF **298**, *iuna* MLF **307**, *iunlaị* MLF **315** (gen.), *[iu]na* MLF **363**; also *iunai* MLF/Cap **475*** (gen.). Indirectly attested in the patronymic adjective: *ịuneo* MF **151**, *iuneo* LF **220**, perhaps also *iu?]nẹo* MF **141**. Abbr. ***Iu.*** MF **19**, **157**; ***Iun.*** MF? **203**, LF? **381**. Derived from this is the patronymic gentilicium *Iunius* that occurs once in the ager Capenas (see §7.8.1.*76*). – The name is exclusively Faliscan, and has no counterparts in Latin, Etruscan or Sabellic, although the Latin gentilicium *Iunius* could point to an existence in Latin as well (unless it is presupposed that the gens Iunia originated from the ager Faliscus.[126] *Iunius* was derived

[126] *CIL* I^2.559 from Praeneste is sometimes quoted as an instance of *Iunius* used as a praenomen, but the reading is *t · iunio · setio* rather than *iunio · setio*: see Wachter 1987:117.

by H. Petersen (1962:352) from the name of the month, originally meaning 'born in June', and Salomies (1987:114) assumed the same for *Iuna*, but in that case the derivation is awkward. It remains in any case unexplained why *Iuna* and the other uniquely Faliscan praenomen, *Volta*, were masculine names of the first declension, a category absent from the Latin or Sabellic onomasticon.

Since the name is uniquely Faliscan and occurs with relatively great frequency (15 instances, which makes it the second most frequently attested praenomen), it may well have been a carrier of Faliscan ethnic identity (see §7.10.5), which would render its disappearance after the Middle Faliscan period all the more significant: in the Late Faliscan inscriptions, there is only one instance of the patronym *iuneo* in LF **220**, and the name is entirely absent from the Latino-Faliscan and Latin inscriptions. If the name did play a role in the ethnic identity of the ager Faliscus, it may well have been regarded as connected with the name of Juno, the central deity of the area (see §2.3.4), even though it is unlikely to have been derived from it.

30. ***K.*** abbr., see under *Caesius*.

31. ***La.*** abbr. m. *la* MF **93**, LtF **214** (twice) [and without context in MF **373-375,** MLF **286,** MF/LtF **252**, LtF **278**]. It may be an abbreviation of either *Laris* or *Lars* (see below): in MF **373-375** it is perhaps rather *Laris*, as these inscriptions were found together with *larise uicina* MF **371** and *larise* | *uicina* MF **372**, although *Lars* was far more frequently used praenomen at least in Etruscan.

32. [**?** ***Laeuius.*** *leuia* LtF **327** (probably rather a gentilicium, see §7.8.1.*81*). – The name also occurs as a gentilicium, see §7.8.1.*81*.]

33. ***Laeuilius.*** m. *leiuelio* MF **79**, *[leu]elio* MF **90**, *[leu]elio* MF **159**. The name occurs also as a gentilicium (see §7.8.1.*82*). – *Laeuilius* is a patronymic derivation from *Laeuius*. The spelling *ei/e* represents /ę̄/ ← /aį̂/ (G. Giacomelli 1963:199, Hirata 1967:57) rather than the /ē/ required by the connection with *Liuius* suggested by Deecke (1888:129): note the Etruscan praenomen *laives* AV 2.1 and the patronymic gentilicium *laivenąl* Ru 3.1, *laiven[as]* Vs 1.58. A praenomen *Laeuus* occurs once in Latin, a *Laeuus Cispius* from Anagni at the time of king Tullus (Fest. 476.11-2L): Latin also had a gentilicium *Laeuius*. The name is derived from the adjective *laeuus*, like *Scaeua* from *scaeuus*: both had the meaning 'well-omened' in the official sacral language: "laeua prospera existimantur, quoniam laeua parte mundi ortus est" (Plin. *NH* 2.142), "*scaeua*, id est sinistra, quod quae sinistra sunt, bona auspicia existimantur" (Var. *L.* 7.97). There are no attestations of related names from the Sabellic languages, except perhaps for the abbreviated gentilicium *laí* Sa 5.

34. ***Laris.*** m. *larise* MF **270**, *laris* MLF/Etr **290**, *larise* MF **371**, *larise* MF **372**; Etruscan *larisa* Etr **XXXII**, perhaps also *lar*s* Etr **XIX**. – An Etruscan praenomen that is frequently attested from various locations (see *ET*). Absent from the Sabellic languages (except perhaps for the abbreviation *la* Um 27), and attested in Latin only indirectly in the patronymic gentilicium *Larisius*. The *-e* in several of the Faliscan forms (see also under *Arruns*), may be an epenthetic [-e] added after an /s#/ that was realized in more strongly than the weak Faliscan /s#/ (cf. §3.5.7*d*), perhaps reflecting an Etruscan pronunciation (§9.2.2.*1,4*).

35. ***Lars.*** m. *lartos* EF **6** (gen.). Indirectly attested in the patronym *lartio* MF **265**. Derived from this is the patronymic gentilicium *Lartius* (see §7.8.1.*78*). [Also *larθ* Etr **XXXIV**, **XXXV**, **XXXIX**, also *lazi* Etr **XI-XV**, and *lazia* Etr **XVII**.] – An emblematically Etruscan praenomen (for the numerous attestations, see *ET*). In view of its frequency in Etruscan and its occurrence in the Etruscan inscriptions from the ager Faliscus and Capenas, the number of Faliscan attestations is surprisingly low. The Latin attestations are limited to inscriptions from Etruria and the name of the consul, Lars Herminius (Salomies 1987:32), although Latin had the gentilicium *Lartius*. The praenomen is not attested for the Sabellic languages, except perhaps for the Umbrian abbreviation *la* Um 27.

36. ***Lucius*** and ***Lucia.*** m. *l[oc]ies* MF **12**?, *louci* MF **41** (gen.); f. *locia* MLF **293**. Abbreviations of this praenomen are probably *(1)* ***Lo.*** m. MF? **33** (In *ti [·] tiria lo[?---]ll[e]a : cs : f* MF **155** and *[---]*i : u[o]ltiai lo* MF **165**, *lo* in is interpreted rather as *loferta* = *liberta*); *(2)* ***L.*** m. LF **230**, Lat **218**, **251** (four times), **477***, Cap **428**, **432**, f. Cap **436**. – Apparently a Latin praenomen that was frequently used in Latin[127] and occurs also in the Sabelllic languages (Praesamnitic *luvcies* Ps 13, Umbrian *vuvçis TI* Ib.45, IIa.44, and *vuvçiia* TI IIb.26, and Oscan *lúvkis* Cp 36 etc. (12 instances in *ST*); *ST* furthermore gives over 50 instances of the abbreviation *l* in Marrucinian, Vestinian, Paelignian and Oscan). Borrowed into South Etruscan inscriptions as *Luvce* and *Luvcie* (*luvçe* AT 5.2, *luvce* Vs 1.282, *luvces* Ta 1.220, *luvciies* Ta 7.31, *luvcies* Cr 2.139, Vc 6.12; f. *luvci* AT 1.102, *luvci* AH 2.3, *luvcia* Ta 1.149, *luvcial* Ta 1.75). In the ager Faliscus it is not very frequent, and it appears to be associated predominantly with the Late Faliscan and Latin inscriptions (see §7.10.5).

37. ***M.*** abbr., see *Marcus* and *Marcius*.

38. ***Ma.*** abbr., see *Marcus* and *Marcius*.

39. **? *Maesus*** or ***Maesius***, see below under ***Messus*** or ***Messius***.

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[127] According to the calculations by Salomies (1987:34), *c.*20% of Roman men were called *Lucius* at any given time.

40. ***Mar.*** abbr., see *Marcus* and *Marcius*.

41. ***Marcus.*** m. *[ma]rco* MF **80**. Indirectly attested in the patronymic adjective *marcio* MF **80**; *marcia* LF **227** (perhaps a gentilicium?), *ṃarcio* LF **228**.

42. ***Marcius.*** m. *marci* LF **221** (gen.), *maci* LF **222** (gen.), *marcio* LF **223**. (These instances all refer to the same person, the son of a freedwoman: the praenomen may simply be the patronymic adjective derived from his father's name.)
Either ***Marcus*** or ***Marcius*** (probably the former): *marci* MF **472*** (gen.). Abbreviations of these praenomina are: *(1)* ***Mar.*** in MF **87**, Cap **421**; *(2)* ***Ma.*** LF **226** (probably *Marcius*), **242**, LtF **232**, **301**; ***M.*** in MLF **346**, **355**?, LF **213**, **378**, LtF **231**, **233** (twice), LtF **239**, **325** (twice), Lat **237**, **238**, Cap **420**, **435**, **456** (twice). The abbreviations might conceivably belong to other praenomina.
A Latin praenomen, probably connected with the theonym *Mars* (thus *Lib. Praen.* 5, cf. *Mamarcus* : *Mamars*). It is well-attested in Etruscan inscriptions: *ET* gives over 30 instances, nearly 20 of which from southern locations, especially Caere. It is not attested from the Sabellic languages, although it is unclear what praenomen is abbreviated by the abbreviations *M.* and *Ma.* that occur in Umbrian, Volscian, Paelignian and Oscan texts (see *ST*: Oscan *Mar.* probably stands for *Maras*, but might also conceivably stand for *Marcus*). In the ager Faliscus, the instances of *Marcus* are almost all from the Late Faliscan, Latino-Faliscan and Latin inscriptions, which might imply that its use was due to Latin influence: see §7.10.5.

43. **? *Messus*** or ***Messius*** m. *mesio* in *iuna lẹ[---]* | *mesio* MF **148**. I think it very unlikely that *mesio* is a cognomen, as G. Giacomelli (1963:205) and Hirata (1967:61) suggested (see §7.9): it is probably a second name. The absence of rhotacism suggestes that the *s* represents /ss/, in which case *Messius* is an obvious candidate: this could either be a praenomen *Messius* or a patronymic adjective from a praenomen **Messus* (cf. Salomies 1987:127), or a gentilicium *Messius* as in *CIL* XI.3782 from Veii. Alternatively, *mesio* could be a patronymic adjective derived from a praenomen **Maesus*, cf. the (patronymic?) gentilicium *Maesius*, occurring both in Latin and in Oscan (*μαισιμ* Lu 47).

44. ***Minor.*** f. *mino* LtF **173** (uncertain). Kajava (1995:48) cites 8-9 instances of this praenomen, all from Praeneste, critically discussing (1995:118-124), but not rejecting, the traditional view that praenomina like *Minor* and *Paula* were used to distinguish between sisters. Such a usage would be necessary if women did not have 'real' praenomina: the fact that the name occurs here in a Latino-Faliscan inscription may reflect a Latin custom rather than a Faliscan one, connected with the disappearance of women's praenomina in Latium, which appears to have been less pronounced in Faliscan.

45. ***Nu.*** abbr. m. *nu* MF? **202**, MLF **309**. The instances are both doubtful: if they are indeed abbreviated praenomina, *Numerius* or a related name is the obvious candi-

date. This praenomen occurs in Latin as *Numerius*, and with some frequency in the Sabellic languages, both as *Num(e)sis* (e.g. Umbrian *numesier* Um 38, Oscan *ṇiụṃsis* Cm 14,2, *[n]iumsis* Cm 6, *niumsieís* Cm 6, *νομψμ* Lu 46) and as *Nom(e)sis* (e.g. *νομψις* Lu 47, *νοψμ* Lu 46). Etruscan has both the praenomen *Numesie* (*numes* Cm 2.48 (abbreviated?), *numisiies* Cm 2.8, *numesiesi* Ta 3.1, *numesia* Vs 1.268, *numusîeś* Ar 1.13), and the gentilicia *Numsie* and *Numsina*: the latter is also attested for the ager Faliscus (*nomesina* MF **272**): see §7.8.1.*107*. Cf. also the theonym *Mars Numesius* in LtF **377** from Ponzano Romano and Cap **421** from Capena. The origin of the name is debated, and may be either Italic or Etruscan (see Salomies 1987:39), probably rather the former (De Simone 2006:170-3).

46. ***O.*** abbr. m. in *o hạθi* MF **13**? Doubtful. See *Aufilus/Ofilus*.

47. ***Oct-.*** m. A dubious attestation in *oct*i[....] uoltilio* MLF **353**, where *oct* is probably a numeral praenomen like *Octauus*,[128] in Latin one of the rarer numeral praenomina. In Oscan, only *Ohtavis* is found as a praenomen (*οταϝις* Lu 63), a (patronymic) derivation of an unattested **Ohtaus*. The existence of this **Ohtaus* is implied also by Etruscan *Uhtave* (usually used as a gentilicium, but apparently as a praenomen in *uhtaves* Pe 1.817, *ụhtaves* Pe 1.1267), where the *h* clearly points to a Sabellic origin.

48. ***Paquius*** m. *pa‹qu›is* in *paụqis blaisiís* Sab **468***. This praenomen is in all probability the one represented by the abbreviation ***Pa.*** in Cap **390**. A Sabellic praenomen attested for Oscan in *πακϝης* Lu 40 (and *pakkuiis* Si 19?), and in abbreviated form in Marrucinian *paq* MV 8, *pa* MV 9: the Sabellic languages also had several closely related praenomina (Oscan *pạakiu* Po 87, *πακτης* Lu 23, *paakul* Cm 7) and gentilicia (Paelignian *pacia* Pg 4, Oscan *πακιδιες* Lu 63, *πακτης* Lu 23, *pakulliis* Cm 14,5). The praenomen occurs in Latin inscriptions virtually only in Central and Southern Italy (attestations in Salomies 1987:84), and it appears to be unattested for Etruscan. Both Faliscan attestations are from inscriptions that show Sabellic epigraphic and onomastic features.

49. ***Paula.*** f. *pola* LF **227**, *po[l]ae* Lat **251**. Kajava (1995:50-59) quotes numerous instances of *Paula/Paulla* and *Pola/Polla* as a woman's praenomen, and critically discusses (1995:118-124) the traditional view that praenomina like *Minor* (above) and *Paula* were used to distinguish between sisters. As in the case of *Minor*, the attestations of *Paula* are from the Late Faliscan and Latino-Faliscan inscriptions, perhaps implying that these praenomina were due to Latin influence, where such praenomina became increasingly necessary as the custom of giving women 'real' praenomina diminished. The name is spelled tith *o* so soften that the form

[128] Herbig (*CIE* 8204) in fact read the Faliscan attestation as *oçṭọ*, referring to Schulze's remarks (1904:21) on *Octo*, where the latter discussed Celtic origins of Latin gentilicia.

Pola/Polla may well have led a live independent from the adjective *paula/paulla* (cf. §3.7.4).

50. **? *Petro.*** m. A very dubious attestation in *petr]ono* MF **102** (gen.). A Sabellic numeral praenomen ('nordoskisch' according to Salomies 1987:85-6), attested in South Picene *petroh* TE.1 and in a number of Latin inscriptions from Central Italy (see Salomies 1987:86). It also formed the base of the gentilicium *Petronius* attested for South Picene (*pet{i}eronis* AP.5), Marrucinian (*petroni* MV 3), Paelignian (*ptruna* Pg 52), and Latin, which occurs also in the ager Faliscus (see §7.8.1.*119*). Etruscan has well-attested gentilicia *Petru* (more than 120 attestations) and *Petruna*, *Petruni* (more than 40 attestations).

51. ***Publius*** and ***Publia.*** m. *popli[o]* MLF **316**, perhaps *popl[---]* MLF **317**; f. *poplia* MF **18**, *poplia* MF **48**, *poplia* MF **50**, *poplia* MF **136**, *[p]oplią* MF **160**, *poplia* MF **265**, *poplia* MF **271**, *poplia* MLF **303**, *popliai* MLF **308** (gen.), *poplia* LF **332**. Abbreviations *(1)* ***Pop.*** f. in LF **226**; *(2)* ***P.*** LF **337**?, Lat **250**, Cap **409**, **462** (although this might conceivably stand for a name other than *Publius*, this is unlikely in the case of the Latin and Capenate attestations). Surprisingly, in the Faliscan inscriptions this praenomen appears to have been used almost exclusively for women, while its use for men appears to be associated with the Latin and Capenate inscriptions. – The praenomen is either of Latin or of Etruscan origin, perhaps rather the latter, although the Etruscan instances of the praenomen are few (*puplies* Vs 1.29, *pupli* Cl 1.2079, 1.2080, 1.2344, *pupli{na}* Cl 1.2109, perhaps also *pup[liś]* Cl 1.2179). In Latin, the praenomen was fairly well attested, although not particularly frequent.[129] There are no attestations for the Sabellic languages, although these may be hidden in abbreviations such as *po* and *p* (see *ST* for instances of these abbreviations).

52. **? *Pumponius*** or ***Puponius.*** m. *puponio* in *puponio · firmio* MF **54**. G. Giacomelli (1963:214) and Hirata (1967:70) regarded the name as a gentilicium, but it is apparently used as a praenomen here. It could conceivably be a patronymic praenomen derived from the Sabellic praenomen *Pompo* (South Picene *pomp[úne]í* AQ.2, Oscan *pu(m)puf* Cp 42), but *u* seems to point rather to an Etruscan origin, e.g. the gentilicia *Pumpu/Pupu* and *Pumpuni/Pupuni* (for attestations, see *ET*). Latin had the gentilicia *Pomponius* as well as *Puponius.*

53. ***Pupia.*** f. *pupiias* MLF **304** (gen.). The name occurs in isolation and can be either a praenomen or a gentilicium: a related praenomen *Pupus* occurs in Latin inscriptions from Northern Italy (see Salomies 1987:129, Kajava 1995:64), and there are several related Etruscan and Latin gentilicia (see §7.8.1.*123, 124, 128, 129*).

[129] Salomies (1987:46) calculates the total of Roman men called *Publius* at 10%.

54. ***Q.*** abbr., see under *Quinctus*.

55. ***? Qua.*** abbr. *[---]*[5-7]: cua* MF **129**? If this is a praenomen at all, it looks like a numeral praenomen such as *Quartus*. This makes the interpretation even more doubtful, as the numerals 1-4 do not seem to have been used as praenomina during this period in Latin except in Northern Italy: see H. Petersen (1962:348-50) and Salomies (1987:111-2, 118).

56. ***Quinctus.*** m. *cuicto* MLF **310**. Abbr. ***Q.*** LtF **231**. A Latin numeral praenomen, not attested in Etruscan (except in the gentilicium *Cvinte*, rendering a Latin name) or the Sabellic languages, although the corresponding Sabellic form *Pompt-* occurs as a (patronymic?) gentilicium in Paelignian (*ponties* Pg 5) and in Oscan (*πομπτιες* Me 1 etc., *púntiis* Po 1 etc.). The fact that *Quinctus* occurs only in Latin and Faliscan may be connected to the fact that these praenomina had a lexical meaning: cf. the case of *Sextus* (see below).

57. ***Saluia.*** f. *sal* **|** *plaria · t · l* in Torelli's reading (1974:741-6) of Cap **431**. *Saluius* is well-attested praenomen of Sabellic origin, occurring throughout Central Italy: see Salomies 1987:88-90. The female *Saluia* was popular as a slave-name (Solin 1996:9-10, Kajava 1995:69 n.88), as it is here.

58. ***Scaeua.*** f. *sceṇa* MLF **312**, *sceiuai* LF **379**. I regard this name as a female praenomen (cf. Solin 1996:57), not as a cognomen, as has been suggested (e.g. Torelli 1967:536-7): there are no attestations in the Faliscan inscriptions of COGNOMEN alone, nor of women having cognomina (cf. §7.9). Furthermore, the name is a name of good omen, derived from the adjective *scaeuus* ("*scaeua*, id est sinistra, quod quae sinistra sunt, bona auspicia existimantur", Var. *L.* 7.97), just as *Laeuus/Laeuius/Laeuilius* is derived from *laeuus* (see under *Laeuilius*). Latin had gentilicia such as *Scaeuius* etc. (Schulze 1904:226-7), while Etruscan had a probably borrowed name *sceua* Cl 1.1243, 2028, *sceuaσ a* Cl 1.1045 (cf. also the gentilicium *Sceva/Scevia* (9 attestations, mainly from Clusium).[130] For the forms with *-f-*, Etruscan *scefi* Pe 1.630, *scef[i* Pe 1.1211, *scefia* Pe 1.201, and the Paeliginian gentilicium *scaifia* Pg 14, see §3.2.8.

59. ***Sen.*** abbr. in *m · t · u · genucilio · sen · l* Cap **435**. Moretti (1975:133-4) suggested that it could be the abbreviation of a cognomen, but I doubt whether this is likely at this date: it is perhaps an unidentified praenomen, cf. the abbreviated Samnitic praenomen *sn* tSa 21, tSa 32.

60. ***Seruius.*** m. *serui* MF **34-36** (gen. or abbr. nom.). It is impossible to ascertain whether *serui* is the praenomen or the gentilicium *Seruius*: both PRAENOMEN and

[130] The Latin gentilicium and the occurrence of the name in Etruscan make it even less likely that *Scaeua* was a cognomen.

GENTILICIUM are possible in Faliscan *Besitzerinschriften* (§7.3). – The origin of the praenomen is either Latin or Etruscan: Salomies (1987:47-9) decides for the latter, in spite of the fact that the praenomen is not attested for Etruscan (but cf. the gentilicium *σ'ervei* Pe 1.1191, *σ'ervi* Pe 1.1190). The praenomen was not very frequent in Latin either. The name is probably not connected to the noun *seruus* (which has been thought to be of Etruscan origin, cf. Bréyer 1993:383-5).

61. ***Sex.*** abbr., see *Sextus*.

62. ***Sextus.*** m. *z[e]xtos* EF 1; *sesto* LF **329**, *zextoi* LF **330** (gen.). Abbreviation: ***Sex.*** in *se]x* LtF **328**, *s[ex* Lat **291**, *sex* Cap. **399**, **430**. – A Latin numeral praenomen, not attested for Etruscan (except for the indirect attestation in the gentilicium *σ'ekstaluś* Sp 2.71) or the Sabellic languages, although, in view of the occurrence of other Sabellic numeral praenomina, it may well have existed also in the Sabellic languages (cf. the Oscan gentilicium *sehsímbṛiịṣ* Po 36, derived from the name of the sixth month, which according to H. Petersen (1962) is also the original meaning of the name *Sextus*). Apart from the Early Faliscan instance of *z[e]xtos* EF 1, this praenomen occurs only in the Late Faliscan, Latino-Faliscan, and Latin texts, which could imply that its popularity was due to Latin influence: see §7.10.5.

63. ***St.*** abbr., see *Statius*.

64. ***Sta.*** abbr., see *Statius*.

65. ***Stat.*** abbr., see *Statius*.

66. ***Statius.*** m. *statio* MLF **376**. Abbreviations that probably represent this praenomen are: *(1)* ***Stat.*** MF? **29**? (the text is *statuo*, probably to be read as *stat uo*); *(2)* ***Sta.*** f. (?) Cap **466** [without context in MF? **28**, *sta[* MF? **128**]; *(3)* ***St.*** m. LtF **327**, Cap **394**. – An Italic praenomen that occurs with some frequency in Latin (attestations in Salomies 1987:90-1), but is primarily known from Oscan (Samnitic *statis* Sa 36 etc.: *ST* lists 14 attestations, not counting abbreviations or the use of the name as a gentilicium). There are no Etruscan attestations.

67. ***T.*** abbr., see under *Titus*.

68. ***Tana.*** f. *tana* MLF **338**. – An emblematical Etruscan female praenomen, occurring both as *Θana* (numerous instances, mainly from Tarquinii, Clusium, and Perusia: see *ET*) and *Tana* (only AH 1.67, Cl 1.725, Pe 1.71, 1.135). Not attested for Latin or the Sabellic languages.

69. ***Tania.*** f. *θania* MF **81**. – Like *tana*, a frequently attested Etruscan female praenomen (*ET* lists 170 instances), attested for Latin in *tania · papric[i] / c · f* *CIL* XI.2977 from Tuscania.

70. ***Tanaquil.*** f. *θanacuil* MF **49**, *tanacu[il]* MF **101**, *tan‹a›cuil* MLF **347**. – A typical Etruscan female praenomen, derived from the theonym *Θana*, occurring as *Θan-* (*θancvil* Vs 1.287, Po 4.4, *θancvilus* OA 2.63), *Θana-* (*θanaχvil* Ta 7.3, *θan]aχvil* Vs 1.190, *θana]cviḷ[us* Ta 2.1, *θanakviluš* Cr 2.42), and *Θane-* (*θaneχvil* Ta 7.31, *θanecvilus* AV 2.11). Not attested from Latin or the Sabellic languages: note that it is apparently a nominal compound *Θana+cvil*, a type of praenomen that is apparently absent from the Italic onomasticon.

71. ***Te.*** abbr., see *Tettius*.

72. ***Tettius.*** m. *teti* MF **13**. The abbreviation ***Te.*** in LF **229** probably belongs to this name. The name occurs also as a gentilicium *Tettius* (see §7.8.1.*153*). – Salomies (1987:93) points to the abbreviated praenomen *tet* in *CIL* X.6098 from Urbino: there also appears to be an attestation in South Picene *tetis* TE.2. The name occurs only as gentilicium in Latin, Paelignian, and Etruscan: see §7.8.1.*152*.

73. ***Ti.*** abbr. *ṭi* in *ṭi [·] ṭiria* MF **155**. Perhaps *Titia*? G. Giacomelli (1963:223) and Hirata (1967:79) suggested *Tiberius*, based on the Roman convention *T.* = *Titus* and *Ti.* = *Tiberius*, but there is no indication that the Faliscan abbreviations were distributed in this way: furthermore, there are no cases of a *Tiberia* even in Latin.

74. ***Tirrus.*** m. *tiroi* MF **69-71** (gen.). Derived from this is the gentilicium *Tirrius* (see §7.8.1.*155*). – The name is not attested in Etruscan or the Sabellic languages, and occurs in Latin only in *tirri · craisli · tir · f CIL* XIV.3110 from Praeneste, where it is unclear whether the name is *Tirrus* or *Tirrius*.

75. ***Titus*** and ***Titia.*** m. *tito* MLF **305**, *titoi* MLF **305** (gen.), *tito* MLF **309**, *tito* MLF **315**, *tito* MLF **346**, *tito* MLF **350**, *tito* MLF **354**; *tito* LF **226**, *tito* LF **336**, *tito* **359**. (The instances do not include the theonym *Titus Mercus*, for which see §6.4) Indirectly attested in the patronymic adjective *titia* MLF **302**, *titio* MLF **307**, *titio* MLF **312**. The corresponding female praenomen appears to have been ***Titia*** rather than *Tita*, a patronymic praenomen derived from *Titus*: *titias* EF **3** (gen.), MF **201** (gen.). The abbrevation of this praenomen is in all probability ***T.*** masc. LtF **327**, Lat **216**, Cap **415**, **425**, **431**, **435**, **456**. – The origin of the name is debated: I follow Combet-Farnoux (1980:113-69) in assuming that it was originally an Italic adjective meaning 'propitious, well-omened', as in the Faliscan theonym *Titus Mercus* (cf. §6.4) and the *aues titiae* mentioned by Varro (*L.* 5.81). The praenomen is well-known from Latin, although not frequently used,[131] and occurs also in South Picene (*titúm* AP.1, *titúí* TE.5), in Umbrian (*titis TI* Ib.45), and in various Sabellic derivations (South Picene *titienom* TE.3, Paelignian *titis* Pg 15,

[131] Salomies (1987:57) calculates the percentage of Roman men called *Titus* at *c.*3-5%, far less than e.g. *Gaius* or *Lucius* (each *c.*20%).

Oscan *titieis* He 3 (and *titti* tPo 13?), τιτιδιες Lu 15, 27). Etruscan has a fairly well-attested praenomen *Tite* (the indices to *ET* list over 20 instances, beside a greater number where this name is used as a gentilicium).

76. ***Tr.*** abbr. *tr* Cap **461**. Probably *Trebius*.

77. ***Tullus*** and ***Tullia.*** m. *tulo* MF **151**, perhaps also *tulom* MF **72** (gen. pl.?). The corresponding female praenomen may have been *Tullia* rather than *Tulla*, a patronymic adjective derived from *Tullus*, occurring in *tulie* MLF **383** (although this may also be an instance of the gentilicium *Tullius*). Derived from this is the patronymic gentilicium *Tullius* (see §7.8.1.*156*). – Latin had both the praenomen and the gentilicium, the former occurring only in *tul · tullius · tul · f CIL* I^2.1493, 1497 from Tibur. There are no attestations from the Sabellic languages, with the possible exception of the abbreviated gentilicium *tu* Um 39. Etruscan has *Tule*, which occurs only three times: *mini tule[* Ve 3.32, *fasti : kainiei : tuleσa : kn[* Ar 1.1, and *larθ : tule : kavinei* | *ṭuś(urθi)* Ar 1.94. The name is either Latin or Etruscan.

78. ***V.*** abbr. *u* Cap **435**.

79. ***Ve.*** abbr. *ue* MF **43**?, MLF **206** [and without context MF? **284**, MLF **322**].

80. ***Vel.*** m. *uelos* EF **4** (gen. or a thematized form, see §7.2.1), *uel* MF **56,** *uel* MF **82**, perhaps *ue]l* MF **191**. Also Etruscan *velusa* Etr **XXXIV**. – An Etruscan praenomen, attested in a very large number of attestations (mostly from Clusium, Volsinii and Tarquinii, see the indices to *ET*). It is not attested in Latin or in the Sabellic languages, although Latin has gentilicia such as *Velius* and *Veleius*, both of which occur also in Oscan (*veliieis* Cm 22, *veleí[is]* Hi 3).

81. ***Velce(i)us*** or ***Velcaeus.*** m. *uelcei* LF **332** (gen.). An adaptation of Etruscan praenomen *Velχe* (Cl 1.1327, 1328, Ar 1.9): like *Veltur*, this name preserves the Etruscan /e/ (cf. the Faliscan name *Volta*).

82. ***Veltur*** m. *ueltur* MF **266**, *ueltur* MLF **339**. Also Etruscan *velθarus* Etr **XVI**, *velθurusi* Etr **XIX**, *[u]eltur* Etr **XXXVIII**. – A well-attested Etruscan praenomen (*ET* gives more than 80 instances from various locations, mostly from Tarquinii). There are no attestations from the Sabellic languages, while Latin had only the gentilicia *Velthurius*, *Volturius*, and *Vulturius*, which show the usual Latin development /e/→ /o/ before velar /l/ (§3.3.4.*1*). Faliscan does not show this development in *Veltur*, although it appears in *Volta* (see below), indicating that *Veltur* was still an Etruscan name, in contrast to the entirely Faliscan *Volta*.

83. ***? Venel.*** m. dubiously attested in *ueṇe[?---]na* · | *ux[o(r) ?---]* MF **43**. Perhaps abbreviated *uen* in *uentar[c.....* MF **80**? A derivation ***Venelius***, either a patronymic adjective or a gentilicium, occurs in *uenelies* MF **258**. – A well-attested Etruscan praenomen (the indices to *ET* give more than 50 instances from various loca-

tions). Latin had only the patronymic gentilicia *Venelius* and *Venilius*, but there are attestations of the praenomen in Praesamnitic (*uenel{i}eis* Ps 12, *uenilei* Ps 3, patronymic adjective *ueneliis* Ps 3) and Oscan (*uenileis* Cm 30).

84. ***Vibius*** and ***Vibia.*** m. *uipi* MF **14** (gen.); f. *uipia* LF **221**. – Probably a patronymic praenomen derived from Etruscan *Vipe*, which is attested for the areas surrounding the ager Faliscus: Tarquinii (*vipe* Ta 1.39, 1.92, AT 1.28, *vipe[s* Ta 1.93, *vipes* Ta 1.237, AT 1.74), Volsinii (*vipe* Vs 1.233, *vipes* Vs 1.133, 1.231), and Horta (*vipes* AH 1.8). It is therefore not unthinkable that *Vibius* in fact originated in the ager Faliscus. The praenomen is also attested fairly frequently for Latin (attestations in Salomies 1987:96, mostly from Central and Southern Italy and Etruria), where *Vibius* also occurs as a gentilicium. In the Sabellic languages it is attested for Umbrian (*vipies* Um 5, *vibie* Um 37), Paelignian (fem. *uibia* Pg 51, abbreviated *uib* Pg 33) and is most common in Oscan (*viíbis* Fr 1 etc., f. 𐌅𐌉𐌂𐌉𐌀𐌍 Lu 46: the indices to *ST* list at least 15 instances, not counting abbreviations). Salomies (1987:96) regards *Vibius* as an Oscan praenomen, but as most of the Oscan instances are from Campania, the use of the name there may be due to Etruscan influence. An Etruscan origin might also explain the relative frequency of the praenomen in Latin inscriptions when compared to other Sabellic praenomina, and the frequency of Etruscan gentilicia such as *Vipe* and *Vipena/Vipina/Vipiena.*

85. ***Volta*** m. *uolta* MF **15**,*[u]olṭa* MF **149**, *uol[ta* MF **158**; *uolta* MLF **313**, *uoltai* MLF **367-370** (gen.); *uoltai* Lat **218** (gen.). Also Etruscan *vultasi* Etr **XLII**. Indirectly attested in the patronymic adjective *uolteo* MF **275**, *uolθeo* MF **276**; *uoltiọ* LF **224**; perhaps also in *u]oltio* MF **164** (this may also be an instance of the gentilicium *Voltius*) and *uolti[---]* MF **167** (this may also be an instance of the gentilicium *Voltius*, or of the patronymic adjective *Voltilius*).

86. ***Voltius.*** m. *uolti* MF **11** (gen.), *uolti* MF **79** (gen.), *[uo]ltio* MF **88,** *uolti[o* MF **152**; *uolti* MLF **469*** (gen.), *uoltio* MLF **312**; *uoltio* LF **220**, *uoltio* LF **330**; probably also *ulties* MF/Etr **64**, if this is to be read as *u(o)lties*. Indirectly attested in the patronym adjective *uoltilia* MF **80**, *uoltilia* MF **144**, *uoltilio* MF **162**, *u]oltị[i---]* MF **163**; *uoltilio* MLF **346**; *uotiliạ* LF **222**, *uoltilio* LF **336**; perhaps also *uolti[---]* MF **167** (this may also be an instance of the patronymic adjective *Voltius*, or of the gentilicium *Voltius*).

Either ***Volta*** or ***Voltius****: [u]ọlt[---]* MF **145**, *[u]olṭ[---]* MF **163**. A patronymic adjective, either *Voltius* or *Voltilius*, in *uol[t---]* MF **156**. The abbreviation of these names is in all likelihood the ***Vo.*** in LtF **299**, Lat **251**.

Both *Volta* and *Voltius* occur frequently in the Faliscan inscriptions, but the name is not attested for Etruscan (apart from *vultasi* Fa 3.4=Etr **XLII**, which renders the Faliscan name), Latin (which had the gentilicium *Voltius*), or the Sabellic languages. These names can therefore be regarded, together with *Iuna* and perhaps

also *Ianta* and *Tirrus*, as specifically Faliscan praenomina. Unlike *Iuna*, however, *Volta* and *Voltius* continued to be used into the Late Faliscan period: *Volta* in fact makes its final appearance in the Latin **218**, from the late second century. The name is usually derived from an Etruscan **velt-* or **velθ-*, with the regular development of /e/→ /o/ before a velar /l/ (§3.3.4.1). This Etruscan base, however, is apparently not attested, but cf. the rare gentilicium *Velti* (*velti* Pe 1.277, 1.565, 1.1031, *vellltia(l)* Pe 1.564, *veltia(l)* Pe 1.1087). What remains surprising is that the word was included in the *first* declension instead of to the second.

7.7.2. The origins of the Faliscan praenomina. As might be expected in an area that lies on the crossroads of several different cultures and languages, the Faliscan onomasticon is of mixed origin: the same, however, could be said of the Latin or Etruscan, and, to a lesser extent, of the Sabellic onomasticon. As said in §7.1.1, ascribing names to languages or peoples is difficult (although in the case of the praenomina it is easier than in the case of the gentilicia, cf. §7.8.2): in many cases it is unclear in what language the name originated. Even if the origin of the name is clear, the name may have reached the area through another language than the one in which it originated (as appears to have been the case with *Aulus* and *Publius*): an important point, since such a name may therefore have been associated with a different group than the speakers of the language in which it originated. That having been said, the origins of the Faliscan praenomina are probably more or less as follows:

(1) Faliscan: Exclusively Faliscan are *Iuna* and *Volta* (with its derivation *Voltius*): though *Volta* is ultimately derived from an Etruscan praenomen, it appears to be a very old derivation and has no counterparts in Etruscan: even its Etruscan base **Velte* is attested only indirectly at best. Interestingly, both *Iuna* and *Volta* are masculine praenomina of the *first* declension, a category absent from the Latin and Sabellic onomasticon. Praenomina that occur chiefly in Faliscan and only sporadically in other languages are *Aufilus* (of Italic origin?), *Iantus/Ianta* (perhaps of Etruscan origin?) and *Tirrus* (of unknown origin). *Laeuius* and *Laeuilius* also appear to have been Faliscan, and the same is perhaps true of the female praenomen *Scaeua*. The derivation of *Vibius* from Etruscan may have been Faliscan in origin, and the great frequency of *Gauius* in the area may similarly point to a Faliscan origin of this name: both names occur with some frequency also in Etruscan and the Sabellic languages, however.

(2) Latin: Several praenomina that occur in the area are of Latin origin: these are *Gaius*, *Lucius/Lucia*, *Marcus* (with its probably Faliscan derivation *Marcius*), and the numeral praenomina *Quinctus*, *Sextus*, and *Oct-*. Of these, *Gaius*, *Lucius* and *Marcus* occur with any frequency only in the Latino-Faliscan and Latin inscriptions. The same is true of *Aulus* and *Publius*, which are of Etruscan origin, but occurred regularly in Latin, and may have been regarded as Latin rather than as Etruscan.

(3) Sabellic: Interestingly, there is hardly any praenomen that is *exclusively* Sabellic except the very dubiously attested *Maesius* or *Messius*, and *Petro*. Several praenomina that occur only in abbreviated form in the ager Capenas and are perhaps Sabellic are *At(tus)*, *F(ertor)*, *Sen( )*, and *Tr(ebius)*.

(4) Italic: Of Italic origin, but not ascribable to either Latin, Faliscan, or the Sabellic languages in specific are *Gauius/Gauia* (which could perhaps be of Faliscan origin) *Statius*, *Titus*, the very dubiously attested *Ancus*, and, occurring only in abbreviated form, *Nu(merius)*. Among these praenomina, the frequency of *Gauius/Gauia* is surprising: it is the most frequently attested praenomen in the area (see below). *Titus* and *Numerius* also occur in the theonyms *Titus Mercus* and *Mars Numesius* (see §6.4)

(5) Etruscan: Clearly Etruscan or of Etruscan origin are *Arruns*, *Aulus*, *Laris*, *Lars*, *Tana*, *Tanaquil*, *Tania*, *Vel*, *Velceius*, *Veltur*, and *Venel*. Probably Etruscan as well are *Caelius*, *Publius*, and *Vibius*, and possibly *Seruius* and *Tullus*. Of these names, however, *Aulus*, *Publius*, and *Seruius* are also well-known from Latin. Probably also Etruscan, but less certainly attested are *Acr-*, *Am-/Amm-*, *Cincus*, and *Her-*.

Difficult to ascribe to any specific origin are *Caesius* (Etruscan or Italic?), *Aemus* and its derivation *Aemius* (Etruscan or Italic?), *Pupius* and *Puponius* (Sabellic?), and *Tettius* (Etruscan or Italic?).

Apart from the origin, the *frequency* of the names must be taken into account. In view of the great uncertainty in some instances (especially the abbreviated names), it is not very useful to push quantification too far, but several tendencies are clear.

By far the most frequently used name is *Gauius/Gauia* (together 30 instances, not counting abbreviations), followed by the specifically Faliscan names *Iuna* (15 instances, not counting abbreviations or patronymic adjectives), *Volta* (7 instances, not counting abbreviations or patronymic adjectives) and *Voltilius* (8 instances, not counting abbrevations). Together, these four names therefore make up 60 instances of the *c.*230 instances of praenomina occurring in the inscriptions: note that the 60 instances do *not* include abbreviations and the total of *c.*230 does. Of the names of unknown origin, only *Caesius/Caesia* is frequent (11-12 instances, not counting abbreviations): if this name is included with the other four, these five names together make up 71-72 instances of the *c.*230 instances of praenomina, or nearly one-third of all attestations of praenomina.

Of the names of Latin origin, several are associated with the Latino-Faliscan and Latin inscriptions instead of with the Faliscan ones: this is the case with *Gaius*, *Lucius*, *Marcus*, and the Latin names of Etruscan origin *Aulus* and *Publius*. This picture is partly based on the abbreviated praenomina in the Latino-Faliscan and Latin inscriptions, however, and could therefore be biased. The distribution of *Publius/Publia* in the Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions is curious: whereas *Publia* occurs 11 times, *Publius* occurs only 2-3 times.

Etruscan names are many in number, but most are comparatively rare. The most frequent one is *Arruns* (7 instances), followed by *Laris* (4 instances), *Vel* (3-4 instances), *Tanaquil* (3 instances), and *Veltur* (2 instances). The others, including *Lars*, which in Etruscan is among the most frequent praenomina, are all attested in one or two instances at best. (Cf., however, §7.10.5 with note 142.) In spite of this rather meagre frequency, these names are still more frequent than they are in Latin or Sabellic inscriptions, as may be expected for an area where the Etruscan presence must have been large. The specifically Sabellic names not only are few, but each is used in only one or two instances.

Keeping in mind that praenomina were *given*, not *received* like gentilicia, this implies that the inhabitants of the ager Faliscus had some clear preferences in the names they chose for their children, and as several of the most frequent names did not occur elsewhere, these names may well have been a part of ethnic identity. This is discussed further in §7.10.5.

7.7.3. Types of Faliscan praenomina. Among the praenomina occurring in the Faliscan inscriptions, several groups can be identified according to their derivation:

(1) Patronymic praenomina. Many praenomina are of patronymic origin, and in the light of the lasting use, in Faliscan, of patronymic adjectives (§7.5.2), this is hardly surprising. Examples are *Aemius*, *Caelius*, *Caesius*, *Laeuius* and *Laeuilius*, *Marcius*, *Messius*, *Vibius*, *Voltius* and *Voltilius*, perhaps also *Paquius*, *Pu(m)ponius*, *Saluia*, *Seruius*, *Statius*, *Tettius*, and possibly also *Letaeus* and *Velceius*. It is noteworthy that the one instance of *Marcius* (LF **221**, **222**, **223**) may well be an *ad hoc* praenomen for a man who is apparently a 'fatherless' son of a freedwoman, reflecting his parentage not in his gentilicium, but in his praenomen: this indicates that the process of using patronymic adjectives as praenomina was a still continuous process. Since many gentilicia, too, were of patronymic origin, it is not surprising to find the same name used both as a praenomen and as a gentilicium, as in the cases of *Caelius*, *Caesius*, *Laeuius*, *Laeuilius*, and *Marcius*. See also §7.8.2. on the patronymic gentilicia.

This derivation may also be the origin of the female praenomina in *-ia* beside a male equivalent in *-us*: far from being the female form of the male name, these female praenomina reflect patronymic adjectives, so that beside *Titus* 'propitious (m.)' stands not *Tita* 'propitious (f.)', but *Titia* 'daughter of Titus'. Examples of this are *Titia*, *Tullia*, perhaps also *Pupia*, and possibly Early Faliscan *Rufia* (§7.2.2)

(2) Numeric praenomina. A number of praenomina are numeric: *Quinctus*, *Sextus*, *Oct-*, and possibly also *Qua-*, based on Latino-Faliscan numerals, and perhaps *Petro*, and, indirectly, *Pu(m)ponius*, based on Sabellic numerals. They may originally have indicated the month of birth (rather than the sequence of sons within the family), which

would explain why originally only numeric praenomina derived from the ordinals for 'four' and higher are attested: see H. Petersen 1962 and Salomies 1987: 111-20.

(3) Praenomina of good omen. Several names have a 'propitious' meaning, bearing a connotation of 'good omen'. As such I regard *Laeuius* and its derivation *Laeuilius*, derived from *laeuus*, the female praenomen *Scaeua*, derived from *scaeuus*, and *Titus* (which also occurs in the theonym *Titus Mercus*) and its derivation *Titia*. Perhaps also *Saluia* may be included in this group, if related to *saluus*.

7.8. The gentilicia

7.8.1. The gentilicia attested from the Middle Faliscan period onward. The following list contains all gentilicia attested in the Middle Faliscan, Late Faliscan, Latino-Faliscan, and Latin inscriptions from the ager Faliscus and Capenas (for the Early Faliscan inscriptions, see the list in §7.2.2).

I have included all abbreviations that can be considered gentilicia, as explained in §7.1.2: contextless abbreviations are included between [ ], but only if the abbreviation is attested elsewhere in a context where it clearly represents a gentilicium, or if it can easily be matched to an existing gentilicium. Names occurring only in Latin inscriptions are included as lemmata between [ ]; names occurring only in Etruscan inscriptions have been included only if the same or a related name is attested in the Faliscan onomasticon. As the data for the Sabellic onomasticon are relatively few, it has only been noted when cognates or derivations *are* attested, not when they are not. For ease of reference I have used the closest Latin equivalent as the lemma (except in the case of abbreviations) and ordered the lemmata according to the modern alphabet.

1. [***Abellensis.*** f. *abelese* Lat **251** (dat.) Apparently a gentilicium derived from a toponym *Abella*. This place may be identical with Campanian Abella, although the toponymic adjective derived from that name was *Abellanus* in Latin (also used as a gentilicium) and in Oscan (*abellanúí* Cm 1.A3 etc.). Solin (1972:165 n.2) regarded it as an ethnicon rather than a gentilicium, but in view of the other toponymic gentilicia in the area (see §7.8.2), it may well be a gentilicium.]

2. ***Acarcelinius.*** m. *acarcelini* LF **221** (gen.), *acacelini* LF **222** (gen.), *acarcelinio* LF **223**, *acarcelinio* LF **226**. The name is not attested elsewhere:[132] Schulze (1904:111, 368) suggested that it was derived from a gentilicium like *Accaeus* with a suffix parallell to the one in *Rup-arcellius*: G. Giacomelli (1963:171) and Hirata (1967:31-2) assumed that this gentilicium might be *Acus* (see below under

[132] Schulze (1904:111) hesitatingly referred to *CIL* VIII.15474 as a further attestation of the name, but that text reads *gemina l filila carcelinia*.

Aconius). Already Peruzzi (1963b:441-6), however, pointed out that the name might be a new formation, perhaps derived from a toponym, and A. Mancini (1981) in fact quite attractively derived it from an */akarkelom/ that would be equivalent to (but not necessarily identical with) the */okrikelom/ reflected in Latin *Ocriculum* and Umbrian */okriɟlom/ implied by Etruscan *ucrislane ET* Cl 1.2609, 2611-2613 etc. Cf. also Calzecchi-Onesti (1981:184-8, 165-7) on *acr-/arc-* in Italic toponyms and on *Ocriculum*.

3. ***Aci.*** abbr. *aci* Cap **395**. Probably *Accius* or *Acilius*: the latter is attested in *CIL* XI.7531 from Falerii Novi and *CIL* XI.7768 from Fiano Romano.

4. ***Acciuaeus.*** m. *aciuaiom* (or *aḷiuaiom*) Cap **465** (gen. pl.). The name appears to be a derivation of *Accius* (cf. above under *Aci.*) with the same suffix as in *karkavaios CIL* I^2.2917a (Colonna 1990a).

5. ***Aconius.*** f. *ạconia* LF **220**, perhaps also m. **(*)coṇẹo* LtF **290**. Other attestations may be *aco[---]* LtF **341** and *aco[---]* LtF **327**. (G. Giacomelli (1963:172) preferred to interpret these texts as instances of a gentilicium *Acus.*) The name is an adaptation of the Etruscan gentilicium *Aχu* (21 attestations, mostly from Clusium and Perusia; cf. also *Aχuna*), and occurs in *CIL* XI.3115-3119 from Falerii Novi.

6. ***? Acr-.*** *ạcṛẹ̣ẓ* MF **67** (gen.?), *acre* MF/Etr **279**. Hirata (1967:32) classed the name as a gentilicium, in which case it would be connected with Etruscan *acriś* Pe 1.951 and *acries* Vs 1.138: cf. the Latin gentilicium *Acrius*. G. Giacomelli (1963:172) regarded it as a praenomen: see §7.7.1.2.

7. ***Adicius.*** m. *adicio* MLF **378**. A Latin gentilicium *Adicius* occurs in *CIL* V.4251 from Northern Italy.

8. ***? Aenus.*** Perhaps m. *aino* in *f aino* MLF **352**, if this is not to be read as *faino* (see *Faenus*). Like Latin *Aenius*, *Aenus* could be an adaptation of the Etruscan gentilicium *Eina* (*eina* MF **57**): see also §7.8.2.

9. ***? Aieius.*** f. *aie** MF **110** (read as *aieạ* by Herbig *CIE* 8032). The reading *aieạ*, the interpretation 'Aieia', and the derivations proposed (see e.g. Stolte 1928:289) are all equally doubtful. G. Giacomelli (1963:172) connected this name with *Aiedius*.

10. ***Aiedius.*** m. *aiedies* Cap **390** (nom. sg. or pl.?). The name is apparently not attested elsewhere. For names in *Aie-*, see Schulze 1904:116-7: cf. perhaps the abbreviated Oscan gentilicium *aie* Po 89. The suffix *-idius* is of Sabellic origin: if the inscription, *k · pa · aiedies*, is interpreted as 'K. Aiedius, son of Pa.', it shows further Sabellic features in the nominative in *-ies* and in the (Umbrian-Volscian) placement of FILIATION between the praenomen and the gentilicium: see §9.3.2.

11. ***Alliuaeus.*** m. *aḷiuaiom* (or *aciuaiom*) Cap **465** (gen. pl.). The name appears to be a derivation of the Sabellic gentilicium *Alis* or *Allis* (Latin *Allius*) that occurs in

South Picene *alies* TE 2 and Marrucinian *alies* MV 4 (twice), formed with the same suffix as in early Latin *karkavaios CIL* I^2.2917a (Colonna 1990a).

12. **? *Am-*** or ***Amm-.*** without context *ame* **280**, *aṃę* **282**. G. Giacomelli (1963:173) classed this name as a gentilicium, but Hirata (1967:34) as a praenomen (cf. §7.7.1.*6*), pointing to the Latin (patronymic?) gentilicium *Ammius* (which occurs in *CIL* XI.3080 from Falerii [133]). The name appears to be of Etruscan origin.

13. ***Annius.*** m. *ani* MF **45** (gen.?), *anio* Cap **420**, *anni* LtF **63** (gen.?).

14. ***Annilius.*** m. *anel[i]* MF **469*** (gen.); f. *anelia* MF **101**. Another attestation would be *manileo* MLF **355**, which can be read as *m anileo* as well as *manileo.*
The Latin gentilicia *Annaeus*, *Annius*, *Annilius*, and several others in *Ann-* are adaptations of the well-attested Etruscan gentilicia *Anae/Ane/Ani* (for the numerous attestations, see *ET*: from Civita Castellana is *anae lauvcies* Etr **XXIX**). Cf. also the Faliscan poet *Annianus* or *Anianus* mentioned by Ausonius (*Cent.* 11). Gentilicia of this group are also attested for the Sabellic languages, e.g. South Picene *anaiúm* AP.1, Paelignian *anaes* Pg 10, *annies* Pg 40, *annia* Pg 15, 33, Oscan *annịeí* Cp 38, Paelignian *anniaes* Pg 39, *aniaes* Pg 38, Vestinian *aninies* MV 11.

15. ***Ap.*** abbr. *ap* Cap **419**.

16. ***Anu.*** abbr. *anu* in *cl · anu* Cap **397**. The attestation is doubtful: the text was read as *clanu* by G. Giacomelli (1963:185) and Hirata (1967:59-60), the latter comparing Etruscan names in *Clan-*. Since the names in the Capenate inscriptions are mostly Latin rather than Etruscan, I woud rather read *cl · anu* and compare the Latin names in *Anu-* (cf. Solin & Salomies 1994:17-8).

17. ***Aratius*** or ***Arantius.*** m. *aratio* MLF **348**, *aratio* MLF **349**, *ar‹a›tio* MLF **350**; f. *aratia* MLF **357**. The gentilicium may be a patronymic derivation from the Etruscan praenomen *Araθ/Aranθ*, in which case it could be read either as *Aratius* or as *Arantius*. The Latin onomasticon has no corresponding names: perhaps the name may be compared to *Aradius* (cf. Faliscan *calitenes* MF **265**, which corresponds to Latin *Calidenus*), but this name appears to be of Middle-Eastern origin (Schulze 1904:113). Cf. perhaps also the Etruscan gentilicium *araθenas* Vs 1.88.

18. [***Arn.*** abbr. in MF/Etr **37**. It is not clear if this is a gentilicium or a praenomen: if it is a gentilicium, it could be *Arnius* (Schulze 1904:412). See also §7.7.1.*9*.]

19. [**? *Arrius.*** f. *a[rria]* in *arria* | *plaria* Cap **431**. The restoration is extremely doubtful: a very different reading, in which the name would be *sal* | *plaria*, with a praenomen *sal(uia)*, was proposed by Torelli (1974:741-6): see also Kajava (1995:70).]

[133] The *Iulia Ammia* of this inscription seems to be of Oriental extraction, however, as she is called *tigranis* | *regis f* (perhaps Tigranes of Armenia, executed in 36 CE, cf. Tac. *Ann.* 6.40).

20. ***Arruntulus.*** m. *arutlo* MF **195**.

21. ***Aruntielius.*** f. *arutielia [?---]* MF **96**.
Both names are derivations of the Etruscan praenomen *Arnθ*, for which see §7.7.1.*9*. *Arutlo* appears to be a diminutive: G. Giacomelli (1963:175-6) compared Etruscan *aruntleσa* AS 1.227. The derivation of *arutielia* is difficult: it appears to be derived from *Arruntius*, but neither as a diminutive (which probably woud have been *arutela*) nor as patronymic derivation (which would have been *arutilia* or *arutelia*). The formation is reminiscent of the Sabellic gentilicia in *-iēnus*, but it may well be an error, e.g. *aruti{e}lia* or *arut{i}elia.*

22. ***Atronius.*** m. *atron* (or *atroṇi*?) MF **13** (abbr. or gen.). Like Latin *Atronius*, it is an adaptation of Etruscan *Atru* (*atru* Cl. 1.1298, *atrus* Ru 2.5, *atruś* Sp 2.76) or *Atrune* (*atrunias* Cl 1.1347).

23. ***Au...*** in *au[---]* LF **236**.

24. ***Aue.*** abbr. *aṷe* Cap **396**. G. Giacomelli (1962:176) suggested a connection with Etruscan *Avei* (*avei* Pe 1.896, *aveiś* Pe 1.897, 1.898, 1.1132, 1.1297, AS 1.160) and Latin *Aueius* (thus also Hirata 1967:37), comparing also *Auius* and *Auienus.*

25. ***Aufilius/Oufilius.*** *oufilio* MF **48**, *aufilio* MF **49**, *aufilio* MF **50**, *auf]ilio* MF **51**, *oṷ*[..]o* MF **52**, *aufi[lio ?---]* MF **53**, *oufilio* MF **275**, *oufilio* MF **276**. A patronymic gentilicium derived from the (Faliscan?) praenomen *Aufilus/Oufilus*, for which see §7.7.1.*12*. Latin, too, had *Aufilius/Ofilius*, but also *Aufillius/Ofillius* and *Aufellius/Ofellius*: note the intervocalic *-f-*, pointing to a non-Roman origin of the name. Cf. perhaps also the Umbrian gentilicium *ufeŕie[r]* Um 8.

26. ***? Aufitius.*** m. *ofiti* in *f ofiti* MF **58** (if not to be read as *fofiti*). A Latin gentilicium *Aufitius* occurs in *CIL* VI.6945 from Rome.

27. ***? Aulena.*** m. *olna* MF **82**. Editors usually interpret this as a noun, but no satisfactory interpretation has ever been given for it: I would rather read it as a second gentilicium (describing a freedman, cf. §7.6), comparing Etruscan *Ulena* (*ulenas* Ru 2.4), *Aulna* (*aulnal* AS 1.11, Cl 1.1241, Pe 1.943, *aulnas* Vs 1.244, *aulnaś* Fe 3.3), *Aulne* (*aulnei* Cl 1.1308, Pe 1.93) and Latin *Olnius* and *Aulenus.*

28. ***Battius.*** m. *batio* MLF/LtF **359**. The use of *b* is surprising, and probably points to a non-Faliscan origin of the name. Latin had a gentilicium *Battius* (Schulze 1904:423).

29. [***Blaesius.*** m. *blaisiíś* **468***. The name, like Latin *Blaesius*, appears to be of Sabellic origin, cf. Oscan *blaisiis* Cm 14.C8. The text also has a Sabellic praenomen *pa‹qu›is* and shows Sabellic epigraphic and linguistic features (such as the syncopation of the final syllable).]

30. ***Ca.*** abbr. *ca* Cap **427**, **428**.

31. ***Caelius.*** m. *cailio* MF **90**, *c]ęlio* MF **94**, *celio* MF **95**, *ce[lio* MF **96**, *c]elio* MF **97**, *celio* MF **105**; *cail[ia* MF **92**; *cailio* MLF **376**. A patronymic gentilicium derived from the praenomen *Caelius* and ultimately from Etruscan *Caile* (see §7.7.1.*17*). The gentilicium also occurs in Latin; Etruscan had a related gentilicium *Cailina* (*cailinal* Vt 1.43).

32. ***Caesilius.*** f. *cesilia* MLF **211**. A patronymic gentilicium derived from the praenomen *Caesius* (for which see §7.7.1.*18*). The gentilicium also occurs in Latin (Schulze 1904:135) and in Oscan (*kaísillieís* Cp 25).

33. ***Caesius.*** m. *cesie* MF **257**, *cesies* MF **265**, cf. also *ceises* Etr **XXXIV**. (The name *Caesius* also occurs as a praenomen: see §7.7.1.*18*.). The name occurs in Etruscan as *Caise/Ceise* (*caise* AH 1.80; *ceises* AT 1.67, 1.145, *ceisi* Ta 1.116, AT 1.67) and *Ceiśe* (*ceiśi* Pe 1.325, 1.326, *ceiśis* Pe 1.323, 1.327, *ceiśial* Pe 1.505), as well as *Caisie* (*caisies* Cm 2.49): Latin had *Caesius*, as well as several other names in *Caes-*.

34. ***? Calinius.*** The name was read by Herbig (1910:187) in *calin[---]lrezo[---]* MF **57**. The gentilicium occurs in Latin and in Oscan (καλινις Me 1, καλεινις Me 3, κ]αλι[νις Me 2). As a gentilicium at the beginning of the text is very unusual, I would rather read *ca lin[---]*.

35. ***Calitenus.*** f. *calitenes* MF **265**. The name has been equated since Herbig *CIE* 8387 with Latin *Calidenus*, for which cf. Schulze 1904:138. It is in all probability related to the Etruscan gentilicium *caliti* Pe 1.1441, which looks as though it might be derived from a toponym *Cales*. Cifani (2002:33), without referring to *calitenes*, suggested that *Cale* may have been the original name of modern Gallese in the north-eastern ager Faliscus. For *Calit- : Calitenus* cf. perhaps *Volta : Voltenus* (Lejeune 1952b:124 n.1).

36. [***Calpurnius.*** m. *calpurnius* Cap **432**.]

37. ***Catineius.*** m. *catinei* MLF **469*** (gen.). Latin has *Catineius* beside *Catinius*. Cf. Etruscan *catni* Ta 1.166.

38. ***Cincius.*** m. *cicio* MF **40**; f. *cincia* MF **135**; cf. also Etruscan *cęncu* Etr **XXI**. Like Latin *Cincius*, the gentilicium is derived from the Etruscan gentilicium *Cincu* (*cincus* OA 2.60, *cincual* Pe 1.53, *cinc[ual]* Cl 1.102; cf. also *cincunia* Pe 1.54, 1.748) or *Cencu* (15 attestations, apart from Fa 2.4=Etr **XXI** all from Clusium). The gentilicium also occurs in *CIL* XI.3327 from Forum Cassii.

39. ***Citius.*** f. *citiai* MF **270** (gen. or dat., but cf. §9.2.3*c*). G. Giacomelli (1983:185) pointed to Etruscan *citia* in *TLE* 495, which appears to be the only Etruscan parallel. Latin has a gentilicium *Citius*.

40. ***Clanidius.*** m. *clanidio* Cap **394**. The name apparently does not occur elsewhere, but is formed with the Sabellic suffix *-idius*. The closest parallel is *Clandius* in *CIL* XI.2004 from Perusia, but this name is connected rather with the Etruscan gentilicium *Clante* (Schulze 1904:529 n.6). Cf. perhaps also *cl · anu* Cap **397**, read as *clanu* by G. Giacomelli (1963:185) and Hirata (1967:59-60).

41. [***Claudius.*** m. *claudia* Cap **393**.]

42. ***Clipearius*** (and ***Clipeaeus***?)**.** m. *clipeaio* (*clipea‹r›io*?) MF **470***; *clipiar[io]* LF **230**, *clipear[io]* LtF **231**, *cl[i]peario* LtF **233**. A *Berufsgentiliz* 'Shieldmaker' derived from *clipeus/clupeus* (a word that is probably of Etruscan origin, see §6.2.9). It is unclear whether *clipeaio* is an error for *clipea‹r›io* or if this is a different derivation from the same noun: cf. also *frenaios* MF **471*** instead of the expected *frena‹r›ios*. The gentilicium *Clipearius* apparently occurs only in the ager Faliscus (if this can be concluded from Schulze 1904:416): unclear is *clupiaria | origo | q · mudasidius | arists CIL* VI.4925 from Rome.

43. ***Cocilius.*** f. *cocelia* MLF **303**. G. Giacomelli (1963:186) compared Latin *Caucilius/ Cocilius*, but also *Coclius* and *Coculnius*. This last name is derived from the Etruscan gentilicium *Cuclni* from Tarquinii (*culcnial* Ta 1.9, 1.14, *culcnies* Ta 1.31, 1.95, 1.96, *culcni[es]* Ta 1.97).

44. ***Colanius.*** m. *colanioi* MF **69-70** (gen. or dat.). Herbig (1914a:239) connected the name to the Latin gentilicia *Colus* and *Colius*. Hirata (1967:46) compared the Etruscan gentilicium *Culni* (*kulnei* Vs 1.208 *culni* Cl 1.1524, cf. also *culnaial* Cr 2.54, 2.55, 2.57). Latin has a gentilicium *Colianius*, which might be related.

45. [***Cotena.*** m. *cotena* Lat **214**. *Cotena* appears to be attested only here, although Schulze also points to Κοττίνιας in an inscription from near Faenza. The name reflects Etruscan names like *Cutna/Cutne* (12 attestations, mostly from Clusium).]

46. ***Cutrius.*** m. *cutri* MF **200** (abbr.). Latin *Cotrius*. The spelling with *u* is Etruscan rather than Faliscan, cf. *Popius : Pupius* (below).

47. [***Didius.*** m. *didius* Lat **456**.]

48. ***? Decon...*** Perhaps attested in *decon[* LtF **174**. Thulin (1907:292-4) interpreted this as an instance of an unattested gentilicium *Deconius*, an adaptation of the Etruscan gentilicium *Tecunas* from Volsinii (*tequnas* Vs 1.48, 1.153, 1.154, *tequna[s* 1.151).

49. ***? E...sus*** in *e**sa* Cap **457**. Unclear.

50. ***Egnatius.*** m. *egnatius* Lat **291** ; f. *e[c]ṇata* MF **81**; also *Ekn* = *Egnat[* LF **246**. Identical with Latin *Egnatius*, epigraphically attested for the area in *CIL* XI.3083 (twice) from Falerii Novi, and *CIL* XI.3257 (twice) from Sutrium. The name oc-

curs in Etruscan as *Ecnate/Ecnati* (*eknate* Vs 1.299, *ekṇaṭ[e]* Ta 7.40, *ecnate* Vs 1.170; *ecnaṭi[* Ta 1.256, *ecnatial* Ta 1.95) and *Ecnatna/Ecnatni* (*ecnatna* AS 1.316, *ecnatnas* Vs 1.202, 1.307, *ecnatnal* Cl 1.1455, *ecṇ[a]ṭnal* Vt 1.110, *ecnatn[al]* Cl 1.1682; *ecn]atni* Cl 1.388, *ecnatnei* AS 1.232, *ecṇaṭṇei* Cl 1.1568). Cf. perhaps also the abbreviated Volscian praenomen *ec* VM 2. The name may be an Etruscan toponymic adjective in *-te/-ti*.

51. ***Eina.*** m. *eina* MF **57**. Identical with Etruscan *eina* Cl S.17, *eini* Cl 1.1574, *einis* Cl 1.1575. The name may originally have been *Aina* (cf. *aina* Ru 0.13, without context?), an adaptation of which may be *aino* MLF **352**, if the text, *faino*, is to be read as *f aino*: see *Aenus*.

F- see also H-

52. [**? *Fab.*** abbr. without context *hap* MF? **46**. Probably to be interpreted as an abbreviation of the gentilicium *Fabius*, with Faliscan *h-* for an original /#fV/ (see §3.5.2). Latin *Fabius*, a Latinization of the Etruscan gentilicium *Fapi* (*fapi* Cl 1.220, *fapis* Pe 1.904 (used as a praenomen).]

53. **? *Fac...*** in *hac****a* MF **89**. The only Etruscan parallel would appear to be *φacsneal* Pe 1.1191, in which case the Faliscan instance would show the Faliscan spelling *h-* for original /#fV/ (see §3.5.2).

54. **? *Fadius.*** m. perhaps *haθi* MF **13** (gen. or abbr.). If indeed to be read thus, the name identical with Latin *Fadius* (Schulze 1904:132, 516), perhaps an adaptation of an Etruscan name gentilicium *hatina* Pe 1.686, cf. also on *Fadenius* (below).

55. ***Fadenius*** or ***Hadenius.*** f. *hadenia* MLF **360** (either with *h* for original /#fV/ or with a hypercorrect *f* for original /#hV/, see §3.5.2). Probably connected to Etruscan *hatina* Pe 1.686, Latin *Fadenus* (Schulze 1904:132). Cf. also *Fadius*.

56. ***Faenus.*** m. *faino* MLF **352**. G. Giacomelli (1963:189) compared Latin *Faenius*: for Faliscan *Faenus* : Latin *Faenius*, see §7.8.2. The text may have to be read as *f aino*, cf. *Aenus* and *Eina* (above).

57. ***Fa(r)farn...*** *fafarṇ* MF **136** (abbr.), *faf[---]* MF **139**. Herbig (*CIE* 8237) suggested a connection with the name of the nearby river *Farfarus* (Ovid *Met.* 12.328-30) or *Fabaris* (Verg. *A.* 7.716): see §6.5.*1*. For other potamonymic gentilicia, see *Narionius* and *Vomanius*.

58. ***Fassius.*** f. *fasies* MF **41**. The only direct parallel appears to be Oscan *fassii[s* ZO 1. Latin had only *Fassidius*, derived with the Sabellic suffix *-idius*.

59. ***Feliginas.*** m. *feliçinate* MF **42** (gen.), *[fel]içinatiu* LF **384** (gen. pl.). The name has parallels in Etruscan *Felcinate/Felcinatne* (*felcinatial* Pe 1.485, 1.1235; *felcinatnal* Cl 1.2673) as well as in Latin *Fulginas* (cf. Schulze 1904:528). The names

are derived from a toponym **Feligin-* (**Felginum* Rix 1965:233 n.133), which may well be identical with *Fulginium/Fulginiae* (modern Foligno in Umbria, on the Via Flaminia).

60. ***Fertorius.*** m. *fertrio* Cap **391**. A patronymic gentilicium derived from *Fertor*, which may be attested from the area in the abbreviation *f:* see §7.7.1.*23*. Latin had both *Fertorius* and *Hertorius*. (*Fertrio* has also been interpreted as *Fer(e)trio(s)*, but there seem to be no parallels for a gentilicium *Feretrius*.)

61. ***Fescuna*** or ***Hescuna.*** m. *hescuna* MLF **346**. Derived by Colonna (1990b:123 n.52) from the toponym *Fescennium* in the ager Faliscus, with the spelling *h-* for original /#fV/ (cf. §3.5.2). Latin gentilicia that are perhaps related are *Fescenna* (Schulze 1904:80) and *Fescennius* (Schulze 1904:231). Cf. perhaps also Etruscan *Hescanas* from Volsinii (*hescanas* Vs 7.34, 7.38, *hescan[as]* Vs 7.35, *ḥes[canas]* Vs 7.36, *h[esca]na[s]* Vs 7.31, *hescnas* Vs 1.183. 0.23).

62. ***Firmius.*** m. *ḥiṛṃeo* MF **19**, *firmio* MF **54**, *hirmio* LF **213**; f. *ḥirmia* MF **18**, *fir·mia* MLF **302**. The name has been connected with Latin *Firmius* and the adjective *firmus*, in which case it shows the Faliscan development /#fV/ → /#hV/ in *ḥiṛṃeo* MF **19**, *hirmio* LF **213**, and *ḥirmia* MF **18** (§3.5.2). G. Giacomelli (1963:193) connected it with Etruscan names such as *hermana* MF/Etr **265**, in which case the forms with *f-* would be due to hypercorrect (§3.5.2).

63. ***Flauilius.*** f. *hlaulelea* LtF **325**. The spelling with *hl-* is unique, reflecting a hypercorrect extension of the spelling *h-* for original /#fV/: see §3.5.2. Although Latin had several gentilicia derived from *Flauus/Flauius*, the gentilicium *Flauilius* is not attested for Latin, although its originally Sabellic counterpart *Flauidius* is.

64. ***Folcosius.*** m. *fulczeo* LF **329**, *folcozeo* LF **330**, *folcuso* LF **331**, **olcuzeo* LF **332**, *folcosio* LF **333**; also *holc[osi]* MF **140**. *Folcosius* is only attested here, although Latin has a closely related gentilicium *Holconius* (see Schulze 1904:169, who also compared gentilicia like *Fulcennius*, *Fulcinius* etc.). These names would appear to be adaptations of an unattested Etruscan **Fulχu* or **Hulχu:* cf. Etruscan *Hulχena* (*hulχenas* Vs 1.28, 1.99, *hulχnas* Vs 2.35) and *Hulχnies* (*hulχnies* AT 5.2, *hulχniesi* Ta 5.2, 5.5, *h[ul]χ[n]iesi* Ta 5.4).

65. ***Frenaeus*** or ***Frenarius.*** m. *frenaios* MF **471***. The name is not attested elsewhere: if *frenaios* is an error for *frena‹r›ios*, it could be a newly-formed *Berufsgentiliz* 'Bridler', (related to Latin *frenum* 'bridle'), like *Clipearius* 'Buckler'. In view of other gentilicia in *-aeus* (*latinaio* MLF **210**, *uoltaia* MF **196**), the possibility of a gentilicium *Frenaeus* cannot be excluded, cf. Berenguer & Luján 2004:219-20.

66. ***Fullonius.*** f. *fulonia* MLF **313**. Like Latin *Fullonius* and Umbrian *fulonie* Um 7, this name may be derived from Etruscan *Fulu* (19 attestations, mostly from Clusium and Volaterrae) or *Ful(u)na/Ful(u)ne* (27 attestations, mostly from the ager Saenensis). Already Schulze (1904:168) rightly rejected taking this name as a *Berufsgentiliz* derived from Latin *fullo*. G. Giacomelli (1963:194) identified *Ful-* with *Fol-* in *Folcosius*.

67. [***Fuluius.*** m. *Fuluius* Lat **250**. Also in *CIL* XI.3156 from Falerii Novi.]

68. [***Furius.*** m. *fourios* Lat **216**. Also in *CIL* XI.3164 and 3170 from Falerii Novi.]

69. [***Genucilius.*** m. *genucilio* Cap **435**.]

70. ***Gr.*** abbr. *cr* MF **33**. Probably to be interpreted as *Graecius* or *Graecilius*, see *Grae....*

71. ***Grae...*** *crą[i---* MF **141**, *cre[---]* MF **142**, *cr[---]* MF **143**; possibly also the abbreviated gentilicium *cr* MF? **33**. The fragmentary name is in all probability to be read as *Graec...*, probably *Graecius* (cf. Schulze 1904:522) or perhaps *Graecilius*. Latin has several gentilicia in *Graec-*, and Etruscan had both *Creice* (e.g. *creice* Cl 1.1280: *ET* gives *c.*20 instances of this gentilicium, from various locations) and *Creicna* (*creicnal* Ar 1.4). The gentilicium may be derived directly from the ethnonym, but also from the praenomen *Graecus* (attested for Faliscan as *kreco* MF **147**), especially if this was an existing Etruscan praenomen, as Salomies (1987:71-2) suggests and seems to be implied by the (patronymic) gentilicium *Creicna*: see §7.7.1.*26*. See also 132. *Raec(i)lius*.

H- see also F-

72. ***? Her-.*** Very dubiously attested in *cęsit : fere* MF **263**. Salomies (1987:73) includes *fere* in her discussion of the praenomina *Herius* and *Herennius* (cf. §7.7.1.*27*), but G. Giacomelli (1963:192) and Hirata (1967:51) regarded it as a gentilicium (cf. perhaps *Hirius* in *CIL* XI.2980 from Tuscania?).

73. ***Hermana.*** *hermana* MF/Etr **265**, cf. Etr *her* Etr **VI-VII**. An Etruscan gentilicium occurring also in *hermanaś* Cl 2.11, cf. also *Hermena* (*hermenas* Pa 3.1 *h]ermenas* Vs 1.152, perhaps also *h]ęrmenaie* Ve 3.19). Latin has *Herminius* and *Hermenius*. G. Giacomelli (1963:192) connected the gentilicium *Firmius* (see above) with this name.

74. ***Hirpius.*** m. *írpios* Cap **389**. Since the name has been read correctly by Briquel (1972:833-7) as *írpios* rather than the *śrpios* of all previous editors, it has become possible to connect it with the cult of the *Hirpi Sorani* on Mount Soracte (see §2.3.4): in Pliny's account (*NH* 7.2.19), these are described as "familiae sunt perpaucae quae uocantur *Hirpi*". A Latin gentilicium *Hirpius* was already known (Schulze 1904:234): see §6.6.*5*.

75. ***Ie...*** in *ie[---]* MF **93**. Various possible names may be found in Hirata 1967:54 and Solin & Salomies 1994:95-6. Cf. perhaps *iegia · tylche CIL* XI.3447 from Tarquinii, or Paelignian *ieſis* nPg 8?

76. ***Iunius.*** m. *iunio* Cap **462**. The gentilicium is derived from the specifically Faliscan praenomen *Iuna* (for which see §7.7.1.*29*): in view of the frequency of this praenomen, however, it is surprising to find only one early attestation of the gentilicium (and that from the ager Capenas): the name further occurs in *CIL* XI.3174 from Falerii Novi, and in *CIL* XI.3934 from Capena. Note that the Latin gentilicium *Iunius* was derived by H. Petersen (1962:352) from the name of the month rather than from the praenomen.

77. ***L...*** in *l[---]* MF **158**.

78. ***Lartius.*** f. *lartia* in *tana* | *lartia* MLF **338**. It is unclear whether *lartia* is a patronymic gentilicium or a patronymic adjective: in either case, it is derived from the Etruscan praenomen *Larθ* (see §7.7.1.*35*), like the corresponding Latin gentilicium *Lartius*.

79. ***Latinaeus.*** m. *latinaio* MLF **210**. Perhaps derived from the Latin ethnicon *Latinus* rather than from Etruscan gentilicium *Latini* (*c.*70 attestations, nearly all from Clusium) or *Latine* (Cm 2.57, *latines* Ve 2.4). For the derivation, see G. Giacomelli 1962.

80. ***Latrius.*** m. *latrio* MLF **324**, *latrius* Lat **218**; f. *latria* MF **75**. Latin *Latrius* (and *Laterius*?), Etruscan *latrnei* Cl 1.501, perhaps also Latin *Latronius* and Etruscan *laθruni* Pe 1.1091.

81. ***Laeuius.*** m. *leuieis* Lat **251** (abl. pl.); f. *leuia* LtF **327** (possibly a praenomen, see §7.7.1.*32*).

82. ***Laeuilius.*** m. *leueli* MF **14** (gen.), *le[ueli]o* MF **146**; f. *leue[lia]* MF **147**. The name also occurs as a praenomen, see §7.7.1.*33*.
Laeuius is in all probability a patronymic derivation from the praenomen *Laeuus*, while *Laeuilius* is in its turn a patronymic derivation from the name *Laeuius*. This praenomen is derived from the adjective *laeuus* 'well-omened': see §7.7.1.*32-33* on the praenomina *Laeuius* and *Laeuilius*. (Cf. also the praenomen *Scaeua*, §7.7.1.*58*) G. Giacomelli (1963:199) rejected a possible connection with *Liuius*; Hirata (1967:57) unnecessarily suggested a connection with *Laelius*.

83. ***Le...*** in *le[---]* MF **148**, which may be read as *Lae-*, *Le-*, or *Li-*.

84. ***Lepuius*** (***Laepuius***?). f. *lepuia* MF **144**. Unclear: there are no Latin, Etruscan or Sabellic gentilicia that appear to be related, in spite of the suggestions made by G. Giacomelli (1963:199), Hirata (1967:56), and others (which all concentrate on *Lep-* in stead of on *Lepu-*). Cf. perhaps Latin *Laeponius*, which appears to be an

adaptation of an Etruscan **Laipu*: this *Laipu* might have been adapted in a different way in Faliscan to *Laepuius*.

85. ***Letaeus.*** m. *letei* MF **470*** (gen.). This unique name clearly renders the equally unique Etruscan *leθaie* Etr **XLVIII**, probably derived from *lete* Sp 2.109: on these names, see Vetter 1948:67-72 (who regards these as names implying descent from serfs or bondsmen).

86. ***Licinius.*** m. *licinio* MF **259-260**. Latin *Licinius*, an adaptation of Etruscan *Licine* (*lik[in]e* Cl 2.18, *licineṡi* Cr 3.13 *licineṣ̌i* Cr 3.18; *licne[* Vs 2.38, *licni* Ta 1.1222, Cl 1.2206, *licnis* Cl 1.2207).

87. ***Lin...*** perhaps in *ca lin[---]lre zo[---]* MF **57**. Herbig (1910:187) read *calin[---]* with the gentilicium *Calinius*, see above.

88. [***Lucilius.*** m. *loucilios* Lat **268** (import). Also in *CIL* XI.3109 from Falerii Novi.]

89. ***Lullius.*** m. *lullio* MLF **207**. Latin *Lollius* (*CIL* X1.7487 from Falerii and 3864, 3887 from the ager Capenas), and *Lulleius*, *Lolleius*, Etruscan *Lule* (*lule* Cl 1.394, *luleσ́a* Cl 1.395, 1.1470, 1.2589; *lulia* Cl 1.1136, 1.1955). The spelling with *ll* is surprising (cf. §11.2.5.*5* and §3.5.5.*3*).

90. ***Lurius.*** f. *loṷṛia* MF **41**.

91. ***Luriaeus*** or ***Lurieius.*** f. *loriea* MLF **314**.
The second gentilicium is in all probability is a derivation from the first, either *Lurieius* (G. Giacomelli 1963:200-1) or *Luriaeus.*[134] The gentilicia *Lurius* and *Lurianus* occur also in *CIL* XI.3181 from Falerii Novi. G. Giacomelli (1963:200-1) and Hirata (1967:58) also pointed to *Loreius*.

92. ***Ma.*** abbr. *ma* Lat **451-452**. It is also possible to read *na*.

93. ***Maecius.*** m. *mecio* MLF **211**. Latin *Maecius*.

94. ***Mallius*** (or ***Manlius***?)**.** m. *malio* MF **39**. Latin *Mallius*. The name could also be read as *ma(n)lio* = Latin *Manlius*, which occurs in *CIL* X1.3254 from Sutri.

95. ***Manius.*** f. *m[e]ania* LF **224**, *mania* LF **225**. *M[e]ania* is an error for *mania* (as appears both from the inscription and from the fact that both inscriptions refer to the same person), not a distinct gentilicium (thus e.g. G. Giacomelli (1963:204-5) and Hirata (1967:61)). Like Latin *Manius*, it is either a gentilicium derived from the praenomen *Manius*, or directly from the adjective *manus* (which is also found in the Faliscan cognomina, see §7.9).

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[134] I do not understand what phonetic realisation of this name is intended in Rix's remark (1994:94) on *loriea*, ">*iea*< Schreibung für [*iạa*] wie in etr. *Θaniea*, *Veliea*": the *e* is apparently assumed to be non-syllabic.

96. **? *Manilius.*** m. *manileo* MLF **355**. Like Latin *Manilius*, it is a patronymic gentilicium derived from the praenomen *Manius*. (Cf. also the gentilicium *Manius*.) The form *manileo* occurs without context: it is therefore also possible to read the text as *m anileo* (cf. above under *Annilius*),

97. ***Marcena.*** m. *macena* MF **269**, *mar*||*cna* MF **270**. The Etruscan gentilicium *Marcna/Marχna, Marcne/Marχne, Marcni/Marχni* is very well attested (*c.*155 attestations, mostly from Clusium). I doubt whether this name is the direct basis of the gentilicium *Marcius* (below).

98. ***Marcius.*** m. *marc[---]* MF **152**, *ṃarcio* LF **228** (perhaps rather a patronymic adjective); f. *marcia* LF **227** (probably a gentilicium rather than a patronymic adjective). Like Latin *Marcius*, the name is probably a patronymic gentilicium derived from the praenomen *Marcus*, rather than adaptation of Etruscan *Marcena*. (In that case, the expected form would probably be *Marcinius*, a gentilicium that does in fact occur in Latin: cf. Schulze 1904:188.)

99. ***Marhius.*** m. *marhio* LF **336**. The name may be connected to *Marcius* (above), but G. Giacomelli (1963:204) may well have been right in pointing rather to Campano-Etruscan *ma·r·hie·s·* Cm 6.1 and suggesting a connection with the Oscan praenomen *Marahis* (e.g. *marahis* Cm 14.C6, *μαραhις* Lu 2, *marahieis* Cm 28, *μαραεν* Lu 46), which may go back to an older (Etrusco-Sabellic?) */marxio-/.

100. ***Morren-.*** f. *morenez* MF **269**. The name is an Etruscoid form in *-ez* = *-es* (cf. §3.5.3, §9.2.2). *Morenez* is an adaptation of an Etruscan gentilicium such as Etruscan *Murina/Murine/Murini* (32 attestations, mainly from the ager Saenensis). There are no direct Latin equivalents: G. Giacomelli (1963:206) and Hirata (1967:62) pointed to Latin gentilicia in *Murr-*.

101. [***Munius.*** *ṃunio* Lat **337**. The name also occurs in *CIL* XI.3941 from Capena.]

102. ***Na.*** abbr. *na* Lat **451-452**. It is also possible to read *ma*.

103. ***Narionius.*** m. *narionio* MLF **206**. Probably related to Latin *Naronius*: G. Giacomelli (1963:207) pointed to other names where there are derivational variants *-onius* and *-ionius*. *Nar(i)onius* may be connected to the name of the nearby river *Nar*: cf. the Latin gentilicium *Narius* (Schulze 1904:80). Cf. also Etruscan *Nari* (*nar[i]* Pe 1.1126, *n[ari]* Pe 1.1127, *naria* Cl 1.2008, 2009, *narial* Pe 1.813, *nari[al]* Pe 1.1080, *narieś* Cl 1.2010).

104. ***Neln...*** *nel[n---]* LtF **299**, f.? *neln* LtF **300** (abbreviated?). The name is entirely unclear: *Neln...* could conceivably reflect *Naelĕn-/Naelĭn-*, *Nelĕn-/Nelĭn-* or *Nilĕn-/Nilĭn-*, but none of these possibilities has any parallels in Latin, Etruscan or the Sabellic languages.

105. Neronius. m. *ne·roni* MF **15**, *neroni* LtF **325**, *ne[?]ro·[---]* LtF **328**; *ner[oni.]* MF **16**, *neroni* LtF **340**. Latin *Neronius*, probably originally from a Sabellic **ner*. Cf. the abreviated Umbrian praenomen *ner* Um 10, 21, also occurring in Latin inscriptions from Umbria (attestations in Salomies 1987:80).

106. No. abbr. *no* Cap **425**.

107. Nomesina. m. *nomeslina* MF **272**. *Nomesina* is the Faliscan rendering of Etruscan *Numσina* (*numσ̂inal* Cl 1.969, 1.1102, 1.1596, 1.2026, *numσ̣[i]nal* Cl 1.1103; *numσ̂ine* Cl 1.2027). Etruscan also had *Numσie* (*numσ̂ie* Cl 1.753, *numσ̂i* Cl 1.2025, 1.2028, *numσ̂is* Pe 1.197, 1.198): this appears in Latin as *Numisius/Nomisius*, e.g. in *CIL* XI.3110 and 3176 from Falerii, and in *CIL* XI.2958 from Tuscania.[135] These gentilicia are derived from the Sabellic praenomen *Numesis/ Nomesis*: see §7.7.1.*45*). Cf. the theonym *numesio · m[art]ẹ* in LtF **377**.

108. Orticensis. m. *ortecese* MLF **339**; cf. Etruscan *urtcsnas* Etr **XXXV**. *Orteces-* and *urtcs-* are in all probability connected (Colonna 1990b:136), and appear to be derived from the same toponym: this cannot be *Horta*, as G. Giacomelli (1963:209) has convincingly shown, but rather an unknown **Ortica/*Orticum*.[136] This may be related to the name of modern *Corchiano* (older *Orchiano*): see §6.5.*II*.

109. Oscin. *oṣcin** LtF **301** (abbr.?). The text and the possible parallels for the name are unclear: cf. perhaps Latin *Hoscinius* and Etruscan *Huzcena* (*huzcṇa[s* Ta 1.250, *huzcnai* Ta 1.50, 1.51, *ḥuzcneṣc* Ta 1.185, *huzecena[s]* Cr 2.74), although this requires an omission of *h-* that is not attested for Faliscan (§3.5.2).

110. P. abbr. *p* **454**.

111. Pa. abbr. *pa* Cap **457**.

112. Pacius. m. *pacios* Cap **392**. Like Latin *Pacius*, the name is derived from the well-attested Oscan praenomen *Pacis* (e.g. *pakis* Cp 37,9: for the many attestations, see *ST*). In the Sabellic languages, however, the gentilicium only occurs in Paelignian *pacia* Pg 4 (cf. also the Samnitic abbreviation *pk* Sa 51).

113. Pani... in *pani[---]* LtF **239**. Perhaps Latin *Panicius*? Cf. also Etruscan *Pance* from Caere (*pa]nces* Cr 1.66, *panci* Cr 1.59, *panc[i* Cr 1.64).

114. Panur... in *au cau* | *panur* **459**. It is doubtful if *panur* is indeed a gentilicium: it may be an abbreviation of the (slave?) name Πανοῦργος (Deecke 1888:217), cf. the *N. Munitor Panurcus* in *CIL* XI.3166 from Falerii Novi.

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[135] *L. Numisius Viator* in *CIL* XI.3110, however, gives his tribus as *Pollia* and *L. Numisius Proculus* in *CIL* XI.2958 as *Stellatina*, whereas the tribus of Falerii was the Horatia (§2.6.2).

[136] The name may also have been **Hortica/*Horticum*, but neither Faliscan *ortecese* nor Etruscan *urtcsnas* has *h-*, and there are no certain attestations of omission of *h-* in Faliscan (§3.5.2).

115. **? *Partius.*** m. *pạrtis* MF **79**. The curious ending is the result either of an abbreviation (cf. Latin *Partiscius*?) or of a rare and irregular syncopation /-ios/ → /-is/ (§3.6.6.*2*) accompanied by an equally rare retention of *-s* (§3.5.7*d*). There are no corresponding names in Latin or Etruscan: G. Giacomelli (1963:210) and Hirata (1967:66) compared Etruscan *partunus* Ta 1.9, 1.13, 1.15, and *parθanaś* Cl 1.2035, and Latin *Partuleius*.

116. ***Pauicius.*** f. *pauiceo* MF **12**, *paui[ceo* LtF **290**, and perhaps to be restored in *cauio [: pauiceo :]* | *ruso [?---]* MF **318**. (This restoration is based on the assumption that the inscription contains a cognomen *ruso* and that this cognomen also occurs in *ce · paui[ceo ru]so* LtF **290**.) G. Giacomelli 1963:210) equated the name with Latin *Paucius*, comparing also Latin *Pauillius*. I greatly doubt the connection with *Faucius* suggested by Hirata1967:66-7.

117. ***Pe.*** abbr. *pe* Lat **406**, perhaps also Cap **403**, if the inscription, *kape*, is to be read as *ka pe*. Perhaps *Pescennius*, see below.

118. ***Pescennius.*** m. *pscni* Cap **387**. Latin *Pescennius* (and *Pescenius*). Schulze (1904:80) connected this name with the Etruscan gentilicium *Fescenna* in *CIL* XIV.1016 from Ostia, which in turn would be connected with the toponym *Fescennium*, one of the major sites of the ager Faliscus. Cf. also *Hescuna* (above).

119. ***Petronius.*** m. *peṭṛọṇẹọ* MF **473***; f. *petrunes* LF **226**. A patronymic gentilicium from the Sabellic numeric praenomen *Petro* (see §7.7.1.*50*). The name occurs in Etruscan as *Petru/Petrui* (more than 130 attestations) and as *Petruna/Petruni/Petrunie* (together with *Petrn-* more than 50 attestations), in Latin as *Petronius* (e.g. *CIL* XI.3207 from Nepi), in Marrucinian as *petroni* MV 3, and in Paelignian as *ptruna* Pg 52. The *u* in *petrunes* LF **226** may be due to Etruscan influence (cf. §3.6.3, §7.8.2).

120. **[*Plarius.*** f. *plaria* Cap **431**.]

121. ***Pleina.*** m. *pleina* MF **80**, *pleina* MF/Etr **199**, *plenes* LtF **231**, *plenese* Lat **251** (dat.). Intriguingly, this obviously Etruscan name does not appear to be attested elsewhere: whether it is identical with or related to *plinialc* Ta 1.113 is unclear. Schulze (1904:89) and Stolte (1928:296) hesitated to equate this name with Latin *Plinius* (*Plīnius*) because of the spelling Πλίνιος (without diphthong) in *SIG* 558: they preferred to connect the name with *Pleius*.

122. **? *Poenus.*** perhaps *poe[?---]* MF? **130**, and *puiatu* MLF? **208**. [Cf. perhaps also *puiunal* Etr **XX**.] The attestations are very doubtful. G. Giacomelli compared Latin *Poenus* and Etruscan *Puina* (*puina* Vt 1.137, 4.1).

123. ***Polfaeus.*** m. *polafio* (=*pol‹fa›io*) MLF **354**. Hirata suggested that the name was a misspelling for *pol‹fa›io* (cf. also *latinaio* MLF **210**, *uoltaia* MF **196**), comparing

names like *Polfennius*. This is a plausible solution: Schulze (1904:216) in fact gave a number of names formed from a base *Polf-/Pulf-*, while Etruscan has a well-attested gentilicium *Pulfna* (more than 45 attestations in *ET*, all from Clusium). Cf. also Marrucinian *polfenis* MV 1, Paelignian *polf* Pg 13.

124. ***Popi.*** abbr. *popi* Cap **421**. Probably *Popius* or *Popilius*. See also under *Pupius*.

125. [***Popilius.*** m. *popil[i]* Lat **295**, *popili* Lat **296**, *popili* Lat **478*** (all imports).]

126. ***Praeconus*** or ***Preconus.*** m. in *[---?] precono[---|---] cuiteneṭ[---|---] let* MLF **361**. Although the inscription is fragmentary and difficult to interpret, the name *precono* appears to be certain. Latin had a gentilicium *Praeconius*, which Schulze (1904:87 n.4) hesitatingly connected to Etruscan *Percenna*, which he in turn derived from the Oscan praenomen *perkens* Cm 6, *perkedn[eís]* Cm 6. If that is correct, the Latin and Faliscan name may (originally) have been *Pre-* rather than *Prae-*. For a Faliscan *Praeconus* beside a Latin *Praeconius*, see §7.8.2.

127. ***Protacius.*** m. *protacio* LF **242**, *p]rotacio* LF **244**. For the name, see Schulze (1904:97, 366). Latin *Protacius* is attested in *CIL* XI.3208 from Nepi, CIL VI.25097 (twice) from Rome,[137] and probably also in *CIL* XII.5728 from Antibes.

128. ***Ps.*** abbr. *ps* Cap **415**. Perhaps *P(e)s(cennius)*, attested for the ager Capenas.

129. ***Pupilius*** or ***Pupelius.*** m. *pupelio* MF **149**, *pu]pel[i---]* MF **150**, *pup[elio* MF **151**. In all probability a patronymic gentilicium derived from a praenomen *Pupius*, which in its turn is derived from the praenomen *Pupus*: see §7.7.1.*53*. *Pupilius* may be identical with *Popilius*, with the *u* due to Etruscan influence, but note the quantitative difference between the Latin gentilicia in *Pŏp-* and those in *Pūp-* (Schulze 1904:213). Latin had *Pupilius* as well as *Pupelius*.

130. ***? Pupius.*** f. *pupiias* MLF **304** (gen.). The name occurs in isolation and may be a praenomen or a gentilicium (both PRAENOMEN and GENTILICIUM appear in women's names in *Besitzerinschriften*, see §7.4.1). If it is a gentilicium, the name is probably identical with Latin *Pupius*. Alternatively, it could be identical with *Popius*, probably attested in *popi* Cap **421**, in which case the *u* could be due to Etruscan influence: see under *Pupilius*. For *Pupia* as a praenomen, see §7.7.1.*53*.

131. [***Quintus*** or ***Quintius****: quinti* Lat **477*** (import).]

132. ***Raec(i)lius.*** m. *Reiç[lio]* MF **98**, *reiclio* MF **99**; *reị[cli.]* MF **100**. G. Giacomelli (1963:215) pointed to a Latin *Raecilius* as a parallel, but this gentilicium is not mentioned in Solin & Salomies 1994: the closest parallels are Latin *Raecius* (e.g. in *CIL* XI.3206 from Nepi) and Etruscan *Reicna* (8 attestations, all from Clu-

[137] Renzetti Marra (1990:331 n.17) points to the fact that the *M. Protacius Regulus* in this text is from the *Horatia*, which was also the tribe of Roman Falerii: see §2.6.2.

sium). Kretschmer (1943:158) pointed to *Raec- : Graec-* (cf. Ῥαικός· Ἕλλην Hesych. ρ 58 Latte/Hansen). *Raec-* appears to be limited to the Northern Adriatic and Istrian coast. Torelli (1967:536) proposed to read MF **99** as *p]reiclio*, with a gentilicium *Praec(i)lius* that occurs also in *CIL* XI.3181 from near Fabbrica di Roma, but, although possible in MF **98** and **99**, this is unlikely in the case of *reị[cli.]* MF **100**, where the name stands at the beginning of the line.

133. ***S...*** in *(1) ṣ*[---]* MF **197**; *(2) s[---]* LtF **173**.

134. ***Sab.*** abbr. Cap **400**. In all probability *Sabinus*.

135. ***Sacconius.*** *zaconiọ* MF **153**, *zaconiai* MF **154** (gen. or dat.). Latin *Sacconius*, an adaptation of Etruscan *Σαχu* (*σάχu* Cl 1.2499, 1.2500, Pe 1.1175, *σαχus* OA 2.40, *σάχus̀* Pe 1.423, *σάχus* Cr 2.40, *σάcuσ́a* Cl 1.1911).

136. [**? *Saluena.*** m. *salu[e]na* (or *salu[i]na*?) Lat **218**. The name apparently occurs only here in Latin: Etruscan had *Salvina* (*salvinal* Cl 1.1643, *śalvinei* Cl 1.2346).]

137. ***Sapnonius.*** f. *sapnonia* MF **258**. There are no direct parallels in either Latin or Etruscan. The closest parallel is Etruscan *Sapu* (*sapu* Cl 1.2358, *śapu* Cl 3.3, *sapuσ́a* Cl 1.1139, *śapuσ́a* AS 1.461, Cl 1.2016), which was adapted in Latin to *Saponius*, but the formation of this gentilicium is different. Perhaps *Sapnonius* is an adaptation of an Etruscan gentilicium **Sap( )nu*.

138. ***? Sarius.*** m. *sares* Cap **404**. Latin *Sarius*, Vestinian *saries* MV 11. It is not necessary to try to connect the name to that of Mount Soracte, as did Hirata 1967:73.

139. ***Satellius*** or ***Satilius.*** f. *satelie* MF **42**. Latin *Satellius*, *Satilius*, Etruscan *Σatna* (*σatna-/σ́atna-*, 24 attestations, mainly from Clusium, cf. *ET*).

140. ***Sedius*** or ***Saedius***. f. (?) *sediu* Cap **466**. The closest parallel is Latin *Sedius* or *Saedius* (Schulze 1904:93) but in view of the suffix the name appears to be of Sabellic origin and be a monophthongized form of the Sabellic gentilicium *Saidius*, which occurs in Oscan *saidiieis* Cp 9.

141. ***Sentius.*** m. *senti* Cap **399**, *sen·ti* Cap **430**; f. *senθia* MLF **362**, perhaps also *[---]nθia* MLF **212**. Latin *Sentius*, Etruscan *Sente/Σente* (21 attestations, mainly from Clusium).

142. ***?Seralius:*** *seralia* LF **380**. There are no parallels for this gentilicium: could it be a misspelling for e.g. *serania* or *seratia*?

143. ***Sertinius.*** f. *zertenea* LF **222**. Like Latin *Sertinius*, it is an adaptation of Etruscan *Zertna* (*zertnai* Ta 1.52, 53, *zertnas* Vs 1.205): the *z-* in Faliscan *zertenea* probably reflects the *z-* in the Etruscan form.

144. ***Sertorius.*** m. *setorio* MLF/Cap **476***. Latin *Sertorius*, occurring in *CIL* XI.3181 from Fabbrica di Roma. Probably a patronymic gentilicium from the praenomen

Sertor (cf. Salomies 1987:46-7), which was apparently of Etruscan origin (*sertur/ser0ur/śertur/śer0ur*: for attestations, see *ET*).

145. Seruatronius. f. *zeruatronia* MF **272**. Latin *Seruatronius* also occurs in *CIL* X.8230 from Capua. The name is Etruscan: cf. Schulze 1904:342 on the derivations in *-atronius*, Etruscan *-atru*.

146. Seruius. m. *serui* MF **34-36** (gen. or abbr. nom.). It is impossible to ascertain whether *serui* is a praenomen or a gentilicium: as both PRAENOMEN and GENTILICIUM occur in Faliscan *Besitzerinschriften* (§7.3), both are possible. – The gentilicium *Seruius* has parallels in Etruscan *σervei* Pe 1.1191, *σervi* Pe 1.1190, and in Latin *Seruius* and *Seruilius*. It is probably unconnected with the noun *seruus* (sometimes thought to be of Etruscan origin, cf. Bréyer 1993:383-5).

147. Spurilius. m. *spur[ilio* LF **248**, *spurilius* Lat **237**, *spurilius* Lat **238**, perhaps to be restored in *[---]ilio* LtF **215**. Latin *Spurilius*. A patronymic gentilicium derived from the praenomen *Spurius*, which is ultimately of Etruscan origin (cf. Salomies 1987:50-6). This derivation in all probability originated within Latin, and although *Spurilius* can therefore be equated with Etruscan patronymic gentilicia like *Spurinna*, it is not an adaptation of an Etruscan gentilicium.

148. Succonius. f. *zuconia* MF **271**, probably also m. *zu[con]leo* MF **56**, perhaps also *[--- ue?]l sul[con ---]* MF **191**. Cf. *larisa zuχus* Etr **XXXII**. Latin *Succonius:* the name is an adaptation of Etruscan *Sucu* (from Caere: *sucus* Cr 1.152, 1.155, 1.172, 2.31, *sucui* Cr 1.100) or *Zuχu* (mainly from Clusium: *zuχu* Cl 1.1619, 1.1769, 1.1770, 1.2173, *zuχuś* Cl 1.1771; *zuχus* Vs 1.136, *zuχuś* Pe 1.965). A *Socconia Voluptas* occurs in *CIL* XI.3223 from Nepi.

149. T... m. *t**(*)[i]* MF **84** (gen.). The name can be read as either *Ta...* or *Tri...*, but the *taḷi* read by Herbig (1910:101 etc.), which would tie in with the Latin gentilicium *Talius*, is perhaps too short.

150. Tar... perhaps in *uentarc[i.....* MF **80**, if this can be read as *uen tar[.....* 'Ven(el) Tar...'. Latin and Etruscan have several gentilicia in *Tar-* (perhaps *Tarc-* or *Tarqu-*?).

151. Tertineius. m. *tertinei* MLF/Cap **474*** (gen.), *tertineo* LF **213**. *Tertineius* is apparently attested only for Faliscan: Latin has *Tertinius*.

152. Tetena or ***Tettena.*** m. *tetena* MF **266**.

153. Tettius. m. *teti* MF **11**.

Latin *Tettius* (thrice in *CIL* XI.2990 from Tuscania, also in Paelignian *tettia* Pg 16. The name also occurs as a praenomen: see §7.7.1.72. In Etruscan, the gentilicium is *Tetina* (70 attestations in *ET*, mainly from Clusium and the ager Saenensis) or *Tetna* (19 attestations, mostly from Clusium). Cf. also South Picene *ti-*

tienom TE.3? *Tettius* may be an adaptation of the Etruscan name (G. Giacomelli 1963:223 and Hirata 1967:78-9), but in view of the existence of a praenomen *Tettius* (cf. Salomies 1987:93), attested from the ager Faliscus in *teti* MF **13**, the names might be entirely unconnected (cf. above one *Marcena* and *Marcius*). Latin has a number of gentilicia in *Tetti-*, which need not all be derived from the Etruscan gentilicium.

154. Tiberilius. f. *tiperilia* LF **229**. A patronymic gentilicium derived from the praenomen *Tiberius*, itself derived from the potamonym *Tiberis*. Note that *tiperilia* is the Faliscan spelling of the Latin gentilicium *Tiberilius*: the Faliscan form would have been **Tiferilios*, cf. perhaps *tif* MLF **460** (either a praenomen or a gentilicium). The gentilicium is not attested from Etruscan (but cf. the gentilicium *teperi* Pe 1.865, *teperial* Pe 1.875, 1.880) or the Sabellic languages.

155. Tirrius. m. *tirio* MLF **351**, *tirio* MLF **358**; f. *ṭiria* MF **155**. A patronymic gentilicium derived from the Faliscan praenomen *Tirrus* (see §7.7.1.*74*). The gentilicium is attested for Latin in *CIL* XI.3132 from near Civita Castellana - Falerii Novi: for Etruscan cf. perhaps *tiria* TC 2, 16, 28, *ti[ria* TC 37, *tiriiai* TC 26?

156. Tullius. m. *tulio* MLF **346**; *tulie* MLF **383**. A patronymic gentilicium derived from the praenomen *Tullus* (see §7.7.1.*77*). The gentilicium also appears in Latin (e.g. *CIL* XI.3036 and 3037 from near Viterbo): in Etruscan, it occurs as *tule* Ar 1.94.

157. Turius. m. *turi* MF **273** (and the abbreviation *t* MLF **274** on the same vessel); f. *turia* MF **22**, **23**, **24**, **25**, **26**, **27**; [and without context probably also *tur* MF? **44** and *tu* MF? **38**]. Latin has a gentilicium *Turius*, which occurs e.g. in *CIL* XI.3038 from near Viterbo and *CIL* XI.3064 from Horta. There are no equivalents or cognates in Etruscan or the Sabellic languages.

158. [***Umbricius.*** *u]mpricius* Lat **219**. Also in *CIL* XI.3254 from Sutri.]

159. Umbricianus. m. *upreciano* MLF **363**, *upreciano* MLF **364**.

The attestations of *Umbrius* and of *Umbricianus* were found in the same tomb as Etruscan *umrie* Etr **XLIII**. *Pace* Schulze (1904:258), Stolte (1928:300), and G. Giacomelli (1963:232), the basis of these names is clearly the ethnonym of the Umbrians. The Etruscan names *umres* AS 1.174, *umria* Cl 1.2620, 1.2621, *uṃṛiaś* Cl 1.1294, *umriaś* Cl 1.2621, and *umriś* Pe 1.1268 as well as Latin *Umbrius* (and *Umberius*) reflect the ethnonym **Umbros* which appears in Latin as *Umber* and in Greek as Ὄμβρος. *Umbricius* may have been derived as *Umbr-icius* within the Latin onomasticon, but the Etruscan gentilicium *Umrce* (*umrceś* AS 1.129, *umrcial* AS 1.395) shows that it is more likely to have been derived as *Umbricius* from a different ethnonym also reflected by Greek Ὀμβρικός. Neither the ethnonyms nor the names are attested for the Sabellic onomasticon.

160. **? *Vatius.*** f. *uatia* perhaps in *uei uatia* MLF **463** (but its companion inscription has *uei ụeto* MLF **464**, if this is not a *falsum*). Both attestations are doubtful. If attested, the gentilicium has an equivalent in Latin *Vatius*.

Ve- see also Vi-

161. [***Vecilius.*** m. *uecilio* Lat **251** (twice).]

162. ***Veculius.*** f. *[u]eculia* MF **80**, *u[eculi]a* MF **81**.
I wonder whether *Vecilius* and *Veculius* are not in fact the same name. Latin had both *Vecilius* and *Vicilius*, and *Veculius* occurs in *CIL* XI.3843 from Veii. G. Giacomelli pointed to an Etruscan gentilicium *Vecu*, but the expected adaptation of that name would be *Veconius/Viconius* (which is in fact attested for Latin, see below under *Vicon(i)us*). Whether *Vecilius/Veculius* is identical with *Vicinius/Vecinius* (thus Stolte 1928:299) is another matter.

163. **? *Vei...*** (***Veianius***?). *ueil[---]* LtF **327**, perhaps also *uei* LtF **205** (abbr.). Both attestations are very unclear: the name may be *Veianius*, attested in *CIL* XI.3197 from Nepi, *CIL* XI.3805 from Veii, *lazi veiane·s·* Etr **XI-XIV** and *lazi veiaṇes·* Etr **XV**, and in Varro ("fratres Veianii ex agro Falisco" *R.* 3.16.10),

164. ***Vel.*** abbr. *uel* Cap **424**.

165. ***Velminaeus*** (or possibly ***Velmineius*** or ***Velminius***). m. *uelmineo* MLF **305**, *uelmineo* MLF **307**, *uelmiṇẹo* MLF **308**, *uelmineo* MLF **309**, *uelmineo* MLF **310**, *uelmineo* MLF **312**, *uelmineo* MLF **313**, *uellmineo* MLF **315**, perhaps misspelled *uelmilno* MLF **316**, *[u]elṃi[ne---]* MLF **317**. The name is in all probability an adaptation of the Etruscan gentilicium *Velimna* (*velimna* Pe 1.142 etc.: 23 attestations, from Clusium and Perusia). For the curious metathesis in Etruscan *velimn-* : Faliscan *uelmin-*, G. Giacomelli (1963:228-9) rightly compared Latin *Volminius CIL* VI.21470 and the more common *Volumnius*, both likewise derived from *Velimna*. She also pointed to an Etruscan inscription from Veii (now Ve 3.19), *]ẹlṃẹṇaie muluvanic[*, which can be restored as *v]ẹlṃẹṇaie* (cf. Ribezzo 1931c:93-4).[138] From the Faliscan instances it is unclear whether the ending *-eo* in *uelmineo* represents /-ios/, /-e̯os/ ← /-ĕ̯i̯os/, or /-e̯os/ ← /-ă̯i̯os/: see §3.7.6.

166. **? *Venelius.*** *uenelịes* MF **258**. A patronymic gentilicium derived from the Etruscan praenomen *Venel*, possibly attested also from the ager Faliscus (see §7.7.1.*83*). Latin *Venilius*, and a direct parallel in Etruscan *venelies* Vc 2.10.

167. **? *Ventarc...*** *uentarc[.....* MF **80**. Unclear: there are no parallels from the Latin, Etruscan or Sabellic onomasticon that can be restored, nor is it clear if the name is really a (second?) gentilicium. Perhaps it can be divided as *uen tarc[.....*: see *Tar-*.

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[138] *ET* gives the text as *[-?- h]ermenaie muluvanic[e -?-]*, which is equally possible (see the drawing in Giglioli 1930:307). Both *Velmenaie* and *Hermenaie* do not occur elsewhere.

168. Vestius. m. *uesθi* MF **83** (abbr.). Latin *Vestius*, perhaps of Etruscan origin.

169. [***Vettius.*** m. *uettius* Lat **456.**]

170. Vetulius. f. *uetulia* LF **334** (and m. *uetulio* LF **336**, if not a *falsum*). The name has parallels in Latin *Vetulius*, Etruscan *vetlnei* Pe 1.336 and *vetlnal* Cl 1.1467.

Vi- see also Ve-

171. Vi. abbr. *ui* Cap **414**.

172. Vicina. m. *uicina* MLF **371**, *uicina* MLF **372**. There are no attestations of this name in Etruscan: the closest cognate is *veicnas* Vs 1.203, *veceṇes* Ta 7.29. In spite of the different vocalism, this name may therefore be identical with *Vicinius/Vecinius*.

173. Vicinius or ***Vecinius.*** m. *uecineo* LF **220**, *uecineo* LF **224**, *uecineo* LF **225**; f. *uecin[e]a* LF **222**, *uecinea* LF **223**. G. Giacomelli (1963:226) equated the name with Latin *Vecenius*, an adaptation of Etruscan *Vecena* (*veceṇes* Ta 7.29), but the name may be identical with Latin *Vicinius* and an adaptation of Etruscan *Veicna* (*veicnas* Vs 1.203). If so, it could be identical with *uicina* MF **371**, **372** (see above under *Vicina*).

174. Vicon(i)us: *ueicọno* MF **88**, perhaps also in *tuconu* MF **85**, if this can be read as *t u(e)conu*. Latin has *Veconius*, *Vecconius*, and *Viconius*. The names are adaptations of the Etruscan gentilicium *Vecu*, attested for Clusium (*vecu* Cl 1.843, 1.844, 1.845, 1.846, 1.847, 1.851, OI S.52, *vecui* Cl 1.848, 1.849, *vecuśa* Cl 1.852, *vecus* Cl 1.850). For a Faliscan *Veconus* beside Latin *Veconius*, see §7.8.2.

175. ?Vinu... possibly in *[---] uịnụ[---]* MLF **365**. Latin *Vinucius*, Etruscan *vinucenas* Vs 1.126, Oscan *viínikiís* Po 3, all apparently derived from the praenomen attested in Praesamnitic *vinuχs* Ps 3 and the patronymic adjective *viniciiu* Ps 3.

176. ? Viui... perhaps in *uiụị[---]* MF **157**.

177. Vis(i)nius. m. *uisni* MF **82** (abbr. or gen.). The name has parallels in Latin *Visinius* (e.g. *CIL* XI.3614 from Caere) and *Vesnius*, and in Etruscan *Viσ(e)na/ Viσne* (*viσenas* Vs 1.9 and *viσnai* Vc 1.31, *viσnalś* Vc 1.92, *viσnei* Vc 1.53).

178. Vo. abbr. *uo* MF? **29**, Cap **429**.

179. Vollius. f. *uolḷia* MF **47**; *uoll[---]* MF **86**. Other attestations of this name are perhaps *uli* MF? **261-262**, if this can be read as *u(o)li*. Latin likewise had a gentilicium *Vollius* or *Volius.*[139] The spelling with *ll* is surprising (cf. §11.2.5.*5* and §3.5.3.*3*): cf. *Lullius*.

[139] I fail to see why Hirata (1967) included this name under *Volta*: even if *Vollius* and *Volta* are ultimately derived from the Etruscan praenomen *Vel*, they are derived in entirely different ways, and *Vollius* can in no way be considered to be a regular derivation from *Volta*.

180. Voltaeus. f. *uoltaia* MF **196**. A gentilicium derived from the Faliscan praenomen *Volta* (see §7.7.1.*85*) but not as a patronymic gentilicium, since the patronymic adjective from *Volta* is *Voltius* (§7.5.2): see G. Giacomelli 1962.

181. ? Voltius. *ulties* MF/Etr **64**. G. Giacomelli (1963:232) and Hirata (1967:89) compared Etruscan *Ulθe* (ager Saeniensis and Perusia) and *Velθe* (only in the *Liber Linteus*), remarking "ha affinità con *volta*". In my view, the name may be read as *u(o)lties* (with a graphical contraction, see §11.2.5.*8*) which, as the form occurs in isolation, can be interpreted either as a patronymic gentilicium *Voltius* or as the praenomen *Voltius* (for which see §7.7.1.*86*).

182. Vomanius. m. *uomanio* Cap **388**. *Vomanius*, which also occurs in Latin (e.g. *CIL* XI.3338 from Blera), is perhaps derived from a potamonym *Vomanus* (Schulze 1904:481): the nearest river of that name known to modern authors is part of the Po estuary, however, a long way from the ager Faliscus and Capenas. See also §6.5.1. Other potamonymic gentilicia may be *Fa(r)farn-* and *Narionius*.

183. ACEPHALOUS FRAGMENTS (consisting of more than the endings *[---]o*, *[---]io*, *[---]eo*, *[---]a*, *[---]ia*, or *[---]ea: *(*)coṇẹo* LtF **290** (perhaps *ạcoṇẹo*, see under *Aconius*), **e[0-4?]i*ia* LF **235**, **i[....]* MLF **353**, *[.]osena* MLF **206**, *[..]lni[a]* MF **146**, *[....]nea* LtF **301**, *[....]ta* MF **146**, *[---]fate* MLF **285** (gen. of a probably toponymic gentilicium in *...fas*), *[---]iena* MF **102**, *[---]ilio* LtF **215** (perhaps *spur]ilio*, see under *Spurilius*), *[---]lio* MF **137**, *[---]nio* LtF **341**, *[---]nθia* MLF **212** (perhaps *se]nθia*, see under *Sentius*), *[---]rcius* Cap **435** (e.g. *mar]cius*?), *[---]ronio* MF **156** (probably *ne]ronio*, see under *Neronius*).

7.8.2. The origins of the Faliscan gentilicia. Many of the gentilicia in the list in §7.8.1 can be placed into one of several clearly recognizable categories (for an overview of the derivational suffixes, see G. Giacomelli 1963:132-49). Some of these categories can be connected with an origin of the name in a specific language, either Etruscan, Latin-Faliscan, or a Sabellic language. As has been said in §7.1.1, one of the major motives of looking at the onomasticon in a linguistic study is that the onomasticon can provide (socio)linguistic data on the ethnic background of the population, and its contacts with the areas around it. The first problem here is that it is often difficult (to say the least) to ascribe the origin of a gentilicium to a specific language, as has been explained in §7.1.1. Although I have divided the gentilicia into groups according to their most likely origin, it should be stressed that in many cases attribution is very uncertain. The inferences that may be drawn from these data are discussed in §7.10.3.

(1) patronymic gentilicia in -ius, -ilius and -idius (cf. §7.5.2). This is clearly the category in which most of the gentilicia belong that *can* be placed in a specific category. This category can be subdivided according to the praenomina from which they are derived (see also §7.7.2): ***(a)*** from Faliscan praenomina: *Aufilius/Oufilius*, *Iunius*,

Laeuius and *Laeuilius*, and *Voltius*; ***(b)*** from praenomina that occur both in Latin and Faliscan: *Lucilius* (only on an import), *Marcius*, *Quinctius* (only on imports), ***(c)*** from praenomina that are Latin rather than Faliscan: *Spurilius* (from an originally Etruscan praenomen), *Tiberilius* (note the *-b-*); ***(d)*** from Sabellic praenomina: *Fertorius*, *Neronius*, *Petronius*, *Tettius* (?), *Vinu...* (?), possibly also *Pu(m)ponius*, if this is indeed a gentilicium (§7.7.1.52), and (Etruscan?) *Marhius*; ***(d)*** from praenomina common to both Latin/Faliscan and the Sabellic languages: *Genucilius* (only on an import), *Manius* and *Manilius*, and *Tullius*; ***(e)*** from Etruscan praenomina: *Aratius/Arantius*, *Caelius*, *Lartius*, *Sertorius*, and *Venelius*; ***(f)*** from praenomina of uncertain origin: *Caesius*, *Graec...* (Etruscan?), and *Tirrius*; ***(g)*** patronymic gentilicia with the Sabellic suffix *-idius*: *Aiedius*, *Clanidius*, and perhaps *Didius*.

In view of the suffixes with which these gentilicia are derived, they are clearly of Italic origin, but they are of a type that is so common in the Italic languages that it is in many cases impossible to ascribe gentilicia of this type to any specific Italic language. Although it is probable that many originated in the language to which the praenomina belonged from which they were derived, this is by no means necessary: a well-established name like *Spurilius* is derived from a praenomen of Etruscan origin, but one that also occurred in the Latin onomasticon, and the derivational suffix is clearly Latin-Faliscan. Patronymic gentilicia derived from Faliscan praenomina will have originated within the ager Faliscus: these are *Aufilius/Oufilius*, *Iunius*, *Laeuius* and *Laeuilius*, and *Voltius*. The gentilicia that are formed with the suffix *-idius* that is the Sabellic equivalent of Latin *-ilius* may be assumed to be of Sabellic origin.

(2) Etruscan patronymic gentilicia in -na and their adaptations: *Aulena*, *Cotena*, *Eina*, *Hac...na*, *Fescuna* (if this is not a toponymic gentilicium), *Hermana*, *Marcena*, *Nomesina*, *Pleina*, *Salu[e?]na*, *Tetena/Tettena*, *Vicina*, perhaps also Early Faliscan *Capena* (§7.2.2); and, adapted from such names, *Licinius*, *Vicinius*, *Visinius*, *Aenus*, *Faenus*, *Poenus*, and perhaps the Early Faliscan names *Amanus*, *Capena*, and *Voltenus* (§7.2.2). These names constitute a clearly recognizable Etruscan type, and may have been recognized as patronymic even by those who did not speak Etruscan (much like Scottish names in *Mac...* or Irish names in *O'...* are recognizable as patronymic to speakers of English that know no Gaelic), especially since they often contain recognizable praenomina (e.g. *Aulena*, *Marcena*, *Nomesina*, *Tettena*).

Most of these names remain unadapted both in Latin and in Faliscan: in accordance with their nominative in *-a*, such names could be declined according to the first declension (§4.2.1). Note that Faliscan had two frequently occurring local male praenomina in *-a*, *Iuna* and *Volta*, which may have made it even easier to adopt Etruscan gentilicia in *-na* without adaptation of the suffix. On the other hand, if required, such names could be adapted. In Latin, this was usually done by means of ***-na → -inius***, and examples of such adaptations in the Faliscan onomasticon are *Licinius* and *Vicinius* (occurring beside *Vicina*) and probably also *Visinius*. In Faliscan, there are

also cases where such gentilicia were thematized without further adaptation of the suffix, as ***-na → -nus:*** possible examples of this are *Aenus, Faenus, Poenus*, and perhaps Early Faliscan *Amanus*, *Capena*, and *Voltenus* (see §7.2.2).

(3) other names derived from praenomina: *Arruntulus*, *Arruntielius*, *Voltaeus*. These names are derived from praenomina, but not with the *-ius* and *-ilius* of the patronymic derivations (cf. §7.5.2). The derivational suffixes of *Arruntulus* and *Arruntielius* are Italic, although they are derived from Etruscan *Arruns*. *Voltaeus* on the other hand is derived from Faliscan *Volta*, but with a suffix that recalls Etruscan names such as *Velminaeus*, *Letaeus* from the ager Faliscus and other Etruscan names in *-aie:* G. Giacomelli (1962) regarded the suffix as Italic, however.

(4) adaptations of Etruscan gentilicia in -u. These names are a category that does present morphological difficulties, and therefore had to be adapted in some way in order to be declined. Apparently, the nominative in *-u* was comparable to the nominatives in *-o* of the ōn-stems in (§4.5.1.*3*), and the usual way of Latinizing these gentilicia was therefore by means of ***-u → -onius***. Faliscan examples of this are *Aconius*, *Atronius, Fullonius*, *Sacconius*, *Sapnonius*, *Seruatronius*, and *Succonius*, and possibly *Decon...*. Yet Faliscan has two names where the Latinization was apparently by means of ***-u → -onus***, *Viconus* and perhaps also *Praeconus*. This adaptation is in a sense comparable to the adaptation *-na → -nus* described above under *(2)*. Related as well appears to be *Folcosius*, with ***-u → -osius***. A different, and simpler type of adapting these names, occurring also in Latin, is ***-u → -ius***, as in *Cincius*. Unclear is *Laepuius*: it looks as if this was adapted by means of ***-u → -uius***.

(5) geographical: (a) toponymic: *Abellensis*, *Acarcelinius*, *Feliginas*, *Fescuna* (?), *Orticensis*, *Veianius* (?), perhaps also *Calitenus* and *Egnatius*, and the *...fas* in *[---]fate* MLF **285**; ***(b) potamonymic:*** *Fa(r)farn...*, *Narionius* (?), *Vomanius* (and, indirectly, *Tiberilius*); ***(c) ethnonymic:*** *Grae...* (perhaps rather patronymic?), *Latinaeus*, *Sab(in-)*, *Umbrius*, *Umbricius*, and *Umbricianus*. Several of the toponymic and potamonymic gentilicia are connected with local toponyms and potamonyms. Note that *Abellensis* and *Tiberilius* have a *-b-* that can only point to a (Roman) Latin origin, while in the case of *Fa(r)farn-* (if connected with the potamonym at all), the name is derived from the apparently local name *Farfarus*, not from the Latin form *Fabaris*. The ethnonymic names, too, mainly reflect the peoples inhabiting the areas surrounding the ager Faliscus and the ager Capenas: the exception is *Graec...*, but this may be a patronymic gentilicium derived from an older praenomen *Graecus*. With regard to the derivation, note the Etruscan toponymic adjective suffix *-te/-ti* in *Feliginas* and the *...fas* in *[---]fate* MLF **285**, and perhaps also in *Calitenus* and in *Egnatius*.[140]

[140] Note also *alsi*is* Etr **XL**, which, if to be read as *alsiṭis*, is probably a toponymic name derived from *Alsium*. The suffix *-te/-ti* is also used in the toponymic adjective *Capenas*.

(6) Berufsgentilizen: *Clipearius* and *Frenarius*. This is a rare group in the Faliscan onomasticon, and both names are not attested elsewhere. The nouns from which they are derived, *clipeus* and *frenum*, occur also in Latin, although *clipeus* may be of Etruscan origin (§6.2.9). The derivational suffix is Italic.

Whereas these gentilicia are more or less recognizable, there remains a large group that cannot be ascribed so easily to one language or the other. I have divided these according to the languages in which they have most parallels.

(7) gentilicia that appear to have only local parallels: *Protacius*, *Turius*.

(8) gentilicia that have parallels in both Etruscan and Latin: *Annius* and its derivation *Annilius*, *Calitenus* (toponymic?), *Calpurnius*, *Catineius*, *Colanius*, *Egnatius* (toponymic?), *Fabius*, *Fadius*, *Fadenius*, *Firmius*, *Lullius*, *Polfaeus*, *Satellius*, *Sentius*, *Sertinius*. Most, if not all, of these names appear to be of Etruscan origin, but since they are attested for the Latin onomasticon as well, some may have reached the area through the Latin onomasticon rather than in their Etruscan form: the adaptation of these names may therefore have taken place elsewhere than in the ager Faliscus.

(9) gentilicia that have parallels only in Etruscan: *Letaeus/Lete(i)us*, *Velminaeus/Velmine(i)us*. Both are adaptations of Etruscan gentilicia in *-aie*, and are not attested outside the area. Probably also of Etruscan origin are *Acr-* (?), *Am-/Amm-*, *Arn.*

(10) gentilicia that have their main parallels in Latin: *Acciuaeus*, [*Claudius*], *Cutrius* (although the vocalism points to an Etruscan intermediary), *Flauilius* (patronymic?), [*Fuluius*], [*Furius*], *Maecius*, *Mallius*, [*Munius*], *Tertineius*, *Vestius* (of Etruscan origin?), *Vettius* (of Sabellic origin?), *Vecilius*, *Veculius*, *Vetulius*.

(11) gentilicia that are probably of Sabellic origin: *Alliuaeus, Battius* (?), *Blaesius*, *Fassius*, *Hirpius*, *Pacius*, *Pescennius, Sedius/Saedius/Saidius*. Most of these occur in inscriptions from the ager Capenas: see §9.3.2

(12) gentilicia that are probably Italic rather than Etruscan: *Arrius*, *Calinius*, *Cocilius*, *Plarius*, *Popi.* and *Popilius*, *Pupius* and *Pupilius*, *Sarius*.

(13) gentilicia of indeterminate origin: *Adicius*, *Aieius* (?), *Aufitius*, *Citius* (Etruscan?), *Latrius* (Etruscan?), *Lurius*, *Neln-*, *Oscin.*, *Pani...*, *Panur...*, *Partius*, *Pauicius*, *Raec(i)lius*, *Seralius*, *Vatius*, *Ventarc...* (?), *Viui...* (?), *Vollius*. Several of these gentilicia are of dubious attestation.

7.9. The cognomina

7.9.1. Attestations of cognomina in the Faliscan inscriptions. There are several attestations of cognomina from the Faliscan inscriptions. All are from sepulchral in-

scriptions and occur solely in combination with the onomastic formula PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM. The attestations are:

1. ***Maxumus*** (5-7 attestations):[141] *[4-5]ạ hac****a : [?]ạ[?]m̥ : maxumo* MF **89**, with FILIATION? COGNOMEN, *[---] reiç[lio]* | *[---] m̥axom̥[o]* MF **98**, *[---ma]x̣omo // uoltilio* MF **162**, with COGNOMEN FILIATION, *cauio : nomeslina : maxomo* MF **272**, *uoltio · uecineo* | *maxomo* | *iuneo* LF **220**, with COGNOMEN FILIATION; perhaps also (either *Maxumus* or *Manumus*) in *[leu]elio : cailio [: ...*| *ma.]om[o :] rex [: ..]*** MF **90**, probably with FILIATION COGNOMEN, and perhaps ***xi[..]* in the very fragmentary MF **91** (the *titulus posterior* of MF **90**) which can be little else than *m̥axi[mo. Maximus* 'the Greatest' is a cognomen indicating power or success, but it is surprising to find this cognomen in at least four different families. This may suggest that the adoption of this cognomen was not due to some extraordinary achievement, but rather to a feat that was attained with some regularity by deserving individuals, e.g. membership of a ruling body or functioning in a specific high magistracy.

2. ***Manumus*** (2-3 attestations): *[ma]rco : pleina : marcio : man[o]mo* MF **80**, with FILIATION COGNOMEN, *[u]olṭa : pupelio* | *[m]ano[m]o* MF **149**; perhaps also (either *Maxumus* or *Manumus*) in *[leu]elio : cailio [: ...*| *ma.]om[o :] rex [: ..]*** MF **90**, probably with FILIATION COGNOMEN. *Manumus*, 'the Best' or perhaps rather 'the Most Good', on the other hand, may have had a sacral connotation (cf. §6.2.1 s.v. *manus*).

3. ***?i*ice*** (2 attestations?): *tito // uelmineo* | *nu i*ice* MLF **309** with FILIATION COGNOMEN?, *tito : uellmineo : iunlaị i*ice* MLF **315** with FILIATION COGNOMEN?. It is unclear if *i*ice* is a cognomen: most editors have interpreted it as a verb (see §5.2.1.*9*, §6.2.*38*), but this is partly due to the interpretation of *iunlai* in MLF **315** as a dative rather than as a genitive. If it is a cognomen, it is unclear how *i*ice* is to be read: neither *i̯pice* nor *i̯dice* seems to produce a promising cognomen (*I(m)p̣ige(r)*? *I(n)d̥ige(ns)*?).

4. ***? Ruso*** (2 attestations?): *cauio[---]* | *ruso[?---]* MLF **318**, perhaps to be restored in *ce · paui[ceo ru?]so* LtF **290**. The cognomen *Ruso* is well-known from Latin sources (cf. Solin & Salomies 1994:394) and occurs in *CIL* XI.3254 I.13 from Sutri. It is probably derived from *russus/rūsus* 'reddish', with the *-o* that is frequently used in derivation of Latin cognomina: assuming an Etruscan connection (G. Giacomelli 1963:216) is not necessary. Both attestations are doubtful, however: note that reading *ru]so* in LtF **290** would provide the only instance of a cog-

[141] I cannot adopt Colonna's (1972c:446-7) interpretation of *[---]ronio : uol[t---*|*---]a*ome* MF 156 as containing a cognomen *m]axome*: this would be the only instance of monophthongization of /-ai/ to /-ē/.

nomen in a public inscription from the ager Faliscus at a time when this was rare even in Latin texts (cf. Kajanto 1977a:67).

5. Previous editors have read several other cognomina in the texts. Of these, the following can be rejected for reasons discussed under the individual inscriptions: *cela* MF **12**, MF **83**, MF **84**, *cẹla* MF **166** (all instances of the noun *cela* 'cella'); *rezo* MF **56** (fragmentary text); *uentarc[*..... MF **80** (rather a name of another individual); *θania* MF **81** (a woman's name), *tuconu* MF **85** (unclear, but if it is a cognomen, it would be a name consisting only of COGNOMEN occurring in isolation), *[---]ono* MF **102** (perhaps rather a genitive in *[---]ono(s)*), *kreco* MF **147** (a praenomen), *sus[?---]* LF **227** (unclear, perhaps *s us[o(r)]*?), *sorex* LtF **231** (a ghostword), ****io* LF **332** (badly legible, probably a patronymic adjective), *esχ* Cap **389** and **404** (to be read as a verbal form *esú*), *posticnu* MLF/Cap **474*** (a Sabellic noun, cf. South Picene *postiknam* CH.2), and *velusa* Etr **XXXIV** (rather an Etruscan genitive). Still worth considering perhaps are *putellio* MF **152** (rather a gentilicium?) and abbreviated *sen* Cap **435** (rather a praenomen?). Note that G. Giacomelli (1963) and Hirata (1967) sometimes appear to use the term cognomen also for a second gentilicium: for which see §7.6.

7.9.2. The chronology of the Faliscan cognomen. Rix (1965 *passim*, cf. 1965:379-80) has shown that in Etruscan cognomina started to appear in the fifth century and became current for men from the third century onward: cognomina for women remained scarce in most of Etruria, except at Clusium (Rix 1965:40-2). In Rome, cognomina may have made their first appearance in the fifth century, but they remained a prerogative of the patrician families until well into the second (Kajanto 1977a:64-7).

The scarcity of cognomina in the Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions may be due to the fact that they were a new feature in the ager Faliscus as well or that they were limited to a specific group, as in Rome. Also, the occurrence of the filiation *after* the cognomen in *[---ma]ẋọmo ⸗ uoltilio* MF **162** and *uoltio · uecineo | maxomo | iuneo* LF **220** may indicate that it did not yet have a fixed place in the onomastic formula. Neither are there secure indications that Faliscan cognomina were hereditary, apart from the occurrence of *i*ice* in MLF **309** and MLF **315**, both from the gens Velminaea. Another possible but even more dubious instance would be *ruso*, if MLF **318** is to be restored as *cauio [· pauiceo] | ruso[?---]*, and LtF 290 as *ce · pau[ceo · ru?]so* LtF **290**.

Although there is no evidence of the existence of something resembling the Roman patrician class in Faliscan society, there are a few indications that the Faliscan cognomina may have been associated with high social status. Thus, *[leu]elio : cailio [: ...| max/man]om[o :] rex [: ..]*** MF **90** shows not only a cognomen but also the (sacral?) title *rex*, and high status has also been assumed in the case of *uoltio · uecineo | maxomo | iuneo* LF **220**, even apart from the fact that *Maximus* is in itself a name implying

greatness.[142] If Faliscan cognomina were not yet hereditary, the repeated occurrence of *Maxumus* would then point to *individual* rather than to *family* status, perhaps referring to some notable (political or military?) achievement or success. This might partly explain the occurrence of *Maxumus* as a cognomen of individuals of at least four different families.

There are no clear instances of cognomina from the Late Faliscan period apart from *uoltio · uecineo* | *maxomo* | *iuneo* LF **220**. *Harisp...* in *c · clipeaṛ[io]* | *m · f · haṛiṣp[ex* LtF **231** and *[---]*| *harisp[---*|*---]sor* LF **232** is a priestly title than a cognomen. Apart from this, there is only the doubtful instance of *Rutilus* in *m · aco[---]*| *rutil · ce[---]* LtF **341**. Even sepulchral inscriptions with quite extensive *cursus honorum* from this period yield no cognomina, and neither do the public inscriptions from Falerii Novi and along the roads of the ager Faliscus.[143] This absence of cognomina after the war of 241-240 could imply that as far as cognomina were concerned, the Faliscan onomasticon was adapted to the Roman usage of the period, where cognomina were still a patrician prerogative, and did not regularly appear in public inscriptions.

If that is true, the Latin inscriptions from the area from the second half of the second century and later might be expected to contain more cognomina, for around this date the cognomen also begins to appear in the names of plebeians and freedmen in inscriptions from Rome and Latium. Cognomina indeed appear in the dedication *[.] ṃunio regena** | *numesio · m[art]ę* | *d d l m* Lat **377**, where *regena** may well be a cognomen, in the sepulchral inscription of *Pu(blius) Fuluius C(ai) f(ilius)* | *C(ai) n(epos) Suto(r)* Lat **250** (106 BCE), which also has a very formal double filiation,[144] and in the dedication *[. · u]mpricius · c · f* | *[?]aburcus · q ·* | *[ap]olinei · dat* Lat **219** (*c.*120-50 BCE).

7.10. The Faliscan onomasticon and the question of identity

7.10.1. Names as markers of identity. As was said in §7.1.1, names are markers of identity, not only the identity of the person they refer to, but also of the ramifications of that person's identity with regard to gender, family, social group, ethnic group, etc.

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[142] On an epigraphic level, note that *[ma]rco : pleina : marcio : man[o]mo* MF **80** and *[4-5]a hac****a : [?]a[?]m : maximo* MF **89** are both decorated with a painted border, an exceedingly rare feature in Faliscan sepulchral inscriptions (§11.1.4.*1c*). On the other hand, *cauio : nomeslina : maxomo* MF **272** was scratched on a tile in a very careless manner.

[143] Kajanto (1977a:67) explained the absence of cognomina in Republican public inscriptions as a relic from the time when cognomina were not yet a regular part of the name.

[144] In accordance with what was said in the preceding note, the names of the consuls still appear in this inscription *without* cognomina as *C(aio) Atilio (et) Q(uinto) Servi‹li›o.*

In societies where family names exist, such as those of ancient Italy, a distinction should be made between gentilicia and praenomina. Gentilicia are *inherited*: they express the relationship to the family, and the social or ethnic group from which this family comes. Praenomina are *given*, that is, chosen by a parent, and especially in an area like the ager Faliscus, with its heterogenous ethnic make-up, they can represent a choice for a certain identity. From this perspective it could be said that the gentilicium represents the *origins* of the family, which remain unchangeable and may be of great importance in a society that values tradition and the ancestors, while the praenomen, which may change from generation to generation, can denote the *direction* in which the family is heading, and of which group they want their children to be a part.

A third point by which identity, especially social identity, may be established is by the onomastic formula: for the period and the area that is the subject of this study, this means e.g. the use of double gentilicia, the use of cognomina, and the differences between the onomastic formula of men and of women.

7.10.2. The onomastic formula and social status. The onomastic formula can denote social groups and the importance of an individual or section of the group with regard to the other members.

First, there are specific formula for freedmen and -women (§7.6), where Faliscan appears to follow the Etruscan usage of giving a double gentilicium in some texts (MF **82**, **346**), but the Latin usage of naming the former master with the word *libertus* or *liberta* in others (MF **155**, **165**). Apparently, it was important that freedmen and freedwomen were recognizable by a distint onomastic formula.

A second point involving both the onomastic formula and social status is the use of the cognomen (§7.9). Whether or not it was restricted to a specific group, as it was in Rome, where cognomina were long a prerogative of the patrician families, cannot be established. There are indications, however, that it was associated with high status, and that it may have depended on certain individual (political?) achievements.

Thirdly, there are the onomastic formulas of women (§7.4). It is noteworthy that these are more liable to variation than those of men, and that it is more usual for a woman than for a man to be designated by one name only, in which case there is a preference for using the gentilicium – unlike in the case of men, where the praenomen is preferred. This may foreshadow a tendency observable also in Rome, where the importance of the praenomen as part of the (official) onomastic formula appears to have been on the decrease during the late Republican period (cf. Kajava 1994:114-24). The fact that there are no instances of Faliscan women having cognomina is also significant, although it does not set the ager Faliscus apart: during the Middle and Late Faliscan period, women's cognomina were very rare in Etruria, except for the area of Clusium, and probably still non-existent in Latium (§7.9.2).

7.10.3. Gentilicia and the question of ethnic origin. Having established, albeit in a very tentative way, the linguistic origins of the gentilicia that occur in the Faliscan inscriptions (§7.8.2), it is time to look at what implications can be drawn from these data. A number of provisos have been made earlier (§7.1.1), and these severely limit the inferences that can be made. One thing that *can* safely be said, however, is that the majority of the Faliscan gentilica appears to be of Etruscan origin, while only a very small number of names can with some certainty be regarded as local: the long persistence of the patronymic adjective in the ager Faliscus may imply that the development of the gentilicia proceeded at a slower rate than elsewhere. However, in view of the gentilicia, a large number of the inhabitants appear to be of Etruscan descent at least.

The point, however, is what this means from an ethnic and linguistic perspective. As said in §7.1.1, as long as there is nothing to show that people with Etruscan gentilicia were (still) Etruscan in the sense that they were regarded as Etruscan or thought of themselves as Etruscan (in whatever sense they defined this), this means little. In what sense were families with Etruscan gentilicia Etruscan? Were there families that were obviously Etruscan to their neighbours, or families whose connection with what modern scholarship calls Etruscan was only very slight? Posing the question from a linguistic perspective: is it safe to assume that such families spoke Etruscan as their first language, and, more importantly for the linguistic study of the area as a whole, that *they* spoke Etruscan as their first language while the majority of people with a non-Etruscan gentilicium did not?

The answer to most of these, and similar, questions can at best be a surmise, at worst an assumption. If the Roman onomasticon is reviewed in a similar way, it can likewise be said that a great number of the Roman gentilicia were of Etruscan origin. Yet it is obvious that fourth- or third century Rome was not an Etruscan city at least in the linguistic sense: as Cornell (1997) has shown in his article on ethnicity in early Rome, from the earliest time onwards, Roman was something that you could *become*. Whatever the original identity of a person or that person's family, that identity could be changed: not for nothing he quotes the story of Tarquinius Priscus, son of a Greek potter, married to an Etruscan wife (Liv. 1.34), bearing an Etruscan name, who eventually became a Roman king. In other words, gentilicia may be markers of the *original* identity of the family, but the individual members of later generations, although they might be proud of their ancestry or pay some form of respect to it, may not necessarily have regarded themselves as belonging to that original identity.

In this respect, I think it is noteworthy that the great majority of Etruscan gentilicia were adapted, where necessary, to the requirements of Faliscan (§7.8.2): indications that they remained phonetically, phonologically, or morphologically different are very scarce. An exception are the names in *-na*, that show a larger number of instances where the name remains unadapted, as happened in the Latin onomasticon. In general, however, unadapted names are generally found only in the Etruscan inscrip-

tions from the area, while there are hardly any instances of Faliscan names appearing in Etruscan inscriptions from the area (§9.2.2), implying that the adaption of names worked in one direction only.

Although the majority of gentilicia was therefore of Etruscan origin, the language of the area was Faliscan, and families with Etruscan gentilicia on the whole used Faliscan and Faliscan forms of their names at least in the epigraphic texts, whatever they may have spoken or written in other contexts (§9.2.1). It is also noteworthy that with few exceptions (see below), in contrast to the gentilicia, the majority of the *praenomina* in the area was local and not Etruscan, whatever the onomastic background of the families involved (§7.10.5).

In some cases, however, there are indications that the bearers of Etruscan names were indeed 'Etruscan' in one or more senses of this word. This is most notable in a group of inscriptions from Corchiano that show a number of Etruscan traits (§9.2.2.*3*), the most important ones being

poplia : calitenes | *aronto : cesies* | *lartio : uxor* MF **265**
ueltur · tetena | *aruto* MF **266**
arute macena | *morenez* MF **269**
larise : mar||*cna : citiai* MF **270**
poplia | *zuconia* MF **271**
cauio : nomes|*lina : maxomo* | *zeruatronia* MF **272**

Within this group, not only are all gentilicia Etruscan, and mostly unadapted (§7.8.2), but the praenomina are predominantly Etruscan, too (§7.10.5); furthermore, the inscriptions show linguistic features such as *-e* in *arute* and *larise* and *-es/-ez* for female names (§9.2.2.*1*), orthographical features such as the use of *z-* (§3.5.3), and epigraphic features such as the fact that these inscriptions were scratched (§11.1.4.*1c*), which may all be considered Etruscan or at least non-Faliscan.

Peruzzi (1990) has shown in his study of the gentilicia in these inscriptions that the families named may have been recent immigrants from the area of Clusium. Yet even these families use the Faliscan alphabet, language and textual formulas: it is not their gentilicia, but the gentilicia occurring in a context of other features that makes it possible for the modern scholar to regard them as more Etruscan than others.

7.10.4. Praenomina and the family. One bond that can be expressed by praenomina is that with the family, especially in cases of a praenomen that 'runs in the family', children being named after a relative, often the grandfather (cf. Salomies 1987:378-88). The Faliscan family tombs and the frequent use of PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM give some insight into this usage for the ager Faliscus. A good example is the third-century tomb of the *gens Velminaea* at Vignanello, where the following members of the gens can be identified:

Gavius	*cauio uelmineo* | *popliai file* MLF **308**
Iuna son of Titus	*iuna uelmineo* | *titio* MLF **307**
Publius	*popli[o]* | *uelmi*|*no* MLF **316**
Publius or Publia	*popl[---]*| *[u]elṃi[ne---]* MLF **317**
Quinctus	*cuicto uelmineo* |*[---?]uoxie[.]eai* MLF **310**
Titus son of Iuna	*tito : uel*|*mineo : iun*|*aị i*ice* MLF **315**
Titus son of Nu. ?	*tito* **ꟻ** *uelmineo* | *nu i*ice* MLF **309**
Titus son of Titus	*tito : uelmineo* | *titọi* MLF **305**
Volta	*uolta : uelmineo* MLF **313**
Voltius son of Titus	*uoltio [:] uelmineo* | *titio* MLF **312**

Even within this small group there are at least three and possibly even five different men called *Titus*: furthermore, there is both a 'Iuna son of Titus' and a 'Titus son of Iuna', implying that praenomina could skip a generation, as they did in Rome.

A similar picture occurs from the *gens Aufilia*. The following members of this *gens* were buried in a family tomb at Falerii Veteres:

Caesius son of Iuna	*ḳai[s]i[o · auf]ilio · iun[?eo]* MF **51**
Gavius	*cauio · aufilio* MF **49**
Gavius	*caui[o] · aufilio* MF **50**
Iuna	*iuna · oufilio* MF **48**
Iuna or Volta?	*[---]a · aufi[lio* MF **53**

Two other members of the gens, apparently brothers, were buried at Corchiano:

Caesius son of Volta	*ceisio : oufilio* | *uolθeo* MF **276**
Gavius son of Volta	*cauio : oufilio* | *uolteo* MF **275**

Finding more than one *Gauius* is perhaps not very surprising, since this praenomen occurs with great frequency (§7.7.1-2), but three within such a small group may be significant. Two other men are called *Caesius*, which is also a frequent praenomen, although not as frequent as Gavius (§7.7.1-2). Interestingly, of the two sons of Volta from Corchiano, one is called *Gauius* and the other *Caesius*, making it even more probable that these were the preferred and perhaps hereditary praenomina within the gens. Also, there appear to be either two *Iunae* or two *Voltae* in the family.

Less clear instances are the following:

(a) The *gens Spurilia* shows both a Marcus son of Gaius (*m · spurilius · c · f* Lat **237**) and a Gaius son of Marcus (*c · spurilius* \| *m · f* Lat **238**), both from Falerii Novi, one presumably being the father of the other.

(b) Among the five members of the *gens Folcosia* whose praenomina are known (*cẹịṣ[i.]* \| *holc[osi]* \| *ar · p[...]* MF **140** from Falerii Veteres, and *sesto* **ꟻ** \| *fulczeo* LF **329**, *uoltio* \| *folcozeo* \| *zextoi* \| *fi* LF **330**, *cẹlio *olcuzeo* \| ****io* LF **332**, *cesio folcuso* LF **331** from Carbognano-Vallerano) there are perhaps two Caesii.

(c) The *gens Vicinia* shows a closely related Gavius (*ca · uecineo [·] uoltio* LF **224**, *ca · uecineo* LF **225**) and Gavia (*cau[ia ·] uecin[e]a · uotiliạ* LF **222**, *cauia : uecinea* LF **223**). In the traditional reading of LF **224**, *ca · uecineo [·] uolti ·*, they were even regarded as brother and sister.

(d) The *gens Socconia* may provide two men called *Vel*, but the attestations are very doubtful (*uel zu[con]leo : fe [cupa]* MF **56** and *[--- ue?]l su[conio? ---]*ic* MF **191**). Note that the gentilicium is adapted from Etruscan *Zuχu*, and that the praenomen is Etruscan as well.

7.10.5. Praenomina and ethnic identification. Apart from the familial identification, praenomina can also be used to express ethnic identification. This is of some interest in an area like the ager Faliscus, lying as it does on the crossroads of several quite different cultures and languages, each with their own names.

In §7.7.2 it was established that there is a clear preference for several praenomina, namely *Gauius*, *Iuna*, *Volta* and its derivation *Voltius*, and *Caesius*. Even when abbreviations and patronymic adjectives are not counted, these five together make up nearly one-third of all instances of Faliscan praenomina (including abbreviated praenomina). Now *Iuna*, *Volta* and *Voltius* are peculiar to the area, occurring nowhere else, while *Gauius* and *Caesius* do occur elsewhere, but nowhere with a frequency that came close to the frequency of these names in the ager Faliscus. (Note that with the exception of *vultasi* Etr **XLII**, these names do not even appear in Etruscan inscriptions from the area: see §9.2.1.) If the fragmentary picture presented by the epigraphic sources represents the real distribution of praenomina in the ager Faliscus during the fourth to the second century BCE, this must mean that someone bearing the name *Iuna*, *Volta*, or *Voltius* would have been immediately recognisable as someone from the ager Faliscus, or perhaps even as 'a Faliscan', that is, someone who regarded himself as such.

The persistent choice for a local praenomen like *Iuna* or *Volta* must have reflected an adherence to some form of specifically Faliscan identity that was clearly different from an Etruscan, Latin, or Sabellic one. This is even more apparent from the fact that these names, popular as they were, quickly disappear from the record in the inscriptions that can be dated to the period after *c.*240. *Iuna* recurs only in a patronymic adjective in LF **220**, *Volta* in MLF **367-370**, in a patronymic adjective in LF **224**, and makes a last appearance in a filiation in LF/Lat **214**. The disappearance of *Iuna* and *Volta* may be due to the fact that Latin did not have male praenomina of the first declension, or it may be due to reasons connected with a changing identity of the populace, or at least of that part of the populace that left (sepulchral) inscriptions. *Gauius* and *Caesius* likewise disappear from the record, and were perhaps replaced by their perceived Latin equivalents *Gaius* and *Kaeso*.

On the other hand, the inscriptions from the period after *c.*240 show praenomina that either were absent or not very frequent in the Middle Faliscan onomasticon. These are *Aulus*, *Gaius*, *Lucius*, *Marcus*, *Publius,* and perhaps also *Sextus.* All of these appear to be associated with Latino-Faliscan and Latin inscriptions from the area, even though *Aulus* and *Publius* are (ultimately) of Etruscan origin. Their frequency in the later inscriptions must be due to people inclined to use the Latin rather than the Faliscan onomasticon, whether they did so because they were immigrants or descendants of immigrants from Latium or because they were members of local families whose identity was shifting towards a 'Latin' one. I do not think that it is necessary to ascribe this to a conscious 'breach with the past' on the part of the Faliscan population (or at least those members of the population that left (sepulchral) inscriptions), but rather to the fact that the area had become part of a larger world that was Latin, with Rome at its centre: in such a world the identity especially of the families that made up the administration of the area could no longer be strictly local.

Etruscan praenomina do appear in fairly great number in the area, but apart from *Arruns*, they do not appear to have enjoyed great popularity, and even *Arruns* comes at best in sixth place in the number of instances of individual praenomina. There are no indications that Etruscan names were among those that recurred within one family, or that families with Etruscan gentilicia preferred to use Etruscan cognomina: in most cases, there are simply too few attestations of a particular gentilicium for this. The only indications are the dubious recurrence of *Vel* in the *gens Succonia* (§7.10.4) and perhaps *aruz : cesie : aruto* MF **257** (below). On the whole, families seem to have preferred Faliscan praenomina, whether or not the gentilicium is Etruscan, and Etruscan praenomina also occur in families that do not have specifically Etruscan gentilicia.

A notable exception to this are the inscriptions from Corchiano, *aruz : cesie : aruto* MF **257**, *poplia : calitenes* | *aronto : cesies* | *lartio : uxor* MF **265**, and *ueltur · tetena* | *aruto* MF **266**, *arute macena* | *morenez* MF **269**, *larise : mar*||*cna : citiai* MF **270**.[145] In all these cases, there is a combination of Etruscan praenomen with an Etruscan gentilicium, and in MF **257**, **265**, **266**, the filiation shows that the father had an Etruscan praenomen as well. These inscriptions also show a number of other Etruscan features (cf. §7.10.3 and §9.2.3). This could imply that Etruscan praenomina occurring within families with an Etruscan gentilicium were an indication of an Etruscan rather than a Faliscan identity.

An example that subsumes the whole gamut of the Faliscan onomasticon is that of the *gens Clipearia*. The gentilicium is a *Berufsgentiliz*, probably pointing to a fairly modest background as artisans. In the mid- or late fourth century, a potter or painter signed

[145] Note that these four inscriptions provide four out of the seven instances of *Arruns*, one of the two instances of *Veltur*, and the only instance of *Lars*.

his work with *oufilo : clipeaio : letei : fileo : met : facet* MF **470***, showing a praenomen *Aufilus* that is quite rare and Italic (if not Faliscan), while his father's name can only be matched by the Etruscan gentilicium *leθaie* in Etr **XLVIII**. From two tombs near Falerii Novi, and therefore probably dating to the period after *c.*240, are three more *Clipearii*, a *l · clipiar[io]* LF **230**, a *c · clipear[io]* | *m · f · harisp[ex* LtF 231, who (apart from being a *haruspex*) was at least *ce(n)]lso* and *rex*, and a *m · cl[i]peario · m [· f* LtF **233**, whose name may likewise have been followed by a *cursus honorum* (all that is left is *[---]or*). If these are members of the same gens as Aufilus Clipearius (and I can hardly imagine that within such a small community they were not, since the gentilicium is quite rare), they appear to have made a social climb from being a family of shieldmakers and potters with Italic and Etruscan praenomina to being magistrates at Roman Falerii Novi, and to have adjusted their choice of praenomina accordingly to the Latin *Gaius*, *Lucius*, and *Marcus*. In a sense, this is as illustrative of the social and onomastic development of the ager Faliscus as Livy's story of the rise of Tarquinius Priscus (1.34) is of Rome and Etruria.

Chapter 8

Syntax and text structure

Although some attention has been paid to it in the past (e.g. Stolte 1926:22-7, G. Giacomelli 1963:155-68), the syntax of Faliscan is on the whole a rather neglected subject. This is not surprising, for from a traditional, morphology-based syntactic perspective the data provided by the Faliscan texts can be described in fairly brief terms and provide little that is of interest (§8.2-3). There are, however, two other and more promising approaches to the subject. The first is what can broadly be called the 'word order' approach, where it is the order of the constituents of sentences and word groups that is the subject of study: on this point, Faliscan appears to align with early Latin (§8.4-7). The second approach is the study of the way in which types of texts, especially formulaic texts, are constructed. This provides some interesting insights into the relation between the textual types found in the Faliscan material and comparable material from the surrounding areas (§8.8-13).

8.1. Syntax and text structure: methodological issues

The major problem in the description of Faliscan syntax is that the data are extremely limited. This is mainly due to the contents of the inscriptions, which in many cases consist entirely of names. More elaborate texts containing verb phrases are few, apart from the formulaic type *hec cupat/cupant* (cf. §8.10.1).

The only longer inscriptions that show verb phrases and even sentences are the Early Faliscan inscriptions EF **1-4** on the one hand, and the second-century Latin inscriptions on the other. Although I have used the former group, I found that trying to use the latter group as a source of data for a description of a Faliscan syntax severely biased the outcome and I have therefore excluded this group on methodological grounds, as it cannot be ascertained whether these, in fact, represent Faliscan syntax. Not only are these inscriptions in most cases very different from the Faliscan inscriptions with regard to their type and contents, they are also usually of a very late date. Especially note Lat **217** (*c.*125), **218** (*c.*125), **219** (*c.*120-50), **237** and **238**, **240**, **250** (106), **251** (late second century), **268** (fourth century, but probably imported), **291** (second century), **296** (an import), **377**, **393**, Cap **386**, **421** (*c.*150), Cap **431-437,** Lat **438** (all from before 211), and **456** (*c.*100-50). I have likewise excluded Late Faliscan or Latin **214** (*c.*150?), not because it is necessarily non-Faliscan, but because it is a unique text even among the Latin inscriptions and can therefore not be used as data for a consistent picture of Faliscan syntax.

8.2. Nominal morphosyntax

8.2.1. Cases and numbers. As appeared from Chapter 4, the Faliscan material shows six cases in productive use, namely the nominative (§4.2.1, §4.2.6, §4.3.1, §4.3.6, §4.5.1, §4.5.3.*2*), the genitive (§4.2.2, §4.3.6, §4.4, §4.5.2, §4.5.3.*3*, §4.6.1), the dative (§4.2.3, §4.3.2, §4.6.2), the accusative (§4.2.4, §4.3.3, §4.5.3.*1*, §4.6.3), and, attested only for Early Faliscan, the ablative (§4.3.4) and the vocative (§4.3.5). The ablative occurs in fossilized form in the adverbs *foied* MF **59-60** (← Proto-Latin */hō+di̯ē(d)/ or */ho-di̯ē(d)/, cf. §6.2.*34*) and *ifra* MF **40** (← Proto-Latin */enð(e)rā(d)/). The locative likewise occurs only in fossilized form in the adverb *hec* ← (Proto-Latin */hei̯+ke/ (attestations in §4.8, §6.2.*33*). Unfortunately, it cannot be ascertained whether in (Middle) Faliscan the locative had ceased to be productive, as in Latin (cf. *LHS* I pp.148-51, Meiser 1998:129), or remained a productive case, as in the Sabellic languages (cf. Von Planta 1897:415, Buck 1928:199-200).[146]

The numbers are two, namely singular and plural: as in the other Italic languages, there is no dual. In Latin inscriptions, the singular could be used for the plural in the case of a gentilicium preceded by more than one praenomen, as in *m · c · pomplio · no · f CIL* I^2.30 and *q · k · cestio · q · f CIL* I^2.61, and perhaps also *q · a · aidicio CIL* I^2.2442 (cf. Wachter 1987:390-1).[147] An Early Faliscan instance of this usage has been read in *euios : mama zextos* EF **1**, which was interpreted as 'Mama (et) Sextus Euius' by Herbig (*CIE* 8079), but this is uncertain at best: a clearer instance seems to be *m · tito · tulio · uoltilio · hescuna* MLF **346**, although the *m* may be a later addition.

Agreement is as rigidly observed as in every Italic language, with the exception of two problematic instances. The first is *poplia : calitenes* | *aronto : cesies* | *lartio : uxor* MF **265**, where even in the least strained interpretation, 'Publia Calitenes, wife to Arruns Caesius Lars' son', the patronymic adjective would be expected to show the genitive *larti* instead of the nominative *lartio*. The second is *cau‹i›o : pauiceo :* | *l̩[oc]i̯es : cela* MF **12**, for which the most probable interpretation seems to be 'the tomb of Gavius Pavicius, Lucius' son', which would be *caui : pauici :* | *l̩[oc]i̯es : cela*. In both cases, the confusion in the use of the cases has been ascribed to Faliscan-Etruscan language contacts, which is probable at least in the case of MF **265** (see §9.2.2-3). The possibility of an epigraphic error cannot be excluded, however: MF **265** is known only from apographs, while the lines of MF **12** may in fact belong to separate inscriptions.

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[146] M.Mancini's (2002:28-33) interpretation of *lete* MLF **285** as a locative /l̩ētę̄/ ← */lōi̯tāi̯/ would presuppose that the locative still was productive in Faliscan.

[147] Early authors interpreted these forms in *-o* as duals, but in view of the complete absence of traces of a productive Italic dual, it is extremely unlikely that the dual.

8.2.2. Syntactic functions of the cases. The use of the cases expressing the arguments is without surprises: the nominative is used to mark the subject, the accusative to mark the object, and the dative to mark the indirect object. The instances are:

(intransitive verb, with nominative subject only:)

uel zu[con]leo : fe[cupa] MF **56**
[ma]rco : pleina : marcio : man[o]mo : cauiacue | *[u]eculia : uoltilia : uentarc[i : ..... : hec : cupa]nt* MF **80**
[--- c]elio · cesi · fi | *[---]: cauia * *** | *[he cup?]a* MF **94**
[---]celio[---|---] : hec : cupa[t]* MF **95**
cạ[u]io : le[ueli]o : cau[i] | *hileo : ian[ta : ..]lnia* | *hec : cupat* MF **146**
[--- pu]peḷ[i---|---]a he[cupat] MF **150**
*ụol[ta :]**[---]* | *iataçue :][---]* | *hec : cupạt* MF **158**
[leu]elio · [---|---]io · ca[--- | he · c]up[at] MF **159**
[po]plia[: ---| hec] : cup[a] MF **161**
uoltio · uecineo | *maxomo* | *iuneo · he : cupat* LF **220**
uipia : zertenea : loferta | *marci : acarcelini* | *mate : he : cupa* LF **221**
marcio : acarcelinio | *cauia : uecinea* | *hęç cupat* LF **223**
ca · uecineo[·]uolti · | he · cupat LF **224**
tito[:]acarcelinio : | *ma : fi · pop · petrunes · ce · f* | *[h]e cu[pa]* LF **226**
tito : uelmineo | *titịo : fe cupa* LF **307**
c · clipear[io] | *m · f · haraṣp[ex · cen]lsor · rex q · *(*)ẹ[---]* | *heic cubat* LtF **231**
[---]o cicio · cicoi : cupat : ịfra MF **40**
[uo]ltio[:]ueiçọno : lecet : ḥec MF **88**
ofetios kaios uelos amanos salueto salues seitei (= *s[e]ite* or *s‹ie›te*) EF **4**
a · írpios · esú Cap **389**
k · sares · esú Cap **404**
açiuaiom esú Cap **465**
lete zot xxiiii MLF **285**

(transitive verb, with both nominative subject and accusative object:)

*ceres : far *[0-2]e[1-3]tom ... *[3-4]*ad* EF **1**
mama z[e]xtos med f[.f]ḥqod EF **1**
eqo ụrne[a ti?]tela ... arcentelom huti[c?]ilom pe:para[i EF **1**
tele[1-2?] med fifiked* EF **9**
oufilo : clipeaio : letei : fileo : met : facet MF **470***
[.]a · protacio · m · f · mạcistratu | *keset · cụestod · pi · pretod · pis* LF **242** (a similar text, but damaged, is LF **243**)
perhaps *precono* | *cui teneṭ* | *let* MLF **361** (if 'Praeconus qui tenet lect(um)')

(transitive verb, with only the nominative subject expressed; the object (the inscribed object itself) can be inferred from the context:)

cauios frenaios faced MF **471***

(transitive verbs, with only the accusative object expressed; the subject is present in the verb form:)

foied · uino · pipafo · cra · carefo · MF **59** = *foied · uino · ‹pi›pafo · cra · carę[f]o ·* MF **60**

(transitive verb, with nominative subject, accusative object, and indirect dative object expressed:)

praų[i]os urnam : soç[iai]ṗorded karai EF **1**

There are no instances of other uses of the cases than nominative subject - accusative object - indirect dative object. *Carefo* in *foied · uino · pipafo · cra · carefo ·* MF **59** = *foied · uino · ‹pi›pafo · cra · carę[f]o ·* MF **60** may have had an ablative complement as in Latin, but in early Latin this verb is also used with the genitive and the accusative (see *LHS* II p.83). I do not adopt Renzetti Marra's (1990:336-7) interpretation of *precono* | *cui teneț* | *let* MLF **361** as 'Preconio cui (al quale) tocca il letto': this requires a construction for *teneo* that is to my knowledge entirely without parallels in Latin or any Italic language.

Due to the lack of longer texts, there are hardly any instances of the use of cases in satellites. Ablatives *pramod* (and *propramod*?) occur in *propramom : pramed [u]mom pramod pramed umom : pramod : propramọḍ : pramod umọ[m]* EF **2**, and possibly in *[--- p]rotacio[---|---o]stro - pro[---]* LF **244** and *[---]*[---|--- c]ues[tor ---|---]ostr[o ---]* LF **245** (cf. Renzetti Marra 1990:338), but in all these texts the function of these forms is entirely unclear. The vocative occurs in the pseudo-subjects *salue[to]d uoltene* EF **3** and *ues saluete sociai* EF **4**.

On the word level, the only case attested with any frequency is the possessive genitive (for which see §8.1.3), which can also be combined with *esú* 'I am', as in *açiuaiom esú* Cap **465**, and possibly also in *k · sares · esú* Cap **404** (cf. §9.3.2). In a prepositional phrase, the ablative is attested in *pro pramọḍ* in EF **2** (see §8.4.4).

8.2.3. The nominative and the genitive in isolation. In the epigraphic material, case-forms regularly occur in isolation. In the case of the nominative and the genitive, this can be ascribed to the semantic functions of these cases, and does not require the assumption of ellipsis of a verb, which I think is necessary in the case of the dative and the accusative (for which see §8.2.4).

The nominative can of course occur in isolation because it is semantically 'unmarked': in inscriptions, its use in isolation serves as a very explicit and specific identification mark, used to identify:

(a) the *deceased*, in sepulchral inscriptions: the instances are too numerous to enumerate (*c.*184 instances: for the attestations, see §11.1.4.*1*).

(b) the *owner* of the object, in *Besitzerinschriften* where the possessive relationship between owner and object is not expressed by the genitive (for attestations see §8.8.1).

(c) the *maker* of the object, in signatures (see §8.9.1 and §11.1.4.2*a*), but also in inscriptions naming the magistrate responsible for the execution of a public work as the 'maker-by-proxy' (see §8.11 and §11.1.4.*5*).

(d) the inscribed object itself: in inscriptions where the object is the Topic and the Focus consists of the attribute of the object, as in *cau‹i›o : pauiceo* | *l[oc]ies : cela* MF **12**, **[.]pi : uesθi : cela* MF **83**, *caui[:]t**(*)[i]: cela* MF **84**, *[---]fate cela* MLF **285** (see §8.9.3).

(e) an attribute of the inscribed object: mention of the inscribed object (the Topic) is omitted, and the text consists only of the attribute of the inscribed object (the Focus), as in *sacra* MF **127** and the labels *canumede [die]s pater cupi‹d›o menerua* MF **62**.

The isolated genitive involves a different syntactic and semantic perspective. It is in fact an attributive (possessive) genitive denoting the possessor (the Focus), with an ellipsis of a noun that designates the inscribed object itself (the Topic), which can be inferred from the context. Undisputed instances are the *Besitzerinschriften* in the genitive:

titias MF **201**
pupiias MF **305**
tulom MF **80**
[fel]ṭicinatiu LF **384**

and the dedications in the form of a *Besitzerinschrift* with a divine owner (the use of the genitive here may be modelled on Etruscan, see §8.10.1):

apolonos EF **10**
loifiṛtato MF **31**, *loifirtato* MF **32** (probably likewise dedicatory)

Ambiguous are the isolated io-stem forms in *-i*, which can be either genitives or abbreviated nominatives, *serui* MF **34-36**, *ani* MF **45**, *uli* MF? **261-262**, *caui : turi* MF **273**, *uolti : catinei* MF **469***, *marci : anel[i]* MF **472***, *anni* LtF **63**, *c · pscni* Cap **387**, *c · aci* Cap **395**, *sex* | *senti* Cap **399**, *sex · sen·ti* Cap **430**:[148] see also §9.2.2. In the signatures *ç cutri* MF **200** (and in the (partly imported) Latin signatures *c · popil[i]* Lat **295**, *c · popili* Lat **296**, *[c ·]popili* Lat **478***, *l · quinti* Lat **477***), such ambiguous forms in *-i* mark the *maker* of the object, not the owner: if interpreted as a genitive, this must denote a very loosely possessive sense: see §8.9.1.

[148] For a similar ambiguity in the Etruscoid forms in *-es*, where nominative and genitive were apparently homomorphemic, see §9.2.2.*4*.

The isolated first-declension forms in *-ai*, *iunai* MF **74**, **112**, MLF/Cap **475***, *uoltai* MLF **367-370**, *sceiuai* LF **379**, and perhaps */---ḷąltai ⁞* MF **109**, and the isolated second-declension forms in *-oi*, *caisioi* MF **20**, *tiroi · colanioi* MF **69-71** can be either genitives or datives: I prefer to interpret them as genitives (see §4.4.4 and §8.8.1).

8.2.4. Elliptic sentences, isolated datives, and isolated accusatives. In addition to the nominal phrases described in the preceding section, there are a number of texts that can be interpreted as verb phrases with an ellipsis of the verb that shifts the emphasis onto the semantic functions of the arguments. The clearest instances of this are those texts that consist of a subject in the nominative and an indirect object in the dative: the object (identical with the inscribed object itself) is always implicit as it can be inferred from the context. The ellipsis can even include the subject, leaving the emphasis wholly on the recipient. The instances of this are as follows:

(a) dedications:

titoi **ı** *mercui* **ı** *efiles* MF **113**
titoi **ı** *mercui* **ı** *efile* MF **114**
[t]ito[i] **ı** *ṃercu[i]* **ı** *efiles* MF **115**
titoi **ı** *mercu[i]* **ı** *efi[les]* MF **116**
[titoi **ı** *mercui* **ı** *efil]es* MF **117**

(with ellipsis of the nominative subject:)

titoi : mercu[i] MF **118**
[t]itoi : mercu[i] MF **119**
[ti]ṭoi : mercu[i] MF **120**
[ti]toi : mercui MF **121**
titoi : ṃ[e]rcui MF **122**
[titoi : ?]merc[ui] MF **123**
[m]ęrcui MF **124**
ṃercui MF **125**
meṛ[cui] MF **126**
and possibly */---ḷąltai ⁞* MF **109**

(b) *Geschenkinschriften* (the forms in *-ai* and *-oi* can also be genitives, see §8.2.3):

locia eiṃoi MLF **293**

(with ellipsis of the nominative subject:)

iunai MF **74**, LF **112**, Cap **475***
caisioi MF **20**
tiroi · colanioi MF **69-71**
uoltai MLF **367-370**
sceiuai LF **379**

(c) sepulchral inscriptions of the type 'X [made this grave] for Y' (see §8.9.2):

larise : mar|*lcna : citiai* MF **270**
cauio uelminẹo | *popliai file* MLF **308**
perhaps *uoltio* | *folcozeo* | *zextoi* | *fi* LF **330**
perhaps *[..] folcosio* | ******oi* LF **333**
possibly *[---]: zaconiai* MF **154**
possibly *cuicto uelmineo* |*[---?]uoxie[.]ai* MLF **310**

A similar ellipsis has been invoked to explain the problematic isolated accusative *eitam* EF **5**. (Middle Faliscan *tulom* MF **72** is more likely to be a genitive plural.) Similar accusatives occur in Latin *mirqurios alixentrom CIL* I^2.553 and *uenos diouem prosepnai CIL* I^2.558, and in Praesamnitic *te·cliia·m* Ps 16-17 and Oscan *spuriieis culcfnam* Cm 27. In these cases, too, ellipsis has been assumed, e.g. by Wachter (1987:111) for the Latin instances, and by Colonna (1980d) for *te·cliia·m*.[149] I would rather explain *eitam* as due to a confusion in the use of the cases in Etruscan-Italic language contact: see §9.2.2.

8.3. Verbal morphosyntax

As said in Chapter 5, there are few verb forms, and consequently, little can be said about the morphosyntax of the Faliscan verb. The only tenses that are attested are present, perfect, and future, and the majority of the forms are indicative.

The attestations of the present indicative are all of durative verbs ('to lie', 'to be', and perhaps 'to hold'):

uel zu[con]|*eo : fe[cupa]* MF **56**
[ma]rco : pleina : marcio : man[o]mo : cauiacue | *[u]eculia : uoltilia : uentarc[i : ..... : hec : cupa]nt* MF **80**
[uo]ltio[:]ueiçọno : lecet : ḥec MF **88**
[--- c]elio · cesi · fi | *[---]: cauia * ** | *[he cup?]a* MF **94**
[---]celio[---|*---]* : hec : cupa[t]* MF **95**
cạ[u]io : le[ueli]o : cau[i] | *hileo : ian[ta : ..]lnia* | *hec : cupat* MF **146**
[--- pu]pẹ[i---|*---]a he[cupat]* MF **150**
*ụo[[ta :]**[---]* | *iataçue : [[---]* | *hec : cupạt* MF **158**
[leu]elio · [---|*---]io · ca[---* | *he · c]up[at]* MF **159**
[po]plia[: ---| *hec]: cup[a]* MF **161**
uoltio · uecineo | *maxomo* | *iuneo · he : cupat* LF **220**

[149] Colonna referred to *te·cliia·m* as an exclamatory accusative, but his discussion shows that he means an accusative object in an elliptic invocation '(Behold,) a *tecliia* (I dedicate to thee)!'.

uipia : zertenea : loferta | *marci : acarcelini* | *mate : he : cupa* LF **221**
marcio : acarcelinio | *cauia : uecinea* | *hęç cupat* LF **223**
ca · uecineo[·]uolti · | *he · cupat* LF **224**
tito[:]acarcelinio : | *ma : fi · pop · petrunes · ce · f* | *[h]e cu[pa]* LF **226**
tito : uelmineo | *titiọ : fe cupa* LF **307**
c · clipeaṛ[io] | *m · f · haraṣp[ex · cen]*|*sor · rex q · *(*)ę[---]*| *heic cubat* LtF **231**
[---]o cicio · cicoi : cupat : ifra MF **40**
[uo]ltio[:]ueicọno : lecet : ḥec MF **88**
lete zot xxiiii MLF **285**
a · írpios · esú Cap **389**
k · sares · esú Cap **404**
açiuaiom esú Cap **465**
perhaps *precono* | *cui teneṭ* | *let* MLF **360**

The instances of the perfect indicative all refer to an act in the past:

mama z[e]xtos med f[.f]ịqod EF **1**
tele[1-2] med fifiked* EF **9**
praụ[i]os urnam : soç[iai] ṗorded karai EF **1**
eqo ụrneḷ[a ti?]tela ... arcentelom hutị[c?]ilom pe:para[i EF **1**
[.]a · protacio · m · f · mącistratu | *keset · cụestod · pi · pretod · pis* LF **242**
[---]--- ma|*cistratu]*| *kese[t duum]*|*uiru · p[reto]*|*r cues[tor]* LF **243**

Of the instances of the future tense, one (*pipafo/‹pi›pafo*) refers to a future act, the other (*carefo/carẹ[f]o*) to a future state:

foied · uino · pipafo · cra · carefo · MF **59** = *foied · uino · ‹pi›pafo · cra · carẹ[f]o ·* MF **60**

The present subjunctive, imperative, and future imperative are attested only for Early Faliscan. The instances of the subjunctive are mostly from an unclear context, but are generally interpreted as having adhortative or injunctive force:

*ceres : far *[0-2]e[1-3]tom : *[3-5]uf[1-4]ui[..]m *[3-4]*ad* EF **1** (injunction as part of a prayer?)
douiad EF **1** (context unclear: a loose addition to the text that constitutes an additional injunction?)
ofetios kaios uelos amanos salueto salues seite (= *s[e]ite* or *s‹ie›te*) EF **4** (subjunctive joined to the imperative, see below)
tulate tulas urate EF/Etr **385** (interpretation unclear: *tulate* and *tulas* are subjunctives, while *urate* may be an imperative (§5.1.2.*23*), see below)
perhaps also *pramed* in *propramoṃ : pramed [u]mom pramod pramed umom : pramod : propramọd pramod umọ[m]* EF **2** (context unclear, cf. §5.2.1.*15*).

The instances of the imperative and the future imperative are the following:

saluę[to]d uoltene EF **3**
ues saluete sociai EF **4**
ofetios kaios uelos amanos salueto salues seite (= *s{e}ite* or *s‹ie›te*) EF **4**
tulate tulas urate Etr/EF **385** (interpretation unclear: *tulate* and *tulas* are subjunctives, while *urate* may be an imperative (§5.1.2.*23*), see below)

Although morphologically imperatives, *salue[to]d*, *saluete*, and *salueto* do not have real imperative force: they belong rather in the category of the 'non-characteristic use of the imperative in curses, maledictions, and well-wishes' (see Bolkestein 1980:43-7). It is perhaps for this reason that in EF **4** the future imperative *salueto* and the adhortative subjunctive *salues seite* (= *s{e}ite* or *s‹ie›te*) are apparently equivalent. The only 'real' Faliscan imperative would then be *urate* Etr/EF **385** (if that is not a subjunctive as well, cf. §5.1.2.*23*): this imperative, too, is apparently equivalent in sense to the adhortative subjunctives *tulate* and *tulas*. For a functional overlap or equivalence of the adhortative subjunctive and the imperative in early and vernacular Latin, cf. *LHS* II p.385.

8.4. Constituent order

8.4.1 The order of the arguments. In the Faliscan inscriptions, the order of the arguments is consistently SV in phrases with verbs with one argument like *cupat* and *lecet* and the forms of 'to be' (for instances, see §8.1.2), and SOV in phrases with verbs with two or three arguments. The instances of the latter are:

(transitive verb, with both nominative subject and accusative object:)

ceres$_S$ *:* [*far *[0-2]e[1-3]tom*]$_O$ ... **[3-4]*ad*$_V$ EF **1**
[*mama*$_S$ *z[e]xtos*]$_S$ *med* $_O$*f[.f]iqod*$_V$ EF **1**
[*eqo ụrnel[a ti?]tela*]$_S$ ... [*arcentelom huti[c?]ilom*]$_O$ *pe:para[i*$_V$ EF **1**
tele[1-2?]*$_S$ *med*$_O$ *fifiked* $_V$ EF **9**
praụ[i]os$_S$ *urnam*$_O$ *: soç[iai]porded*$_V$ *karai* EF **1**

[*oufilo : clipeaio*]$_S$ *: letei : fileo : met*$_O$ *: facet*$_V$ MF **470***
[*[.]a · protacio*]$_S$ *· m · f · mạcistratu*$_O$ | *keset*$_V$ *· cụestod · pi · pretod · pis* LF **242**
(a similar text, but damaged, is LF **243**)

(with only the nominative subject expressed:)

[*cauios frenaios*]$_S$ *faced* $_V$ MF **471***

(with only the accusative object expressed:)

foied · uino$_O$ *· pipafo*$_V$ *· cra · carefo*$_V$ · MF **59** = *foied · uino*$_O$ *· ‹pi›pafo*$_V$ *· cra · carę[f]o*$_V$ · MF **60**

Several of these phrases are formulaic and may therefore not represent the unmarked word order. Yet an important argument in favour of SOV being the usual Faliscan order

is in fact furnished by just such formulaic phrases as [*mama z[e]xtos*]$_S$ *med*$_O$*f[.f]ịqod*$_V$ EF **1** and *tele*[1-2]*$_S$ *med*$_O$*fifiked*$_V$ EF **9**, for these have an SOV-order even though they reflect an Etruscan model *mini*$_O$ *zinace*$_V$ MAKER$_S$ where the order is consistently OVS (§8.9.1). The only exceptions would be the SVO-order of Renzetti Marra's (1990:336-7) interpretation of *precono* | *cui teneṭ* | *let* MLF **361** as 'Praeconus qui tenet lect(um)', and the OVS-order of Vetter's (1953:301) impossible reading of MF **89** as ------*a haç ---a : (-)ṛ--ṭ : maximo* '...a(m) ha(n)c ...a(m) ...t Maximus'.

In the few instances of nominal sentences with more than one constituent (cf. §8.1.3), the order of the core constituents is nominative subject - dative complement in

locia$_S$ *eimoi*$_C$ MLF **293**

and in the sepulcral inscriptions of the type 'X [made this grave] for Y' (cf. §8.9.2):

[*larise : mar*||*cna*]$_S$ *: citiai*$_C$ MF **270**
[*cauio uelmiṇeo*]$_S$ | [*popliai file*]$_C$ MLF **308**
possibly [*[---]*]$_S$ *: zaconiai*$_C$ MF **154**
possibly [*cuicto uelmineo*]$_S$ | *[---?]uoxie[.]ai*$_C$ MLF **310**
perhaps [*uoltio* | *folcozeo*]$_S$ | [*zextoi* | *fi*]$_C$ LF **330**
perhaps [*[..]folcosio*]$_S$ | ******oi*$_C$ LF **333**

(I reject this interpretation in the cases of *[---]ronio : uol[t---|---]a*ome* MF **156**, *tito : uel|mineo : iun|aị ị*ice* MLF **315**, and *tito ł uelmineo* | *ịụ i*ice* MLF **309**.)

In the few Faliscan dedications that consist of RECIPIENT$_{DAT}$ DEDICANT$_{NOM}$, on the other hand, this order is reversed:

[*titoi* | *mercui*]$_C$ | *efiles*$_S$ MF **113**
[*titoi* | *mercui*]$_C$ | *efile*$_S$ MF **114**
[*[t]ito[i]* | *ṃercu[i]*]$_C$ | *efile*$_S$ MF **115**
[*titoi* | *mercụ[i]*]$_C$ | *efi[les]*$_S$ MF **116**
[*[titoi* | *mercui*]$_C$ | *efil]es*$_S$ MF **117**

Comparable Latin inscriptions, too, show a slight tendency to place the name of the deity first (see §8.10.1), perhaps to give the deity 'pride of place'.

8.4.2. The position of adjuncts. The location adjunct precedes the verb in the sepulchral inscriptions with the formulaic phrase *hec cupat/cupant* (for which see §8.9.1). In these phrases, the place of the adjunct is therefore, as in Latin, "somewhere between the first argument and the finite verb" (Pinkster 1990:181).[150]

Interestingly, the only exceptions to this order are the two instances where the formula is also varied in other ways:

[150] Note *nouios · plautios · med · romai · fecid CIL* I^2.561, where a formulaic phrase (cf. §8.9.2) is broken up to insert the adjunct in its correct place.

[---]o cicio · cicoi : cupat : ifra MF **40** (with *ifra* instead of *hec*)
[uo]ltio[:]ueicọno : lecet : ḥec MF **88** (with *lecet* instead of *cupat*)

The former can be explained by assuming extra stress on the adjunct, or by assuming a contrast (either '[*here* lies Y,] *below* lies X' or '[not *here*, but] *below* lies X'). For the unusual order of MF **88** I have no explanation. The exceptional placement of the time position adjuncts in *foied · uino · pipafo · cra · carefo* MF **59** = *foied · uino · ‹pi›pafo · cra · carẹ[f]o* MF **60**, is due to pragmatic reasons, namely the contrast *foied : cra*.

8.5. Word order within word groups

8.5.1. The position of the adjective. Given the nature of the Faliscan material, the number of noun phrases containing adjectives is limited. Adjectives only occur in the more elaborate Early Faliscan texts:

soç[iai] ... karai EF **1**
ụrneḷ[a ti ?]tela EF **1**
arcentelom hutị[c?]ilom EF **1**
quto ... duenom EF **3**
titias duenas EF **3**
probably *far *[0-2]e[1-3]tom* EF **1**

In all these instances, the order is noun - adjective, which seems to be in accordance with the order in Latin and the Sabellic languages.[151] The only adjectives in the Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions are the patronymic adjectives, which always follow the name (attestations in fig.7.3), but this is due to pragmatic and formulaic reasons.

8.5.2. The position of the attributive genitive. In attributive groups, where one noun stands in the genitive, the attributive genitive generally *precedes* the head (genitive - noun or GN), but the problem is that such groups are virtually always formulaic:

(a) the Middle and Late Faliscan filiation formula FATHER$_{GEN}$ *SON/DAUGHTER* (36-41 attestations, see fig.7.3);

(b) the Middle and Late Faliscan marital formula HUSBAND$_{GEN}$ *WIFE* (4-8 instances, see §7.4.2), with 1-4 counterexamples of *WIFE* HUSBAND$_{GEN}$ with noun - genitive or NG, the clearest of which is *tanacu[il]* | *anelia* · · | *uxor · ia* MF **101**;

(c) the Middle Faliscan designations of freedmen and -women FORMER MASTER$_{GEN}$ *FREEDMAN/FREEDWOMAN* in *ṭị [·] ṭịria lo[?---]l[e]a : cs : f* MF **155** and *[---]*i : u[o]ltiai lo* MF **165**;

[151] This argues against Olzscha's reading (in Radke 1964:136-7, cf. also Radke 1994) *ro]uf[om] ui[no]m* in EF **1** and the interpretation of *uipia : zertenea : loferta* LF **221** as 'Vibia, a Sertinian freedwoman' (first Schulze 1904:513).

(d) the Late Faliscan 'reversed filiation', *marci : acarcelini* | *mate* LF **221**;

(e) the Middle Faliscan *ius sepulcrale*-formula OWNER$_{GEN}$ *cela* in *cau‹i›o : pauiceo :* | *l[oc]ies : cela* MF **12**, **[.]pi : uesθi : cela* MF **83**, *caui [:]t **(*)[i] : cela* MF **84**, and *[---]fate cela* MLF **285**;

(f) comparable to *(e)* is Middle or Late Faliscan *caui : tertinei :* | *posticnu* MLF/Cap **474*** ('a statue of Gavius Tertineius'?);

(g) *titias duenom duenas* EF **2.**

The reverse, where the attributive genitive *follows* the head (noun - genitive or NG) appears only in the Middle Faliscan filiation formula FATHER$_{GEN}$ (attestations in fig.7.3), which in my view is a shortened form of the formula FATHER$_{GEN}$ *SON/DAUGHTER* rather than as a distinct formula in its own right: see §7.5.2.*1.*

From these instances, it would appear that in Faliscan the attributive genitive regularly preceded the noun (genitive - noun or GN). Yet the placing of the genitive in these groups may be due to pragmatic considerations (giving pre-eminence to the Focus), and therefore not be unmarked: the limited corpus, too, makes it difficult to draw valid conclusions. A GN order is in accordance with the other Italic languages: according to Adams's (1976:74-7) analysis, which includes early Latin formulaic material, GN was the predominant order in early Latin (although it later changed to NG), and Rosenkranz (1933) concluded the same for the Sabellic languages. In Etruscan, the genitive appears to *follow* the Head: cf. e.g. the predominance of *mi* OWNER$_{GEN}$ over OWNER$_{GEN}$ *mi* (268 and 19 attestations respectively, see §8.8.2), and the counterpart of the Faliscan formula OWNER$_{GEN}$ *cela*, *eca σuθi/σúθi [neσl]* OWNER$_{GEN}$ (12 instances, §8.9.3).

8.5.3. The position of appositions. Contrary to the position of the attributive genitive (§8.5.2), in appositional groups where both nouns are in the same case, the apposition always *follows* the head. Examples of this are:

(a) the Middle and Late Faliscan filiation formula FATHER$_{GEN}$ *SON/DAUGHTER* following the name (36-41 attestations, see fig.7.3);

(b) the Middle and Late Faliscan marital formula HUSBAND$_{GEN}$ *WIFE* and *WIFE* HUSBAND$_{GEN}$ following the name (5-12 instances, see §7.4.2),

(c) the Middle and Late Faliscan designations of freedwomen in *louṛia* | *[l]oifirta* MF **41** and *uipia : zertenea : loferta* LF **221**, and in the MASTER$_{GEN}$ *FREEDMAN/FREEDWOMAN* in *ṭi [·] ṭiria lo[?---]ll[e]a : cs : f* MF **155** and *[---]*i : u[o]ltiai lo* MF **165**;

(d) the Late Faliscan 'reversed filiation', *uipia : zertenea : loferta* | *marci : acarcelini* | *mate* LF **221**;

(e) Middle and Late Faliscan titles and *cursus honorum* (instances in fig.2.2).

This usage does not differ from that of Latin, the Sabellic languages, or Etruscan.

8.5.4. Prepositional phrases. Due to the nature of the material, there are hardly any examples of prepositional groups. *Propramọḍ* in EF **2** can be read as *pro pramọḍ*, but in view of the *propramom* in the same text, it can also be read as *propramọḍ*. If read as *pro pramọḍ* it is the oldest attestation of *pro* + ablative (and not *pro fileod* in *CIL* I^2.2658, cf. Vine 1993:195-6). All other attestations of prepositions are from Latin inscriptions (LF/Lat **214**, Cap **433**, Lat **217-218**). There are no attestations of postpositions,[152] although it is possible that Faliscan had postpositions at a prehistoric date: see §8.6.

8.6. Coordination and subordination

On the level of the noun phrase, two or more entities are usually placed in asyndetic parataxis. Here two groups can be distinguished. The first consists of collegiate magistrates, which are named asyndetically in *a [.]osena uę narionio* MF **206**, and *c**(*)coṇẹo · l***(*) · ce · paui[cio 1-2]so* MLF **290**, *[1-2]· hirmio · m[· f ·]ce · tertineo · c · f · preṭ[ores ?---]* LF **213** (cf. also Lat **250** from near S. Maria di Falleri). The second group consists of sepulchral inscriptions pertaining to more than one person. The majority of these inscriptions have asyndetic coordination (which in a number of cases may be due to the fact that burials and inscriptions were added later), but there are a few instances where the names are connected with each other by means of *-cue:*

*uol[ta :]**[---] | iataçue : ḷ[---] | hec : cupat* MF **158**
*[---]***|[---]ocuę | [---]i̯ọ* MF **170**
[ma]rco : pleina : marcio : man[o]mo : cauiacue | [u]eculia : uoltilia : uentarc[..... : hec : cupa]nt MF **80**
uolta : uelmineo | fuloniacue MF **313**
cf. also *m · neroni | a · f · et · hlaulelea · m · f* LtF **325**

The use of *-que* in sepulchral inscriptions can be compared to the Etruscan use of *-c*: in Latin sepulcral inscriptions, *-que* is rarely used. This may be due to different methods of burial: the Etruscan and Faliscan family tombs were more suited for joined burials.

There are no other instances of coordinators, whether on the phrase or on the sentence level. Coordinators *l[o]u̯f[ir* = 'or' (cf. Oscan *loufir TB* 8) and *u[el* have been read by Olzscha in *ceres farme(n)tom l(o)u̯f(ir) ui(no)m* x*-kad euios* (1965:123) and *ceres far d[el]e[c]tom* (?) *u[el ro]uf[om] ui[no]m f[in]ḳad* (in Radke 1965:136-7). Of these readings, at least the former is epigraphically impossible. Vetter (1953:283) proposed to restore a hypotactic coordinator in *pe:para[i ..]douiad* EF **1**. Although

[152] I do not adopt Pisani's (1964:349-51) *pramoe* = *pramoi-e(n)* in EF **2** or Rix's (1993a:86) suggestion *ḥei-e(n)* in EF **4**.

syntactically attractive, such a restoration appears to be epigraphically impossible: *douiad* is either an asyndetic hypotaxis or a loose addition to the text. I do not adopt the *sei ... sei* in Pisani's (1964:349) interpretation of EF 4 (§12.3).

8.7. Word order typology

It is rewarding to place the results of sections §§8.4-6 in a typological perspective, not only because in the diachronic definition of dialect (§1.2) language typology could be expected to provide important arguments (cf. e.g. Cowrie 1981:204-9), but also because the point is of some importance for the discussion of formulaic texts (§8.13). Reviewing the preceding sections according to the major typological criteria first established by Greenberg (1966), the Faliscan material could be said to show:

(a) SOV-order, both in formulas (even where borrowed from SVO-languages) and in non-formulaic sentences (§8.5.1);

(b) prepositions (Pr), with no indication of postpositions (§8.5.4);

(c) attributive genitives preceding the head of the noun phrase (GN), except in several instances of a formula adopted from Etruscan (§8.5.2);

(d) adjectives following the noun (NA) (§8.5.1).

In other word, Faliscan is SOV/Pr/GN/NA and in this respect appears to align with contemporary Latin as described by Adams (1976): a significant point, for Faliscan and Latin are slightly unusual in that languages with SOV-order tend to have postpositions and languages with prepositions tend to have a VSO- or SVO-order. However, in view both of the fairly slight Faliscan material on which this SOV/Pr/GN/NA is based and of the general questions about the validity of correlation between these word order parameters (see e.g. Cowrie 1981:86-93), this conclusion should be regarded with even more than the usual caution.

If it is felt that there is an 'SOV - Pr discrepancy' in Latin and Faliscan that needs to be explained, this may be done by assuming a shift either in the constituent order or in the use of pre- and postpositions. In my view, arguments for the latter possibility can be found more easily, since Latin preserves postpositions such as *-cum* and *tenus* (Adams (1976:88) also pointed to *ted endo CIL* I^2.4 = *in te*) and also had the genitive preceding the noun (GN), which is also assumed to be more in accordance with the use of postpositions. The Sabellic languages, especially Umbrian (*-a(ŕ)*, *-e(n)/-em*, *-ku(m)/-co(m)*, *-pe(r)*, *-ta/-tu/-to*), but also South Picene (*-ín*) and Oscan (*-en*), offer even more material testifying to the existence of postpositions in the Italic languages: if this material is indeed indicative of a Latin shift from postpositions to prepositions, it would therefore appear to be of Proto-Latin date. The alternative, that Latin would originally have had an SVO-order, is more difficult: see also Adams 1976.

Insofar as the material presents a usable picture, Faliscan appears to align with Latin on the point of word order typology, while it appears to differ from the Sabellic languages, irrespective of whether the documents on which this picture is based date from before or after the period of Roman expansion into the area.

8.8. *Besitzerinschriften*

8.8.1. OWNER$_{NOM}$, OWNER$_{GEN}$, RECIPIENT$_{DAT}$. The simplest type of *Besitzerinschrift* consists of a name in isolation, either as OWNER$_{NOM}$ or as OWNER$_{GEN}$ (cf. §8.2.2). These types are so common that it is not necessary to adduce instances from other languages. The semantic difference between the two is that in the case of the nominative the owner is named *as such*, the inscription serving as a very explicit identification mark, while the use of the genitive points to the existence of a possessive relationship between the person and the object. The word describing the inscribed object itself is omitted as being inferable from the context. In the Faliscan inscriptions (as in those in Latin), the forms in *-i* that are derived from io-stems can be nominatives as well as abbreviated genitives (attestations in fig. 8.1): see also §9.2.2.2.

Several Faliscan *Besitzerinschriften* have isolated forms in *-ai* and *-oi*: *iunai* MF **71**, LF **112**, MLF/Cap **475***, *uoltai* MLF **367-370**, *sceiuai* LF **379** and *caisioi* MF **20**, *tiroi · colanioi* MF **69-71**. These are usually interpreted as datives, but this seems to be due in part to a reluctance to assume a first-declension genitive in *-ai* for Faliscan (cf. §4.2.2). There are no attestations of such isolated datives for Latin: the isolated Latin forms in *-ai, -ae*, and *-o* have to my knowledge always been interpreted as first-declension genitives and as second-declension nominatives in *-o(s)* respectively. The Sabellic *Besitzerinschriften* (primarily Um 31-41, Ps 4-20, Fr 7-8, He 3, Si 14-22, Cp 38-40, Po 86-92, Cm 32-37) are all in the nominative or in the genitive, never in the dative.

The only indications that the isolated Faliscan forms in *-ai* and *-oi* can be datives are: *(1)* the general similarity of this use of the dative to that in the dedicatory inscriptions in Faliscan, Latin, or the Sabellic languages (cf. §8.10.1); *(2)* the inscription *locia eiṃoi* MLF **293** from near Corchiano, which can be interpreted as an elliptic sentence with the name of a giver in the nominative (*locia*) and a recipient in the dative (*eiṃoi*), but which can equally well be interpreted as 'Lucia Aemi (f.)' with a genitive in *-oi* (cf. §4.4.4); and *(3)* the Etruscan inscription *vultasi* Etr **XLII**=Fa 3.4 from Vignanello, an Etruscan form in *-si* of the Faliscan name *Volta*. The Etruscan forms in *-si* and *-(a)le* can be used to designate both *by whom* and *for whom* the object was made (Steinbauer 1999:174-6): the latter use corresponds to that of the Indo-European dative. Problematic, however, is the fact that this inscription is to my knowledge the only one where a

form in *-si* or *-(a)le* occurs in isolation in a *Besitzerinschrift* or a *Geschenkinschrift*: in most other cases, the use of the *-si* or *-(a)le* form is due to a verb, usually *mulu-*.[153]

All in all, I regard the evidence in favour of a dative-interpretation of the isolated forms in *-ai* and *-oi* in Faliscan *Besitzerinschriften* as very slight indeed. If these forms are datives, they would appear to record a gift, presenting the person named as the *recipient* rather than as just the *owner*: the formula for these inscriptions is therefore $\text{RECIPIENT}_{\text{DAT}}$ rather than $\text{OWNER}_{\text{DAT}}$, and they should properly be classed as *Geschenkinschriften* rather than as *Besitzerinschriften.*

8.8.2. *Besitzerinschriften* of the *iscrizioni parlanti*-type. The Faliscan *Besitzerinschriften* also comprise several types of *iscrizioni parlanti.* The simplest types are *ego* $\text{OWNER}_{\text{GEN}}$ (Agostiniani's type L1) and $\text{OWNER}_{\text{GEN}}$ *ego* (Agostiniani's type L2), attested for Faliscan in:

eko lartos EF **6**
eko kaisiosio EF **7**
aịṃiosio eqo EF? **467***

Both types have parallels in the Etruscan formulas *mi* $\text{OWNER}_{\text{GEN}}$ (Agostiniani's type E1, 268 attestations) and $\text{OWNER}_{\text{GEN}}$ *mi* (Agostiniani's type E2, 19 attestations). The difference between the types lies in the order in which Topic and Focus are presented.

An extension of the former formula *ego* $\text{OWNER}_{\text{GEN}}$ (Agostiniani's type L1) is the type *ego* $\text{POSSESSION}_{\text{GEN}}$ $\text{OWNER}_{\text{GEN}}$ (Agostiniani's type L5), attested for Faliscan in:

*eco quto *e uotenosio* EF **3**

This formula, too, is modeled on an Etruscan type, namely *mi* $\text{POSSESSION}_{\text{GEN}}$ $\text{OWNER}_{\text{GEN}}$ (Agostiniani's type E5, *c.*28 attestations). In this extended form of the formula both Faliscan and Latin (in *eco urna tita uendias* Lat **479**†) use the variant where genitive *follows* the head: Faliscan and Latin counterparts of the Etruscan type *mi* $\text{OWNER}_{\text{GEN}}$ $\text{POSSESSION}_{\text{NOM}}$ (Agostiniani's type E6, *c.*20 attestations) are not attested. The counterpart with the nominative, *ego* $\text{OWNER}_{\text{NOM}}$ and $\text{OWNER}_{\text{NOM}}$ *ego* (Agostiniani's types L3 and L4) is attested only in Latium, namely *eqo kanaios CIL* I^2.474=**482**†, *eqo pulpios CIL* I^2.479, and *eco · c · antonios CIL* I^2.462, and in the ager Capenas, namely

eco tulie LF **383**
m adicio eco LF **378**

Eco tulie is admittedly ambiguous: *tulie* can be either an Etruscoid nominative/genitive *tulie(s)* or a monophthongized genitive in *-ie* /-ię̯/: probably the former, as there are no (other) instances of a monophthongized genitive ending (§3.7.7, §4.2.2) from the area.

[153] The *Geschenkinschriften* with forms in *-si* and *-(a)le* are: (with *mulu-*:) OA 3.1, La 3.1, Fa 3.2, Cr 3.10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 20, 23, AT 3.1, 2, Vc 3.2, AS 3.1, 2; (other:) OA 3.9, Ve 3.1, Fa 3.1, Cr 3.4, 5, 6, 7, 8, Ta 3.1, Vc 3.6, AH 3.4 (with *menaχe*).

Fig.8.1. Isolated cases in Besitzerinschriften, dedications, and signatures.

These types correspond to the Etruscan formulae *mi* OWNER$_{NOM}$ and OWNER$_{NOM}$ *mi* (Agostiniani's types E3 and E4, 8 attestations). It is, in fact, surprising that these formulas should exist at all, for they are in a sense 'illogical', as the inscribed object claims to *be* a certain person rather than claiming to *belong* to a certain person (cf. Colonna 1975:165).

Beside these nominal formulas with 'I', there is a second group of *iscrizioni parlanti* where a verbal formula with 'I am' is used. Two types of this group, OWNER$_{GEN}$ *esúm* and OWNER$_{NOM}$ *esúm*, are attested from the ager Capenas in

açiuaiom esú Cap **465** (OWNER$_{GEN}$ *esúm*)
a · írpios · esú Cap **389** (OWNER$_{NOM}$ *esúm*)
k · sares · esú Cap **404** (either OWNER$_{GEN}$ *esúm* or OWNER$_{NOM}$ *esúm*)

These types are *not* modeled on Etruscan formulas, for in the Etruscan formulaic repertoire the verbal formulas of the Greek models were replaced by pronominal formulas with *mi/mini*. Agostiniani (1982:245, 261-2) distinguished two groups of these verbal formulas: *(1)* an old tradition of Sabellic formulas derived directly from Greek models with *εἰμί*, and *(2)* a new repertoire of Latin *sum*-formulas, which, from the third century onwards, replaced the *ego*-formulas derived from Etruscan models. The type OWNER$_{GEN}$ *esúm*, attested in *açiuaiom esú* Cap **465** (and in *k · sares · esú* Cap **404**, if *sares* is interpreted as a Sabellic genitive in *-es*, cf. §9.3.2) is comparable to the Sabellic type OWNER$_{GEN}$ *súm* (Agostiniani's types I1-2,12 attestations)[154].

More problematic is OWNER$_{NOM}$ *esúm* in *a · írpios · esú* Cap **389** and *k · sares · esú* Cap **404**, for this type has no Sabellic counterpart in *Besitzerinschriften*.[155] Therefore, the Capenate formula OWNER$_{NOM}$ *esúm* may well be connected to the earliest phase of the Latin replacement of the *ego*-formulas by the *sum*-formulas as envisaged by Agostiniani (1982:245): the occurrence of OWNER$_{NOM}$ *esúm* could then be ascribed to the persistence of OWNER$_{NOM}$ *ego* in the area, attested in *m adicio eco* LF **378** (cf. Bakkum 1996:3-4).

8.9. Signatures

8.9.1. MAKER$_{NOM}$, MAKER$_{GEN}$. The main problem in describing signatures is that when they consist only of the maker's name, they take the form of MAKER$_{NOM}$ or MAKER$_{GEN}$, and are therefore formally indistinguishable from *Besitzerinschriften* of the type

[154] I have merged Agostiniani's types I1 and I2, for the distinction between these two is not based on difference in word order, but on the use of *súm/sum* in I1 vs. *sim* in I2. The order is always OWNER$_{GEN}$ *súm/sum/sim*: in Latin both *sum* OWNER$_{GEN}$ and OWNER$_{GEN}$ *sum* occur.

[155] The only Sabellic instance of OWNER$_{NOM}$ *sum* (Agostiniani's type I3) is the Oscan sepulchral inscription *vibi[s :] smintiis : vibis : smintiis : sụm* Cp 4.

OWNER$_{NOM}$ and OWNER$_{GEN}$. They can only be identified as signatures on epigraphic grounds, usually because they were written on the object before its completion (§11.1.4.2*a*). Examples of MAKER$_{NOM}$ are *pleina* MF/Etr **199**, *arθ[3-5]rẹ* MF/Etr **267**, *k · p · aiedies* · Cap **390,** and the Latin inscription *t · fourios · *[·]f* Lat **216**. The type MAKER$_{GEN}$ ('[the work] of ...'?. '[from the workshop] of ...'?, '[by the hand] of ...'?), is represented only by forms in *-i* that can also be abbreviated nominatives: *ç cutri* MF **200**, and the imports *c · popil[i]* Lat **295**, *c · popili meuanie* Lat **296**, *[c ·]popili* Lat **478***, and *l · quinti* Lat **477***. Note that with the exception of MF **200**, none of these inscriptions is certainly Faliscan. Comparable to the type MAKER$_{NOM}$ are the official inscriptions with the names of the responsable magistrates (§8.12).

8.9.2. Signatures of the *iscrizioni parlanti* type. Like the *Besitzerinschriften*, the signatures, too, occur in an *iscrizione parlante*-variant MAKER$_{NOM}$ *me* MAKE$_{3RD\ PF}$ (Agostiniani's type L12), attested in Faliscan both in the singular and in the plural:

tele[1-2] med fifiked* EF **9**
oufilo : clipeaio : letei : fileo : met : facet MF **470***
? also *cauios frenaios faced* MF **471*** (with omission of *med*?)
mama z[e]xtos : med f[.f]iqod EF **1**

For Latin, there is one attestation, *nouios · plautios · med · romai · fecid CIL* I^2.561. The type is derived from the Etruscan type *mini zinace* MAKER$_{NOM}$ (Agostiniani E7.3, 2-3 attestations)[156], but with an adaptation of the word order of the Etruscan model. There is one instance where a Latin inscription retains the Etruscan word order (Agostiniani's type L9) is *med · loucilios · feced* Lat **268** from Corchiano (cf. §9.4.2).

In the original Greek model for such signature formulas the all-purpose verb *ἐποίησε* was used, and this is reflected by the corresponding formulas in Etruscan (*zinace*), Latin (*feced, fecid*), Middle Faliscan (*faced, facet*), Oscan (*úpsed/úpsens*, cf. Rix 1993b), and Venetic (*vha·g·s·to* Le 128, *hva·g·s·to* Le 127). The Early Faliscan instances are exceptional in that *fifiked* and *f[.f]iqod* are forms of *fingo*, which would have had a *specific* meaning applicable only to pottery, which makes the Early Faliscan formula unique among the signature formulas used in ancient Italy: note that the Middle Faliscan formula with *faced/facet* is different in this respect. This oddity is in fact one of the main arguments adduced in favour of interpreting *fifiked* and *f[.f]iqod* as forms of *facio* (Poccetti 2005:21-3): see §5.1.2.7-8.[157]

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[156] To the two attestations quoted by Agostiniani's (1982:202) add *mi(ni) mamarce zinace* Ve 6.2, unless this is read as a unique (?) type *mi mamarce zinace* 'I, Mamarce, made this'.

[157] Perhaps this use of *fingo* is due to a (dialectal?) development in the meaning of the verb, from specific 'knead' → general 'make', cf. Greek *μάσσω* 'to knead' : Proto-Germanic */makōn/ 'to make', both from PIE */meh$_2$ǵ-/ or */meh$_2$ḱ-/.

8.10. Sepulcral inscriptions

8.10.1. DECEASED$_{NOM}$ and DECEASED$_{NOM}$ *hec cupat*. The vast majority of the Faliscan sepulchral inscriptions are of the type DECEASED$_{NOM}$. In these inscriptions it is usually the formal form of the name that is used, PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM [FILIATION] [COGNOMEN] for men (§7.3) and PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM [FILIATION] for women (§7.4.1). This type of sepulchral inscription is so common, not only in Faliscan, but also in Etruscan, Latin, and the Sabellic languages, that I refrain from giving examples, as these can be found without much trouble. In the case of married women buried without their husband, the name could be extended with [HUSBAND$_{GEN}$ *uxor*] or [*uxor* HUSBAND$_{GEN}$] (§7.4.2). This addition has parallels in Etruscan and Latin: there are no attestations for the Sabellic languages, perhaps because the number of Sabellic sepulchral inscriptions of women is limited (§7.4.1 with note 115).

Although this nominal type is the most common among the Faliscan sepulchral inscriptions, there is also a fairly frequently used verbal type DECEASED$_{NOM}$ [FILIATION] *hec cupat/cupant*. The instances of this type are:

uel zu[con]leo : fe[cupa] MF **56**

[ma]rco : pleina : marcio : man[o]mo : cauiacue | *[u]eculia : uoltilia : uentarc[i : ..... : hec : cupa]nt* MF **80**

[--- c]elio · cesi · fi | *[---]: cauia * *| [he cup?]a* MF **94**

[---]celio[---|---] : hec : cupa[t]* MF **95**

cą[u]io : lę[ueli]o : cau[i] | *hileo : ian[ta : ..]lnia* | *hec : cupat* MF **146**

[--- pu]pe[i---|---]a he[cupat] MF **150**

*ụo[ta :]**[---]* | *iataçue :][---]* | *hec : cupąt* MF **158**

[leu]elio · [---|---]io · ca[--- | *he · c]up[at]* MF **159**

[po]plia[: ---| hec]: cup[a] MF **161**

uoltio · uecineo | *maxomo* | *iuneo · he : cupat* LF **220**

uipia : zertenea : loferta | *marci : acarcelini* | *mate : he : cupa* LF **221**

marcio : acarcelinio | *cauia : uecinea* | *hęç cupat* LF **223**

ca · uecineo[·]uolti · | *he · cupat* LF **224**

tito[:]acarcelinio : | *ma : fi · pop · petrunes · ce · f* | *[h]e cu[pa]* LF **226**

tito : uelmineo | *titịo : fe cupa* LF **307**

c · clipear[io] | *m · f · haraṣp[ex · cen]lsor · rex q · *(*)ẹ[---]* | *heic cubat* LtF **231**

(with variations:)

[---]o cicio · cicoi : cupat : ifra MF **40**

[uo]ltio[:]ueicọno : lecet : ḥec MF **88**

This formula can be compared, first of all, to the Etruscan formula DECEASED$_{NOM}$ *θui cesu/ceśu* '... lies here' or '... is buried here(in)' (Steinbauer's type G7), which is found

in twelve inscriptions, mostly from Tarquinii: *ramθa : huzcn̥ai : θui : cesu* Ta 1.51, *ramθa : zertnai : θui : cesu* Ta 1.52-53 (twice), *larθ : velχas : θui : cesu* Ta 1.205, *[--- spur]inas : sacni : θui : çeseθce* (=*çes‹u ...›θce*?) Ta 5.3, *laṛ[is · aneini · θ]ui · ceśu · puiaχ* AS 1.393, *larθ auclina* | *ceśu θui* AS 1.472, and, slightly differently, *apac atic* | *saniσ́va θuli cesu* Cr 1.5 and *vel : aties : velθurus* | *lemniσa : celati : cesu* Ta 1.66 (unclear are Vc 1.59, Ta 5.4, and Pe 5.3).

Secondly, there are the parallels in the Central Italic sepulchral inscriptions with *cubo*: South Picene *apaes : qupat[: e]smĺn : púpúnis : nĺr : mefiín : veial : vepetí* MC.1 and *apúnis : qupat : a[2-3]**[1-2] : [5-6] : [n]ír* AP.3, Vestinian *[s]acaracirix* | *cibat · cerria* | *licina · saluta* | *salaus* MV 7, Marrucinian *st · loisies · paq · ecuf ęncubat · a[?]* | *salaus* MV 8, and Paelignian *pes · pros · ecuf · incubat* | *casnar · oisa · aetate* | *c · anaes · solois · des · forte* | *faber* Pg 10. Latin *cubo*, too, can be used in the sense 'to lie in a grave', although in Republican inscriptions this is found only in the quite late *q · brutius* | *p · f · quir · u* | *mercator · boua* | *de · campo · heic* | *cubat CIL* I^2.1259, *q · cornelius · q · p · l* | *diphilus · cornelia · q · l* | *heraes · heic · cubant CIL* I^2.1638, and *truttedia · hic* | *cubat CIL* I^2.2135.[158]

Even within this small number of instances, these formulas show a high rate of variation, both in the order of the constituents and in the words themselves: thus beside *hec cupa(n)t*, Faliscan has *cupat : ifra* MF **40** and *lecet : ḥec* MF **88**, South Picene has both *qupat [: e]smín* and *mefiín : veial : vepetí* in MC.1, Marrucinian and Paelignian use *ecuf ęncubat* MV 8 / *ecuf · incubat* Pg 10, with a compound transitive verb, and Etruscan once has *celati : cesu* Ta 1.66. This suggests that this type was either not rigidly formulaic, or perhaps that its variation was due to variations in the burial ritual.[159]

It should be noted that the Faliscan instances of the *hec cupat/cupant*-type are *(a)* more frequent than the instances of all comparable Etruscan and Italic types put together, and *(b)* far more frequent among the Faliscan sepulchral inscriptions than the *θui cesu/ceśu*-type among the vastly greater number of Etruscan sepulchral inscriptions. The Faliscan *hec cupat/cupant*-type can therefore be said to constitute a truly 'Faliscan' type of sepulchral inscription, irrespective of whether or not it was derived from the Etruscan *θui cesu/ceśu*-type or from a common Italic model.

The Late Faliscan, Latino-Faliscan, and Latin sepulchral inscriptions also furnish several instances of *cursus honorum* in LF **242-244**, **245**, **247-249**, LtF **231-232**, Lat **219**, **237-239** (see §2.3.3). As is explained in §11.1.4.*1*, these were appropriate to the

[158] Cf. further Lucr. *RN* 3.892, and, with *ossa* as the subject, in *CIL* I^2.1312 and Ovid. *Am.* 1.8.108 = *Ep.* 7.162 = *Tr.* 3.3.76 (a mock-epitaph).

[159] For such local variation, cf., e.g., how the habit of marking grave-goods with the word *σ́uθina* is very frequent at Volsinii (126 instances), but virtually non-existent elsewhere.

roadside burials of Latium rather than to the closed rock-tombs of the ager Faliscus: they are almost certainly an imitation of Roman burial features after the war of 241.

8.10.2. 'X [made this grave] for Y'. A different type of sepulchral inscription is PROCURATOR$_{NOM}$ DECEASED$_{DAT}$, where the inscription records that one person (whom Lejeune (1974) labeled the 'procurateur') made or prepared a tomb for the deceased:

larise : mar||*cna : citiai* MF **270**
cauio uelminẹo | *popliai file* MLF **308**
possibly *[---]: zaconiai* MF **154** (unclear)
possibly *cuicto uelmineo* | *[---?]uoxie[.]ai* MLF **310** (unclear)
perhaps *uoltio* | *folcozeo* | *zextoi* | *fi* LF **330** (see below)
perhaps *[..] folcosio* | ******oi* LF **333** (see below)
[rejected: *[---]ronio : uol[t---*|*---]a*ome* MF **156**, and *tito : uel*|*lmineo : iun*|*aị ị*ice* MLF **315** and *tito* / *uelmineo* | *ịụ i*ice* MLF **309** (where *i*ice* has been interpreted as a verb, but is perhaps a cognomen)]

PROCURATOR$_{NOM}$ DECEASED$_{DAT}$ and DECEASED$_{DAT}$ PROCURATOR$_{NOM}$ are, of course, well-known from the Latin sepulchral inscriptions (where the dative could also be expressed by *dis manibus* DECEASED$_{GEN}$).[160] The type is notably absent, however, in the Sabellic languages, where only South Picene *ma kupri koram opsút ani[ni]s rakineḷíṣ pomp[úne]ĺ* AQ.2 shows a comparable formula, and in Etruscan, as a scrutiny of the forms with *-si/-(a)le* in the categories *Grabinschriften* and *Bau- und Grabstifterinschriften* of *ET* shows. In the case of Etruscan, this may be because the language lacked a 'true' dative (cf. Steinbauer 1999:170-5). More or less comparable is *eca : σuθic : velus : ezpus* | *clensi : cerine* Vc 1.87 (Steinbauer's type G4).

The problem with the occurrence of the PROCURATOR$_{NOM}$ DECEASED$_{DAT}$ type in Faliscan is twofold: *(a)* inscriptions of this type do not appear to fit in with the Faliscan burials in closed family tombs and the function of the sepulchral inscriptions within this type of burial (§11.1.4.*1*), and *(b)* the interpretation of these texts depends on whether the Faliscan forms in *-ai* and *-oi* can be genitives or must always be datives: a discussion, where, as said, there is an unwillingness to accept the existence of the genitive in *-ai*, and consequently, of that in *-oi* (§4.4.4).

In my view, Faliscan forms in *-ai* and in *-oi* can very well be genitives, and the forms *-oi* in LF **330** and **333** certainly give the impression of being genitives in filiations of the type FATHER$_{GEN}$ [*SON/DAUGHTER*] (cf. *[---]o cicio · cicoi : cupat : ifra* MF

[160] It also occurs frequently in Venetic (Le 63, Le 77-79, Le 102, Le 109, Le 226, and Le 110*bis*), where formulas with DECEASED$_{DAT}$ were popular: cf. DECEASED$_{DAT}$ (over 20 instances), *ego* DECEASED$_{DAT}$ (Le 75ter), *TOMB*$_{NOM}$ DECEASED$_{DAT}$ (4 instances), *ego TOMB*$_{NOM}$ DECEASED$_{DAT}$ (5 instances), *ego* PROCURATOR$_{GEN}$ DECEASED$_{DAT}$ (2 instances), PROCURATOR$_{GEN}$ *ego*$_{DAT}$ (2 instances), *ego* PROCURATOR$_{GEN}$ *TOMB*$_{NOM}$ DECEASED$_{DAT}$ (Le 130).

40 and *tito : uelmineo* | *titọi : fe cupa* MLF **305**). On the other hand, it is likely that the forms in *-ai* in MF **270** and MLF **308**, and possibly also those in MF **154** and MLF **310** are datives. In the case of *popliai file* MLF **308**, there is some external evidence for a dative *popliai file(ai)*, for the grave-gifts found in the undisturbed loculus to which the inscription belonged show that the deceased was a woman rather than a man (Giglioli 1916:68-72), which precludes interpreting *popliai file* as a metronymic filiation *popliai file(o)*. Such an interpretation is of course still possible in the cases of *larise : mar*||*cna : citiai* MF **270** and *[---]: zaconiai* MF **154**.[161] Note, however, that although metronymic formulas are well-attested for Etruscan, there is no (other) trace of them in inscriptions from the agri Faliscus and Capenas: neither Cristofani (1988:18) nor Peruzzi (1990:280) even consider this interpretation for MF **270**. They also tend to follow patronymic formulas, which is not the case here.

8.10.3. OWNER$_{GEN}$ *cella* and the *ius sepulcrale*. Another type of sepulchral inscriptions occurs on the outside of the tombs, namely OWNER$_{GEN}$ *cella* in *cau‹i›o : pauiceo :* | *l[oc]ịes : cela* MF **12**, **[.]pi : uesθi : cela* MF **83**, *caui [:]t **(*)[i] : cela* MF **84**, and *[---]fate cela* MLF **285**. As is argued in §11.1.4.*1a*, these inscriptions refer to the owner of the tomb, and designate the *right* to a place of burial rather than the burial itself, even though the owner will of course have been buried there as well.

The formula OWNER$_{GEN}$ *cella* is not found in Latin or Sabellic inscriptions, and is clearly an adaptation of Etruscan formulas like *eca σuθi/σiuθi [neσl]* OWNER$_{GEN}$ (Steinbauer's type G3).[162] Interestingly, this formula is relatively frequent in the nearby areas of Tarquinii (17 instances: Ta 1.31, **45**, AT 1.11, 159, 177, 178 (with *ca*), 192 (with *ta*); with *neσl* AT 1.30, 70, 138, 140, 141, 148, 188; unclear AT 1.146, 149, 163), of Vulci (14 instances: Vc 1.1, 2, 3, **4**, 5, 10, 16, **45**, 69, 77, 102, AV 1.5, 8, **14**; OWNER$_{GEN}$ *σuθi* Vc. 1.102), and of Horta (only AH 1.81): elsewhere, it occurs only sporadically (**4** instances: without *eca* Pe 1.168, 328; OWNER$_{GEN}$ *ta σuθi* AS 1.9; fragmentary Pe 1.688). The Faliscan adaptation, with OWNER$_{GEN}$ preceding *cela* (cf. §8.4.2), closely resembles, not the most common Etruscan type *eca σuθi/σiuθi* OWNER$_{GEN}$ from Tarquinii and Vulci, but the unique OWNER$_{GEN}$ *σuθi* of Vc 1.102, *larθia* | *larθial · anienas · σuθi*.

Since the Faliscan formula contains no equivalent of the deictic element *eca/ca/ta* in the Etruscan formula, it is perhaps not surprising that there are likewise no instances of a Faliscan adaptation of the Etruscan *iscrizione parlante*-type *mi* OWNER$_{GEN}$

[161] In MF **270**, the woman is designated by GENTILICIUM, which appears to be the normal form of the mother's name in Etruscan metronymic filiations: on the other hand, Etruscan metronymic filiations are usually added after patronymic filiations, which is not the case here.

[162] Steinbauer (1999:472, 473) translates *σuθi* as "Grab(stelle)" because of its connection to *σuθ-* ("viell. „legen, stellen" "), and *tamera* as "(Grab-)kammer". For *cela* as a Latin-Faliscan rather than an Etruscan word, see §6.2.8.

σuθi/σiuθi (Steinbauer's type G1), found mostly at Volsinii (Vs 1.43, 54, 73, 86, 98, 136, Fe 1.7), and *mi σuθi/σiuθi* OWNER$_{GEN}$ (Vc 1.78, Cl 1.946, Fe 1.2, 9, Li 1.1).[163]

Related inscriptions are those that state the number of *loculi* in the tomb, as in *[---]fate cela · lete zot xxiiii* MLF **285**, or the right to burial there, as in *· iii · l[.....]l[.....]nai [?---]l[....]o uxo* MF **17** (if = 'the third *lectus* ... for ...na' or 'three *lecti* ... for ...na'), and perhaps *precono* | *cuiteneṭ* | *let* MLF 361 (if = 'Praeconus here (?) keeps (?) a *lectus*'), and most clearly in the Latin inscription *l · uecilio · uo · f · et* | *po[l]ae · abelese* | *lectu · i · datus* | *[. ·]uecilio · l · f · et · plenese* | *lectu · i · amplius · nihil* | *inuiteis · l · c · leuieis · l · f* | *et · quei · eos · parentaret* | *ne · anteponat* Lat **251**. These instances show that *lectus* was a *terminus technicus* for '(place in a) *loculus*'.[164]

8.11. Dedications

8.11.1. OWNER$_{NOM}$, OWNER$_{GEN}$, RECIPIENT$_{DAT}$. As in the case of the *Besitzerinschriften* (§8.7.1), there are three basic types of dedicatory inscriptions, the first just naming the divine owner (OWNER$_{NOM}$), the second stressing the possessive relationship between the inscribed object and the divine owner (OWNER$_{GEN}$), the third stressing the act of the dedication itself (DEDICANT$_{NOM}$ RECIPIENT$_{DAT}$).

The only example of OWNER$_{NOM}$ is

apolo MF **65**

Since this inscription was found in a tomb, it has been interpreted as an abbreviated human name *Apollo(...)*. Dedicatory inscriptions of the type OWNER$_{NOM}$ occur in Etruscan, however, although infrequently (Steinbauer's types S1-2, e.g. *flere* Ar 3.1, *fuflunz* Um 4.1-2, *tiniia* Ta 4.2, *tinia* AH 4.1, *tinia caluṣna* Vs 4.7, *turan* Li 4.1, *uni* Ta 4.12), and rarely also in Latin (only *iuno · loucina CIL* I^2.375, *marspiter CIL* I^2.970, *diana CIL* I^2.1435, *diana af louco CIL* I^2.2444, although the last two may be instances of a dative in *-a*, cf. §4.2.3) and in the Sabellic languages (Marsian *esos ·* | *nouesedẹ* | *pesco · pacrẹ* VM 5 and Oscan *dí{·}pa{·}tír · púl[ie]ỵṣ* Po 22).

The second type is OWNER$_{GEN}$, attested for Faliscan in

apolonos EF **10**
loifiṛtato MF **31**
loifirtato MF **32**

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[163] This type is not discussed by Agostiniani, but is comparable to Agostiniani's types E6 (Agostiniani 1982:187-97) and E21 (Agostiniani 1982:221-3).

[164] M.Mancini (2002:28-33) argues against interpreting *let* and *lete* as forms of *lectus*, and suggests instead that they represent a */lõi̯tā/*, which, however, has the same meaning. The corresponding word in Etruscan may have been *tunu-* or *tusu-* (cf. Steinbauer 1999:483, 484).

As this type is comparable to the *Besitzerinschriften* in the genitive (but with a divine owner), there is no need to assume that a word like *sacrum* was to be understood: something that is questionable in any case, as *sacer* appears to be more frequently used with the dative than with the genitive at least in Latin (cf. e.g. the instances quoted below). OWNER$_{GEN}$ occurs in Latin, although rarely: a contextless genitive of the deity's name occurs only in *salutis CIL* I^2.1626*a*, *deum* | *maanium CIL* I^2.2117, and *uenerus* · *heruc CIL* I^2.2297. In the Sabellic languages, the type is found in Praesamnitic *τουτικες διποτερες* Ps 1, Marsian *apols* VM 7, and Oscan *fatuveís* Hi 6, *iúveís* · | *lúvfreís* Fr 5.

A deity's name in a genitive is not uncommon in Etruscan dedications (Steinbauer's types S3-9), e.g. *artmsl* Ru 4.3, *fuflunsl paχ(ies)* Vc 4.3, *[fuflunsl p]aχies* Vc 4.4, *fuflunl paχies velclθi* Vc 4.1-2, *menerva·s·* Ve 4.1, *mene·r·va·s·* Cr 4.1, *[m]enrua[s]* Cr 4.17, *menṛ[vas]* Cr 4.18, *tuṛ[ns]* Ta 4.9, *turṇ[s]* Ta 4.10, *turns* Ta 4.11, 13, *: unial :* Cr 4.8, *unial :* Cr 4.9. According to Steinbauer (1999:170-1), in Etruscan, where a 'true dative' was lacking, the genitive could fulfill functions that in an Italic language would have been fulfilled by a dative: the Etruscan type OWNER$_{GEN}$ could therefore also be described as RECIPIENT$_{GEN}$. This may explain why three Faliscan dedicatory inscriptions are of the type OWNER$_{GEN}$, which is a relatively large number.

In dedications, however, the dedicant wants to stress, not just that the dedicated object *belongs* to the deity, but that it was *given*, by using the elliptic verb phrase RECIPIENT$_{DAT}$ DEDICANT$_{NOM}$ or even just RECIPIENT$_{DAT}$ (cf. §8.7.1).

titoi | *mercui* | *efiles* MF **113**
titoi | *mercui* | *efile* MF **114**
[t]ito[i] | *ṃercu[i]* | *efiles* MF **115**
titoi | *mercụ[i]* | *efi[les]* MF **116**
[titoi | *mercui* | *efil]es* MF **117**

(with ellipsis of the name of the dedicant:)

titoi : mercụ[i] MF **118**
[t]itoi : mercu[i] MF **119**
[ti]ṭoi : mercu[i] MF **120**
[ti]toi : mercui MF **121**
titoi : ṃ[e]rcui MF **122**
[titoi : ?]merc[ui] MF **123**
[m]ęrcui MF **124**
ṃercui MF **125**
meṛ[cui] MF **126**
and possibly *[---]ąltai i* MF **109** (if this is a dedication)

Both variants of this type are common in Latin and in the Sabellic languages. In Latin, RECIPIENT$_{DAT}$ DEDICANT$_{NOM}$ occurs in nine instances (*diana mereto* | *noutrix paperia CIL* I^2.45, *apoline* | *l* · *carnius* · *c* · *f CIL* I^2.2219, *dianai* · *opifer* | *nemorensei* | *l* ·

apuleius · l · l · antio CIL I^2.1480, *fortunae · opse[q]* | *p · peilius · l · f · c · caluius · p · f* | *cens CIL* I^2.1509, *diuei* | *ardeates CIL* I^2.39, *uediouei · patrei* | *genteiles iuliei CIL* I^2.1439, *[iuno]ne · regina* | *[· an]toni · p · f · l · uirgini · t · f* | *mag · pag CIL* I^2.1993, *hercolei* | *tesorus CIL* I^2.2220, *ueneri u[ictrici]* | *l · bombius · m · f · pro · i CIL* I^2.2246), and DEDICANT$_{NOM}$ RECIPIENT$_{DAT}$ in six instances (*l · mr fouṛ[---]menerua[i lindiai] CIL* I^2.404, *q · caecilius · cn · a · q · flamini · leibertus · iunone · seispitei* | *matri · reginae CIL* I^2.1430, *[---]s · m · f · hercolei CIL* I^2.1579, *[---]*| *tampia · l · f* | *diouei CIL* I^2.2171, *c nrius eros apolline · et iouei · et neptuno · minerua · et sis mircurio CIL* I^2.2233, *p · laeuius* | *fortun[ae primig] CIL* I^2.2531). In the Sabellic languages, RECIPIENT$_{DAT}$ DEDICANT$_{NOM}$ occurs in *διοϝηι [?---]*| *τιτιδιες [?---]* Lu 27, and DEDICANT$_{NOM}$ RECIPIENT$_{DAT}$ in *tanas : niumeriis :* | *frunter[eí]* Sa 27, *lúvkis · yeleí[is]* | *mefiṭeí* | *ąravinaí* Hi 3, and *siviiu magiú* | *mefit(eí)* Hi 4. In the Latin instances, the order RECIPIENT$_{DAT}$ DEDICANT$_{NOM}$, which is the order of the Faliscan dedications of this type, is slightly more frequent.

The shorter form RECIPIENT$_{DAT}$, with ellipsis of the name of the dedicant, appears in Latin in 20 instances (*iounonei loucina CIL* I^2.362, *apolenei CIL* I^2.368, *fide CIL* I^2.369, *iunone CIL* I^2.370, *salute CIL* I^2.373, *lebro CIL* I^2.381, *remureine CIL* I^2.971, *mauortei CIL* I^2.991, *terrai* | *matri CIL* I^2.995, *[mer]qurio CIL* I^2.2243, *meneruae CIL* I^2.2194, *uenerei · erucina[CIL* I^2.2221, *apoline CIL* I^2.2628, *iue CIL* I^2.2630, *uictorie CIL* I^2.2631, *castorei : podlouqeique* | *qurois CIL* I^2.2833, *luei CIL* I^2.2848a, *[a]polo* | *menerua* | *[gr]aiua CIL* I^2.2876, *herecle CIL* I^2.2887b, *hercolei CIL* I^2.2889), and in the Sabellic languages in nine instances (*menervai* Pg 8, *heretateí* Cm 11, *mirikui* Cm 12, *ϝενζηι · μεϝιτι[αι]* Lu 31, *[μ]εϝιτηι* | *καποροινναι* Lu 32, *μεϝιτηι* | *αραϝιναι* Lu 33, *μεβιτηι* | *αραϝιναι* Lu 34, *ζωϝηι* | *πιζηι* Lu 35, *μαμερτει* | *μεϝιτανοι* Lu 36).

In Etruscan, this type is completely absent, probably because of the lack of a 'true' dative (see above). The only text that resembles DEDICANT$_{NOM}$ RECIPIENT$_{DAT}$ is *uras · arnθ · θufl(θas) · su{u}ris* (Cristofani 1990b, Steinbauer 1999:288).

8.11.2. Other types of dedicatory inscriptions. Another type of dedication stresses the relation between the inscribed object and the deity by the word *sacer*. For Faliscan, this type is attested in *sacra* MF **127**, and perhaps in abbreviated form in *sa* MF? **131** (and perhaps *sa* MF? **76**, from a tomb). The type occurs with some frequency in Latin, e.g. *fortunai* | *poblicai* | *sacra CIL* I^2.397, *sacro · matre mursina CIL* I^2.580, *deuas* | *corniscas* | *sacrum CIL* I^2.975, *iunone* | *loucina* | *tuscolana* || *sacra CIL* I^2.1581, *[---]ole* | *[tusc]olana* | *sacra CIL* I^2.1582, *salutei* | *sacrum CIL* I^2.1626, *iouei · libero · s[acr-] CIL* I^2.1838, *sacra · lanuio CIL* I^2.2296, *saturno* | *sacro CIL* I^2.3375, *diouei · mourc* | *sacr CIL* I^2.3171, *cerer · sac CIL* I^2.3471, *herc · sa CIL* I^2.3472a, *her · sac · ad laue CIL* I^2.3472b, and *uen · sac CIL* I^2.3474.[165] In the Sabellic languages the type is

[165] These are the fourteen Latin instances of dedications consisting *only* of the word *sacer* and the name of the deity, without any mention of the dedicant.

attested for Umbrian in *[cupr]as matres pletinas sacru esu* Um 17 (the same text in Um 16, 18-19, where *sacru* is restored) and *supunne sacr* Um 24, and for Oscan in *αππελ-λουνηι σακορο* Me 1-3 and *ηερεκλεις σ(α)κ(ορο)* Lu 26. Leaving aside Umbrian *sacre stahu* Um 10 (a boundary stone, not a temple dedication), Faliscan *sacra* MF **127** is unique among these inscriptions in omitting the name of the deity: within the sanctuary where the object was dedicated, it was of course clear which deity was meant.

More or less comparable Etruscan types, where the name of the deity is also often omitted, are the shorter dedicatory inscriptions consisting only of *θuris* or *tinscvil* 'dedication', e.g. *θuris* Pe 0.6, *θúriś* Ar 4.2, *sauvcnes : θuris* AT 4.1, *mi : θúris : ca[* Cr 4.12, and *tinścvil* Co 4.7-9, Ar 3.2, *tinia* | *tinscvil* Vs 4.10, *tinia : ti[nscvil]* Vs 4.11, *tinia : tinscvil* Vs 4.13, *[--- t]inscvil* Vs 4.14, *eśta ẓinu herma tinścvil* Vs 4.12. A more direct parallel might be *mi cipaχ* Etr **XVIII** from Narce, if Briquel (in Gran-Aymérich & Briquel 1997) is right in suggesting that *cipaχ* may mean 'sacred, consecrated'.

There are no Faliscan dedicatory inscriptions where verb phrases are used. Thulin (1907:304) interpreted *sta* MF? **128** (and *sta* MF? **28**) as *sta(t)* 'stands as a sacred object', but *sto* by itself cannot be used in this sense: in the text quoted by Thulin as a parallel, Umbrian *sacre stahu* Um 10, the 'sacral sense' is due to *sacre*, not to *stahu*. The only dedications with a verbal structure from the area are the Latin inscriptions from S. Maria di Falleri (LF/Lat **214**, Lat **217-218**, **219**) and the ager Capenas (Lat **377** from Ponzano, Cap **421** from Capena, and Cap **431**, **433**, and **435** and Lat **432** and **434** from Lucus Feroniae), with Latin formulas. The many Etruscan types of dedicatory inscriptions with verbs like *turuce*, *alice* (e.g. Etr **VIII**=Fa 3.1, Etr **IX**=Fa 3.3) or *muluvanice* (e.g. *mulu* in Etr **XIX**=Fa 3.2) have no parallels in Faliscan: note that the only Etruscan dedication from a temple in Falerii Veteres, *anae lauvlcies* Etr **XXIX**=Fa 0.6 from the Tempio Maggiore at Colle di Vignale, apparently only names the dedicant.

8.12. Official inscriptions

Official inscriptions are scarce. Usually, they consist only of the names of the magistrates responsible, as in *cauio lullio* MF **207**, *cauio latinaio* MF **210**, *a [.]osena uę narionio* MF **206**, and *c**(*)coɳęo · l***(*) · ce · paui[cio 1-2]so* MLF **290**. These can in fact be considered comparable to signatures of the type MAKER$_{NOM}$ (see §8.8.1). A magistracy is named only *[1-2]· hirmio · m[· f ·]ce · tertineo · c · f · preț[ores ?---]* LF 213: it is possible that *[---]ilio · c[· f ---]* LF **215** also contained a magistracy. As in the case of dedications, the more explicit verbal formulas occur only in the Latin inscriptions from the area (Lat **291** from near Corchiano, Lat **456** from Lucus Feroniae).

As an expression from the official language should also be mentioned *macistratu* | *keset* LF **242**, *malcistratu?]* || *kese[t* LF **243**). This corresponds to the Latin formulaic official expression *magistratum gerere* (for instances, see *TLL* 6.2

1939.1-1940.56), and the formula may well have been taken over from Rome or Latium, as was the use of the *cursus honorum* itself (§11.1.4.*1*), and most of the official vocabulary (§6.3.*6*).

8.13. Summary of §§8.8-12

When we look at the textual types and the formulas discussed in §8.8-12, the following tendencies emerge:

(a) General textual types such as OWNER$_{NOM}$ and OWNER$_{GEN}$ in the *Besitzerinschriften* (§8.8.1), MAKER$_{NOM}$ and MAKER$_{GEN}$ in the signatures (§8.9.1) and the official inscriptions (§8.12), DECEASED$_{NOM}$ in the sepulchral inscriptions (§8.10.1), and OWNER$_{NOM}$ and OWNER$_{GEN}$ in the dedications (§8.11.1) have parallels in Latin, Etruscan and the Sabellic languages. However, OWNER$_{GEN}$ in the dedications appears to be relatively frequent in comparison to the occurrence of this type in Latin and the Sabellic languages: this may be due to Etruscan, where the type had a function equal to that of RECIPIENT$_{DAT}$ in Latin and the Sabellic languages (§8.11.1). The dedicatory type using *sacer* has parallels in Latin and Sabellic, but not in Etruscan, and may be considered Italic (§8.11.2).

(b) The Early Faliscan *iscrizioni parlanti* generally follow Etruscan models, e.g. in the case of the *Besitzerinschriften* of the type *ego* OWNER$_{GEN}$, *ego* POSSESSION$_{NOM}$ OWNER$_{GEN}$ and *ego* OWNER$_{NOM}$ (§8.8.2), although they tend to be adapted to the Faliscan word order, e.g. in the *Besitzerinschriften* of the type OWNER$_{GEN}$ *ego* (§8.8.2). Alternatively, the Faliscan type reflects an Etruscan variant with a word order that is closer to the Faliscan one, as in the *Besitzerinschrift* of the type OWNER$_{NOM}$ *ego* (§8.8.2) and the signature formula MAKER$_{NOM}$ *me* MAKER$_{3RD\ PF}$ (§8.9.2). The Capenate *Besitzerinschriften* with OWNER$_{GEN}$ *sum*, on the other hand, appear to be of Sabellic rather than of Etruscan origin (§8.8.2). The uniquely Capenate type OWNER$_{NOM}$ *sum* may be due to third-century Latin replacement of the Etruscan type OWNER$_{NOM}$ *ego* (§8.8.2).

(c) The Middle Faliscan sepulcral type DECEASED$_{NOM}$ *hec cupat/cupant* has parallels both in Etruscan and in the Sabellic languages, but is used in Faliscan with a frequency that far exceeds that of its parallels, and can therefore at least in this respect be regarded as Faliscan (§8.10.1). Another sepulchral type, OWNER$_{GEN}$ *cela*, is probably modeled on the South Etruscan inscriptions with *eca σúθi/σuθi* OWNER$_{GEN}$ (§8.10.3), but the word order is again that of Faliscan rather than that of the most common Etruscan model.

(d) The Latin dedicatory and official inscriptions show textual types with verbal formulas that do not appear in the Middle or Late Faliscan inscriptions (§8.11.2, §8.12): they also appear to have influenced the Late Faliscan sepulchral inscriptions (§8.10.2).

Chapter 9

Language contact

As said in §1.1, one of the interesting features of Faliscan is the fact that it is found between areas where Etruscan, Sabellic languages and Latin were spoken. Language contact must have been frequent, and it can sometimes be traced in the texts by features occurring in Faliscan inscriptions that can be ascribed to influence from these languages. This chapter opens with a number of methodological observations on the problems of observing language contact from texts such as we have for Faliscan (§9.1). In the next sections I discuss the features in the Faliscan inscriptions that can be ascribed to language contact with speakers of Etruscan (§9.2), Sabellic languages (§9.3), and Latin (§9.4). A short conclusion is drawn in §9.5.

9.1. Language contact in the ager Faliscus: methodological issues

In the following sections, I have tried to map which features can be ascribed to language contact between Faliscan on the one hand and Etruscan, Sabellic languages, and Latin on the other. The study of language contact involving fragmentarily documented languages such as Faliscan involves a number of problems, and can only result in the most tentative of conclusions. Therefore, in spite of excellent discussions of the problems involved by Adams & Swain (2002), Adams (2003:1-29, 2007:1-36), and especially Langslow (2002), my remarks on the methodological issues will be longer than usual. They are largely meant to adapt the framework used by these authors (which is also based on literary texts, sometimes even texts pretending to represent spoken language, e.g. comedy) to the conditions of the material on which this study is based.

This material is, in the first place, fragmentary in the sense that it does not even allow drawing a complete picture of the languages involved in the contact. Worse, epigraphic material is fragmentary also in another sense, namely in the sense that an inscription normally represents an individual 'utterance', generated as a kind of 'one-sided interaction' directed towards a (conceived) reader. This is a great disadvantage when studying language contact, for language contact presupposes a spoken interaction between at least two speakers involving more than one language. Therefore, an epigraphic source that is not consciously conceived as a bilingual text but does show features of code-switching should be regarded as representing the mental choices of one bilingual individual for one code or another. Unfortunately, there is no possibility to check to what degree that individual was bilingual, or in how far the choices from his or her bilingualism represent those made by the language community as a whole.

An even more structural problem with regard to the description of language contact on the basis of material such as the Faliscan corpus is that all the material used as data in this study is *written*, and that written language is only an indirect or derived form of language use. Writing is always an *acquired* process, and does not necessarily reflect spoken language at every turn. Acquiring the art of writing a specific language involves mastering a set of rules associated with the writing of that language and its written tradition. These rules concern not just the alphabet and its related orthographic conventions (including e.g. historically motivated spelling) but also conventions about what is allowed in spoken but not in written language (in effect, level-distinction), and the construction of certain types of texts, including the formulas belonging to each type. Each written language therefore has its own individual set of consciously acquired prescriptions that tell the individual how he or she should 'translate' a mentally conceived or spoken utterance into one that is acceptable within the written form of that language. The process of this 'translation' is a *conscious* application of these rules, although 'conscious' is of course a relative concept here: depending on how well-versed the writer is in writing a specific language, it may be a process that will be regarded as hardly conscious at all by the individual in question.

As any user of both spoken and written language can testify, there is often a vast gap between how we speak and how we write, even if this speaking and writing concerns the same utterance. Some features of spoken language (such as repetition and other forms of over-marking that are necessary to compensate for the 'loss' in the transmission of a spoken utterance) simply do not enter written language because they are unnecessary, but others are not used because the rules tell us so, often because the written language, which is taught and learned, is necessarily more conservative than the spoken language, and therefore by its very existence produces a level-distinction between spoken and written language.[166] In how far a written speech utterance resembles this desired standard or, on the other hand, the language as it is actually spoken, therefore depends *(a)* on the width of the gap between written and spoken language in the framework of the writing of that specific language, *(b)* the degree of knowledge that the writer has of that framework, and *(c)* his or her ability to apply these rules.

As an acquired form of language that requires a conscious effort to use, written language is by its nature more formal than spoken language. Language contact, on the other hand, is first of all a matter of the spoken language, of the *interaction* between speakers of two different languages, and phenomena such as interference and code-switching are normally the result of *unconscious* psycholinguistic processes. Before a

[166] This does not mean that I assume a Faliscan *diglossia*, as does R. Giacomelli (1978 *passim*) unless this term is (in my view wrongly) applied to the level-distinction between written and spoken language: see §1.3.2. Since the Faliscan inscriptions are not only written language but also highly formulaic, I find it difficult to assume that they could represent 'informal speech', as does R. Giacomelli (2006 *passim*).

feature of language *x* can occur in a *written* text of language *y*, it must therefore not only pass the threshold into a different language: it must also cross the *additional* threshold of the formalization of the speech utterances of language *y* into the written form of language *y*, and therefore either fit in with or in some way circumvent the rules of writing language *y*.

This means that observing phenomena that can be classed under the headings of 'interference', 'borrowing', 'code switching' etc. in written material such as the epigraphic material on which this study is based can imply *(a)* that that specific feature was accepted as permissible in the written form of language *y* (and that recurrent occurrence therefore represents borrowing rather than interference), *(b)* that the writer was uncertain or non-cognizant of (certain aspects of) the rules governing the written form of language *y* (probably implying that he or she had another language as his or her first language) and/or *(c)* that in spite of the writer's knowledge of the rules of the written form of language *y*, language *x* was what has been called 'psychologically dominant' (cf. e.g. Muysken 1995), i.e., that in the mind of the bilingual individual it dominated the decisions with regard to the use of the codes of either language to such an extent as to overrule the rules of the written form of language *y*.

To be able to assess phenomena that can be ascribed to language contact, it is also necessary to establish the *nature* of these language contacts. Unfortunately, for the period and the material under discussion here, this can only be done in the most general way: in effect, little more can be done than to refer in very general terms to such forms of contact as trade, transhumance, war, colonization, immigration, and intermarriage. Any details that can be added to this are finds derived from the archaeological and historical sources, for which see §2.1-7. There is usually no way in which these can be quantified or specified, or connected with specific features of language contact that might be observable in the texts.

Establishing the nature of the language contact, even in these general terms, also shows on which *level* such contact took place. In the case of Faliscan, much of the contact will have been *informal*, e.g. with Etruscan-speaking neighbours and in-laws, with Latin-speaking tradesmen from the colonies at Sutrium, Nepete, and Capena, or with herdsmen from the Sabellic-speaking interior. Yet there must also have been language contact on a more formal level, especially at the level of the governing bodies: during the period before the war of 241-240, Falerii was allied with the South Etruscan city-states, and, if we are to believe Livy (4.23.4-24.2, 4.25.7-8, 5.17.6-10), even attended the meetings of the Etruscan League at Fanum Voltumnae, while during the period after 240, there will have been frequent contact with Roman officials, even if the magistrates themselves were from local families (§2.6.2). Of the former contact, no trace remains: of the latter, evidence can be seen in a number of official and sepulchral inscriptions from the period after 240 (see §9.4.2).

A last remark should be made with regard to onomastic borrowing, a point that has already been touched upon in §1.3.2.*2* and discussed in more detail in §7.1.1. The existence of the individual *per se* entails the use of his or her name, not only within the language community where that name originated, but also in another language community, where it automatically generates a situation where his or her name becomes an interferential form. This onomastic borrowing is both vastly more frequent than the borrowing of other elements of speech, and cannot be treated in the same way as other observable features of language contact.

9.2. Faliscan and Etruscan

9.2.1. The nature of Faliscan-Etruscan language contact. Generally speaking, the inhabitants of the ager Faliscus may be assumed to have been in quite regular contact with speakers of Etruscan: indeed, especially in view of the onomastic material and of the number of Etruscan inscriptions from the area, it is not unreasonable to assume that a number of autochthonous inhabitants of the ager Faliscus were speakers of Etruscan as a first language: the presence of such Etruscan-speaking individuals and groups in the ager Faliscus has been discussed by Cristofani (1988): see also §9.2.3.

Of those individuals that had Faliscan as their first language and those that had Etruscan as their first language, a reasonable proportion must have been bilingual, although it cannot be ascertained to what extent, and whether they acquired both languages at an early age or were bilingual due to later acquisition of a second language. In any case, interaction between autochthonous speakers of Faliscan and autochthonous speakers of Etruscan must have been an everyday occurrence.

This interaction between Faliscan and Etruscan did not only take place on the level of individual speakers. If the roadside inscriptions Etr **XXXVIII** and **XXXIX** can indeed be classed as inscriptions on public works (§11.1.4.5), they show that in the ager Faliscus Etruscan could be used for an official inscription, even if this may have been possible only on a local level. The Roman and Greek historical sources (quoted in §2.5-6) report unanimously that the Faliscans as a city-state were allied with the Etruscans: as a community, the ager Faliscus had its political roots in the Etruscan world, which must have meant that speakers of Etruscan must have been common at government level. When Livy (9.36) describes Fabius' *incognito* journey through the *silua Cimina* in 310, he even envisages him as a man who was suited for the job because of his proficiency in speaking Etruscan.[167]

[167] Livy's portrayal presents him as a typical 'elite bilingual': "Caere educatus apud hospites, Etruscis inde litteris eruditus erat linguamque Etruscam probe nouerat. habeo auctores uulgo tum Romanos pueros, sicut nunc Graecis, ita Etruscis litteris erudiri solitos".

Yet the epigraphic material indicates that the (written) language of the ager Faliscus was in the first place Faliscan, not Etruscan. This can be observed first of all from the number of inscriptions. During the Early Faliscan period, the Etruscan inscriptions are in the majority: there are 19-20 early Etruscan inscriptions from the ager Faliscus, 18 of which are from Narce (which appears to have been an Etruscan-speaking town and has yielded no Faliscan inscriptions) and the south-west (Etr **I-XV** and **XVIII-XX**: only Etr **XXXII** is from Corchiano), against only 9-12 Early Faliscan inscriptions (EF **1-4**, **6-10**, **467***, EF/Etr **5** and **385**). During the Middle and Late Faliscan periods however, the Faliscan material far outnumbers the Etruscan inscriptions even in the most generous count: Civita Castellana yields only 7-16 Etruscan or possibly Etruscan texts (Etr **XXV-XXXI**, MF/Etr **37**, **61**, **64**, **66-67**, **77**, **199**, MLF/Etr **208-209**), Corchiano 10-16 (Etr **XXXII-XLI**, MF/Etr **256**, **264**, **267**, **279-280**, MLF/Etr **289**), the remainder of the ager Faliscus only 2-4 (Etr **XLII-XLIII** MLF/Etr **356-357**), and the ager Capenas only 2 (Etr **XLIV-XLV**). Another point that shows that Faliscan was the first language of the area rather than Etruscan is that although many gentilicia are undoubtedly of Etruscan origin, these names were very often adapted to Faliscan: see §7.8.2.*2,5* and §7.10.3.

9.2.2. Etruscan features in Faliscan inscriptions. During the 150 years of Faliscan studies (§1.5), a number of features have with more or less justification been ascribed to Etruscan influence, especially by Herbig and those who closely followed his publication of the Faliscan material in the *CIE* (!):

(1) Phonological features. I can see no phonological features that have to be ascribed to Etruscan. The monophthongization of the Faliscan diphthongs more or less coincides with similar processes in Etruscan (§3.7), but it is very unclear whether this can (or must) be due to contact with Etruscan. Monophthongization of diphthongs affected most of the Italic languages at one time or other, and can be described as a 'natural' phenomenon. Those who wish to do so can regard this as an attestation of a *Sprachbund* (§1.3.1.*1*): if there were any relationship between the developments in both languages, it would be an attestation of the frequency of language contact. The Middle Faliscan realisation of /#fV/ as [h] has been ascribed to Etruscan influence (§3.5.2), but as the Faliscan development *preceded* the Etruscan development, and the Etruscan development was restricted to the north and north-east of the Etruscan-speaking area, this is altogether unlikely.

One feature that may perhaps be observable in the inscriptions is that the Etruscan realization of /s#/ may have been 'stronger' than in Faliscan, i.e., [s] rather than the Faliscan [^{h}] or [^{ʔ}] (§3.5.7*d*). Arguments for this may be the following forms: *(a)* the Etruscoid forms in *-(i)es*, where omission of *-s* is notably less frequent than in the Faliscan forms in /s#/ (§3.5.7*d*); *(b) morenez* MF **269** and perhaps *ącrẹz* MF/Etr **67**,

which have *-ez* instead of *-es*, perhaps representing a 'strongly' realized /s#/ (§3.5.3), although I doubt whether this can be maintained; *(c) larise* MF **270**, MLF **371-372**, reflecting Etruscan *Laris*, which has been explained by Vetter (1953:317, 325) and Peruzzi (1990:281 n.9) as a form with an epenthetic [-e] or [-ə] following a 'strongly realized' /s#/, although I would rather regard this form as an accusative *larise(m)* used instead of the nominative (see below).[168]

(2) Morphological features. On the morphological level, there are several features that have been regarded as Etruscan:

(a) nominatives in -i. A number of forms in *-i* have been interpreted as Etruscan feminine forms. In several cases this interpretation is at least possible:

(1) ca uipi : leueli | *filea* MF **14** (Thulin (1907:281-2 (*Cauipi*), Herbig *CIE* 8075, Morandi 1982:58-9): here the interpretation *ca uipi* = *Gauia Uibia* is plausible, also because, if *uipi leueli* is interpreted as a Faliscan genitive, the father is referred to with PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM, which is unique in FILIATION (§7.5 with figs.7.3-4).

(2) [---]o cicio · cicoi : cupat : ifra MF **40**, where *cicoi* was interpreted as a rendering of an Etruscan feminine **cicui* by G. Giacomelli (1963:84, 1965a): this appears to be a way of avoiding having to assume a genitive in *-oi*, however, since she did not propose this interpretation for any of the other forms *-oi*. I would rather interpret this form as a second-declension genitive (a dative is impossible here): see §4.4.4.

(3) larise : marllcna : citiai MF **270**, where *citiai* is regarded as a Faliscan nominative recharacterized with the Etruscan feminine *-i* by Cristofani (1988:18) and Peruzzi (1990:278-81): it can also be interpreted as a dative, or possibly a genitive (§8.10.2).

(4) [---]ạltai MF **109**, read as *ven]eltvi* by Colonna (1986:172-3) and as *?]ẹltvi* by Rix (*ET* Fa 2.19).

An Etruscan interpretation is unlikely in the following cases: *(1) titoi* l*mercui* l*efiles* MF **113-117** and *titoi : mercui* MF **118-122** (Herbig 1914, 1923); *(2) uolti : catinei* MF **469*** (Froehner in Lejeune 1952b:115-6); *(3) caui : tertinei :* | *posticnu* MLF/Cap **474*** (Herbig *CIE* 8339, Vetter 1953:308, Pisani 1964:345); *(4) uolta* | *ne·roni* | *ca fi* MF **15** (Pisani 1964 335-6); *(5) serui* MF **34-36** (Herbig *CIE* 814-8016).

(b) nominatives in -u. There are also cases where forms in *-u* have been interpreted as Etruscan nominatives in *-u*: in every case, I think that another interpretation or reading is more likely: *(1) [fel]ịcinatiu* LF **384** (Renzetti Marra 1974:351, Briquel 1972:820, 826, Rix ET Fa 2.17), rather a Faliscan genitive plural; *(2) posticnu* MLF **474†** (Lejeune 1952b :114-20), rather a Sabellic first-declension nominative; *(3) tuconu* MF **85** (Garrucci 1860:270 etc., Vetter 1953:300), but here the Etruscan interpretation appears to be

[168] The forms quoted under *(b)* and *(c)* would represent a conscious effort to express in written Faliscan texts a different phonetic realization in spoken Etruscan, which I find hard to believe.

a case of 'inexplicable, therefore Etruscan'; *(4)* the *uaria lectio fafariu* in MF **136** (Lejeune (1952b:120 n.1), which is rather to be read as *fafaṛ*, and *(5) ueiụeto* MLF **464** (reflecting an Etruscan **uei uetu* according to Herbig (*CIE* 8465)).

(c) Etruscoid forms in -(i)es/-(i)e. I have called these forms 'Etruscoid' rather than Etruscan since they appear to be Etruscan nominatives that originally arose from Italic forms, those in *-(i)es* perhaps from Italic nominatives in */-os/ and */-ios/ (with a weakening of the vowel within Etruscan itself?),[169] and are therefore the result of a much older contact between Etruscan and the Italic languages: note that they are used indiscriminately for the masculine as well as the feminine. These forms are used as the nominative of women's names in *fasies* MF **41**, *satelie* MF **42**, *calitenes* MF **265**, *morenez* MF **269**, *petrunes* LF **226**, *plenes* LtF **231** (and hence apparently used as the basis of a dative in *plenese* Lat **251**), and as the nominative of men's names in *cesi e* MF **257** and *ueneḷies* MF **258** (in *[---]ueneḷies sapnonia*, where *uenelies* is probably a patronymic adjective 'son of Venel' following a man's name). In other inscriptions, they occur where a genitive of a man's name is expected in *l[ocḷies* MF **12**, *cesies* MF **265**: see below under *(4)* on confusion of cases in Etruscan-Faliscan contact. Form in *-ie(s)* that can be either nominative or genitive occur in *ulties* MF/Etr **64** (without context) and *eco tulie* LF **383** (which can be either *ego* OWNER$_{NOM}$ or *ego* OWNER$_{GEN}$, see §8.8.2.). Probably a genitive is *ạcṛẹẓ* MF **67** if this can in fact be read at all. In Etruscan inscriptions from the area nominatives in *-(i)es* occur in Etr **XI-XV**, **XXVI**, **XXIX**, **XXXIV**, **XXXIX**, **XLIII**, **XLV**, **XLVIII**.

In all these cases of 'Etruscan morphology in Faliscan inscriptions', it should be noted that the Etruscan form is always the (unmarked) nominative: these forms are therefore not so much instances of morphological interference, but rather of onomastic borrowing, the morpheme being borrowed as part of the form of the name, not as a morpheme. There is no indication that Etruscan morphemes were borrowed into Faliscan: in fact, Etruscan names in *-a* are regularly declined according to the Faliscan first declension, and names such as *Arnθ* and *Larθ* according to the Faliscan third declension (§4.1), as might be expected. If *larise* MF **270**, MLF **371-372** is an accusative *larise(m)* (see below under *(4)*), Etruscan *Laris* appears to have been declined as a consonant-stem[170] instead of being declined according to the Faliscan i-stems, which had a nominative in *-is* (§4.5.1.*5*). Similarly, an Etruscoid form in *-es* apparently constitutes the basis for the dative *plenese* in *[.] · uecilio · l · f · et · plenese* | *lectu · i* Lat **251**.

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[169] I doubt whether they can be explained as going back to a Italic *vocatives* in */-(i)e/ (thus Adams 2007:97-100, with literature): this would explain the co-occurrence of *-ie*, *-e*, and *-i* in Etruscan, but does not explain the *-s* unless this is regarded as a subsequent recharacterization of these forms within Etruscan (after the Italic nominative?).

[170] Note that the Latin gentilicium *Larisius* is apparently derived in the same way.

(3) Lexical features. Lexically, there is very little that can be ascribed to Etruscan. A possible interferential form is Etruscan *puia* read by Vetter (1953:305) in MF **144**, *[.?]ą*ịą* | *lepuia* | *uoltilia.* Although difficult for other reasons, this interpretation is not unlikely in view of the great number of Etruscan sepulchral inscriptions where the woman is designated with the word *puia*: the inscription may have been written by an Etruscan who thought in the terms of the Etruscan sepulchral formula (a case of Etruscan being 'psychologically dominant'). Its occurrence within a formula might imply that the word is interferential and not a borrowing. Perhaps Etruscan, but unexplained, is *eitam* EF/Etr **5** (cf. below under *(4)*).

Possibly a borrowing rather than an inferential form (judging by the fact that the word also occurs in Latin) is the word *clipeus/clipeum* that underlies the *Berufsgentiliz Clipearius*, occurring in *clipeaio* (*clipea‹r›io*?) MF **470***, *clịpiaṛ[io]* LF **230**, *clipeaṛ[io]* LtF **231**, and *cl[i]peario* LtF **233**. *Pace* Bréyer (1993:341-2), Faliscan *cela* in MF **12**, **83**, **84**, and MLF **285** = Latin *cella* is in my view not a borrowing from Etruscan, but rather a Latin-Faliscan word that occurs as an interferential form in two Etruscan inscriptions *vel : aties : velθurus : lemniσa : celati : cęsu* Ta 1.66 and *cela : sal : θn* Vc 0.40 instead of the normal word *σuθi/σiuθi/σiuθi.*

To these instances must be added Radke's (1965:138) hybrid *hutị[p]ilom* 'fourfold' in EF **1**, from Etruscan *huθ* + Latin *-plum* (?), and Pisani's (1964:341) verb *ipice* in MLF **309** and **315**, from an Etruscan *ipi* 'urn' + Etruscan third singular active past tense *-ce*. Neither of these is acceptable, especially the former: cf. §1.3.1.2.

(4) Syntactic features: confusion of the cases. A syntactic feature that may be ascribed to Faliscan-Etruscan contacts is that in several inscriptions there appears to be a confusion of the cases. The clearest instance, in my view, is the use of the accusative for the nominative. I have assumed this in the cases of *arute* in *arute macena* | *morenez* MF **269** and of *larise* in *larise : mar||cna : citiai* MF **270**, and *larise uicina* MLF **371** and *larise* | *uicina* MLF **372**. These forms have been explained by Vetter (1953:316-7, 325) as containing an epenthetic *-e* [-e] or [-ə] marking a 'strong' pronunciation of a word-final consonant that in Faliscan was pronounced so weakly that it could be omitted in writing: in the case of *arute*, the cluster /nt#/, in the case of *larise*, a 'strongly realized' /s#/. In my view these forms are better explained as *aru(n)te(m)* and *larise(m)*, that is, as third-declension accusatives with omission of *-m* that also occurred in the accusative of the second declension, *uino* MF **59-60** (§3.5.7*a*). Since in the nominal forms Etruscan made no morphological distinction between the nominative and the accusative (Rix 1984:211, Steinbauer 1999:167-70), it is quite possible that these forms were confused in the contact with an Italic language where this distinction *was* made. Such a confusion might also underly the 'isolated accusative' *eitam* EF/Etr 5 and other such isolated accusatives occurring in Latin *mirqurios alixentrom CIL* I^2.553 and *diouem prosepnai CIL* I^2.558 from Praeneste, in

Praesamnitic *te·cliia·m* Ps 16-17, and in Oscan *spuriieis culcfnam* Cm 27. All these forms can be ascribed to Etruscan influence, although other explanations, such as ellipsis of a verb, have been proposed (see §8.2.3). If this is the correct explanation, the writers of these inscriptions may be assumed to have been bilinguals with Etruscan as their first language: see also §9.2.4 for other indications for this.

In two other instances, there appears to have been a confusion of nominative and genitive, namely *cauio : pauiceo* | *l[oc]ies : cela* MF **12** , apparently 'the tomb of Gavius Pavicius, son of Lucius', and *poplia : calitenes* | *aronto : cesies* | *lartio : uxor* MF **265**, apparently 'Publia Calidenia, wife of Arruns Caesius son of Lars'. In the latter case, Peruzzi (1964c:337) suggested that the confusion is due to the Etruscoid form *cesies*, as such forms can be used both for the nominative and for the genitive (see above under *(2c)*); Pisani's (1964:337) suggested that it might have arisen from the fact that in FILIATION both the genitive and the patronymic adjective could be used. An additional factor may be Unfortunately, neither solution explains MF **12**, where the fault lies not so much in *l[oc]ies* as in *cauio : pauiceo.* It is possible, however, that the two lines of this inscription in fact belong to separate inscriptions. These cases show writers who were uncertain of the use of the cases, which implies that they were bilinguals with Etruscan as first language and an incomplete command of Faliscan.

Related to this point might be the use of dedications where the name of the deity is expressed in the genitive (*apolonos* EF **10**, *loifirtato* MF **31**, *loifiṛtato* MF **32**): the relative frequency of this type of dedication might be due to the way the genitive was used in Etruscan: see §8.11.1.

(5) Textual/formulaic features. A feature of Faliscan inscriptions that is clearly of Etruscan origin are the *iscrizioni parlanti*-formulas, which reflect Etruscan models both in the *Besitzerinschriften*-formulas *ego* OWNER$_{GEN}$ *eko lartos* EF **6** and *eko kaisiosio* EF **7**, OWNER$_{GEN}$ *ego* in *aiṃiosio eqo* EF? **467***, *ego* POSSESSION$_{GEN}$ OWNER-$_{GEN}$ in *eco quto *e uotenosio* EF **3** , *ego* OWNER$_{NOM}$ in *eco tulie* LF **383**, OWNER$_{NOM}$ *ego* in *m adicio eco* LF **378** (§8.8.2), and in the signature-formula MAKER$_{NOM}$ *me* MAKE$_{3RD\ PF}$ in *tele*[1-2] med fifiked* EF **9** and *oufilo : clipeaio : letei : fileo : met : facet* MF **470*** and *mama z[e]xtos : med f[.f]iqod* EF **1** (§8.9.2). However, the Faliscan adaptations of these formulas show that, where necessary, Etruscan models with a word order that was alien to Faliscan were either remodelled to suit the Faliscan word order, or that a choice was made for the Etruscan variant that most closely resembled Faliscan word order (see §8.8.2 and §8.9.2). Yet the Etruscan formulas form a feature that could be regarded as an Etruscan borrowing in Faliscan.

Apart from the formulas, most of the Etruscan influence in the Faliscan inscriptions appears to be connected with onomastic borrowing. The same is true the other way round: although Faliscan in all probability was the 'standard language' (or even the 'dominant language') of the area (§9.1), there are virtually no Faliscan features in the

Etruscan inscriptions from the area, apart from onomastic borrowing: *lar*s ruvries* Etr **XIX** from Narce, *anae lauvcies* Etr **XXIX** and perhaps *cnav**es* (?) Etr **XXVI** from Civita Castellana, *vultasi* Etr **XLII** from Vignanello, *hvulve·s·* Etr **XLVIII** perhaps from Mazzano Romano, *cavies : uhtav[---]* Etr **XLV** from Lucus Feroniae. Apart from this, I argued (§6.2.*8*) that the occasional occurrence of *cela* in Etruscan inscriptions may be explained as an interferential form due to Etruscan-Latin or Etruscan-Faliscan contact in South Etruria or even the ager Faliscus itself.

9.2.3. Etruscan-speaking groups in the ager Faliscus. As discussed in §9.2.2, the Faliscan inscriptions contain several linguistic features that can be ascribed to Etruscan, and to these can be added many onomastic features (§7.10.3). There are, however, two groups of inscriptions that contain more than the usual number of Etruscan features and can be said to be more 'Etruscan' than other inscriptions.

The first of these groups has been treated by Peruzzi (1964c, 1990) and consists of the sepulchral inscriptions from Corchiano. Since Corchiano was deserted as a result of the war of 241-240 (§2.6.2), these inscriptions are probably from before this date.[171] The inscriptions are presented together here. With each inscription I have also indicated whether it was scratched or painted: as said in §11.1.4.*1c*, scratching instead of painting occurs in only 17 inscriptions, appears to have been limited to the northern ager Faliscus, and is in many cases connected with Etruscan linguistic features.

(a) from tomb 11 of the second necropolis of Il Vallone:

aruz : cesie : aruto MF **257** (scratched)

[---] uenelies : sapnonia MF **258** (scratched)

Aruz and *aruto* represent *aru(n)s* and *aru(n)to(s)*, where the Etruscan praenomen clearly shows adaptation to Faliscan morphology (§4.5.1, §4.5.3): note that both the father and the son have the same Etruscan praenomen (§7.10.4-5). The gentilicium *cesie* has an Etruscoid ending in *-ie(s)* and recurs in two inscriptions from tomb 11 (below). The interpretation of *uenelies* is unclear (see §9.2.2.*2c*): it is an Etruscoid form in *-ies* that appears to have been used as a patronymic adjective. *Sapnonia* is a name that has no parallels elsewhere, but looks as if it is adapted from an Etruscan name **Sap( )nu*.

(b) from tomb 7 of the first necropolis of S. Antonio:

poplia : calitenes | *aronto : cesies* | *lartio : uxor* MF **265** (painted)

ueltur · tetena | *aruto* MF **266** (scratched)

larθ : ceises | *velusa* Etr **XXXIV** (scratched)

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[171] Peruzzi (1990) used the gentilicia to trace several of the *gentes* whose members were buried at Corchiano to the area around Chiusi. I have voiced some general misgivings against this method in §7.1.1: note that several of the individuals have typically Faliscan praenomina.

Calitenes, *cesies*, and *ceises* are 'Etruscoid' nominatives. The gentilicium *calitenes* may be derived from an Etruscan toponymic adjective **Calite*, but the (Etruscan?) toponym **Cali/Cale* from which this is derived may be local, if it is in fact the old name of modern Gallese (§7.8.1.*35*, §6.5.*7*). With the exception of *poplia*, all the praenomina are Etruscan (§7.7.2), although *aronto* and *aruto* show adaptation to Faliscan morphology (§4.1). The first inscription shows a man's name with FILIATION added, which in the marital formula HUSBAND$_{GEN}$ *UXOR* is unique (§7.4.2). The use of the nominative *lartio* instead of the genitive may be due to these unique circumstances, or it may reflect a confusion over the cases (§9.2.3.*4*). The writer shows a lack of knowledge both of the correct use of the Faliscan formulas and of the cases, implying that Faliscan may not have been his or her first language. For the gentilicium *Tettena*, see below under *(f)*.

(c) from tomb 28 of the second necropolis of S. Antonio:

arute macena | *morenez* MF **269** (scratched).

*larise : mar*llc*na : citiai* MF **270** (scratched).

poplia | *zuconia* MF **271** (scratched)

Arute and *larise* are probably accusatives *arute(m)* and *larise(m)* used as a nominative (§9.2.2.*4*). *Macena* and *mar*llc*na* both represent *Marcena*: the omission of syllable-final *r* in *macena* also occurs in several Faliscan inscriptions (§3.5.7*b*); the form *mar*llc*na* may be due to syncopation (§3.6.6) or a graphic shortening. *Morenez* is an Etruscoid form in *-es*: the *-z* may indicate the 'strong' realization of /s#/ in Etruscan (§9.2.2.*1*). *Citiai* is in my view a dative or a genitive (§8.10.2): both Cristofani (1988:18) and Pisani (1990:280) regard it as a Faliscan nominative *citia* recharacterized with the Etruscan ending *-i*, however. *Zuconia* is an adaptation of the Etruscan gentilicium *Zuχu* aacording to the usual pattern *-u* → *-onius* (§7.8.2.*4*). The Etruscan gentilicium also occurs at Corchiano, in *larisa zuχus* Etr **XXXII** (late sixth century): the Faliscan form is found at Civita Castellana in *uel zu[con]leo* MF **56**.

(d) found on the site of the Rio Fratta necropolis:

*cauio : nomes*l*ina : maxomo* | *zeruatronia* MF **272** (scratched)

Nomesina is Etruscan and has a non-rhotacized *s* (§3.5.3), but the *o* is a (graphical or phonological) adaptation to Faliscan. The praenomen *cauio* is the most frequently used praenomen in the Faliscan inscriptions (§7.7.2.*1*): the cognomen, too, is Faliscan, and recurs in several Faliscan inscriptions (§7.9.1). *Zeruatronia* is also Etruscan, but is adapted according to the usual pattern *-u* → *-onius* (§7.8.2.*4*) This name shows the use of *z-* that may be due to Etruscan influence (§3.5.3).

(e) from Corchiano, details unknown:

cauio : oufilio | *uolteo* MF **275** (scratched)

ceisio : oufilio | *uolθeo* MF **276** (scratched)

These inscriptions are the most 'Faliscan' of the sepulchral inscriptions from Corchiano. The only Etruscan feature is the use of *θ* in MF **276**, for which see §3.5.3.

A similar group can be found in the inscriptions from Civita Castellana. This group, too, has been the subject of a publication by Peruzzi (1964b).

(f) from a tomb in the Valsiarosa necropolis:

fas[i]es : c[ai]sia || *louci : teti : uxor* and *loụṛia* || *[l]oifirtạ* MF **41**

cauia : satelie | *caui : feliçinate* | *uxor* MF **42**

In MF **41** the woman has a gentilicium *fas[i]es* with an Etruscoid ending (§9.2.2.2*c*): the gentilicium *precedes* the praenomen, an order that is unique for the Faliscan onomasticon. The names of the husband are Italic, unless *Tettius* is an adaptation of *Tettena*, which occurs in the group from Corchiano (above). In the second inscription, too, the woman has a gentilicium with an Etruscoid ending, *satelie*. The gentilicium of her husband is of Etruscan origin, *feliçinate* = *Feliginatis*, derived from a toponym **Feligin-* that may well be identical with Umbrian *Fulginium/Fulginiae*, modern Foligno (§7.8.1.*59*, §6.5.*9*), Both have the praenomen *Gauia/Gauius*, which is the most frequent praenomen in the Faliscan inscriptions (§7.7.2.*1*).

The third inscription from this tomb is very damaged. If the two tiles are to be read as belonging together, it may read *ueṇe[---]na* · | *ux[or ---]* MF **43**, which could show an attestation of an Etruscan praenomen *Venel*, although the *ux[* seems to point to the sepulchral inscription of a woman buried without her husband (§7.4.2.).

Taken together, these inscriptions show a number of Etruscan features, some even unique, probably pointing to writers whose first language was Etruscan and whose command of Faliscan was not perfect, as is shown by uncertainties about the use of cases and of formulas. Whether they were in fact (recent) immigrants is in my view unclear: although the gentilicia of the people appearing in the texts are mostly Etruscan, and the proportion of Etruscan praenomina is unusually high, especially among the group from Corchiano (cf. §7.10.5), the inscriptions also contain Faliscan praenomina, and the general tendency to adapt Etruscan gentilicia to Faliscan morphology.[172]

9.3. Faliscan and the Sabellic languages

9.3.1. The nature of Faliscan-Sabellic contact. Contact between the agri Faliscus and Capenas on the west bank of the Tiber and the Sabellic-speaking areas on the east bank may well have been regular, and certainly involved contact connected with trade

[172] Peruzzi (1964b-c, 1990) repeatedly points to the unadapted gentilicia in *-na*, but although these *could* be adapted, they very often were not: see §7.8.2.2.

and transhumance pasture, as can be established by archaeological evidence (§2.1.3). The shrine of Lucus Feroniae in the ager Capenas may have drawn worshippers from Sabellic-speaking areas (§9.3.2), although Feronia seems to have been a mainly Latin deity. The story of the *Hirpi Sorani* (§2.3.4) may even reflect small-scale migrations from these Sabellic-speaking areas: I cannot see any evidence of large-scale migrations, certainly not during the historic period (§2.4.2, §2.8.2). Neither are there any indications of conflict between the ager Faliscus and Sabellic-speaking areas on the east bank or signs of mutual cooperation in the wars against Rome. Although Sabellic-speaking peoples figure prominently in the Roman and Greek historians' accounts of Roman history, they play no role in the history of South Etruria. As said in §2.1.1, the Tiber constituted not only a geographical boundary, but also a boundary between the political networks on either bank.

Yet the Faliscan and Capenate inscriptions show gentilicia of Sabellic origin, either recognizable by their derivation or assumed to be Sabellic because they have parallels only in Sabellic texts. Examples are *Aiedius*, *Alliuaeus*, *Battius*, *Blaesius*, *Clanidius*, *Didius*, *Fertorius*, *Hirpius*, *Marhius*, *Neronius*, *Pacius*, *Pescennius*, *Petronius*, *Plarius*, *Pumponius* (?), *Sedius/Saedius/Saidius*, and perhaps also *Tettius* and *Vinucius* (?): cf. §7.8.1-2. Other gentilicia refer to geographical features that belong to the east bank of the Tiber (cf. §7.8.2.5 and §6.5): *Feliginas* (probably derived from the Umbrian town *Fulginium/Fulginiae*), *Umbricius* and *Umbricianus*, *Fa(r)farn...* (perhaps connected with the name of the Sabine-Latin *Farfarus/Fabaris)*, and *Narionius* (possibly connected with the name of the Sabine *Nar*). Taken together, these onomastic data could indicate that the Faliscan-Capenate area contained a number of families that originated in the Sabellic-speaking areas.

Sabellic epigraphic and linguistic features in inscriptions from the agri Faliscus and Capenas (§9.3.3) are found predominantly in the ager Capenas. This may be due to any of the following: *(a)* travel between the Sabellic-speaking area and the agri Faliscus and Capenas may have used the Tiber-crossing near Lucus Feroniae rather than the one near Grotta Porciosa; *(b)* trade routes may originally have followed the old Via Tiberina, which may have run *east* of Mount Soracte rather than entering the ager Faliscus proper (cf. G. Jones 1962:201), a situation that changed only with the construction of the Via Flaminia in 220; *(c)* the network of ancient transhumance routes (*tratturi*) may have passed through the ager Capenas and the area south of the Lago di Bracciano rather than through the ager Faliscus with its steep gorges.

9.3.2. Sabellic features in Faliscan and Capenate inscriptions. In a previous publication, I summarized the Sabellic features in the Capenate inscriptions in one footnote (Bakkum 1996:4 n.4), and although the discussion here can be allowed some more space, it is still true that the Faliscan and Capenate texts in fact contain little that can be ascribed to the Sabellic languages. I concentrate on the linguistic features: the epi-

graphical features have been discussed extensively by Briquel (1972:813-45) and Marinetti (1982b), both of whom have shown that the writing especially in the ager Capenas shows a number of features that can only be ascribed to Sabellic background.

Two inscriptions in my *corpus* can be regarded as entirely Sabellic, showing Sabellic features in the shape and type of the letters used (cf. Rix 1992a, Briquel 1972:831-3), as well as in their onomastic and linguistic features. The first is *setoms : míom* | *face* Sab **480**†, showing the Sabellic development of the cluster /pt/ in *setoms* (*/sehtomo-/ ← Proto-Italic */septomo-/, cf. Meiser 1986:93), in the *Endsilbensynkope* in *setoms*, and in the forms *míom* (cf. §4.7.2) and *face* (cf. §5.2.1.*6*): not surprisingly, it is classed as *paläoumbrisch* in *ST* (Um 4). The second is *pa‹qu›is blaisiís* Sab **468***, with the Sabellic names *pa‹qu›is* (§7.7.1.*47*) and *blaisiís* (§7.8.1.*29*) and *Endsilbenkürzung* in *pa‹qu›is* and *blaisiís*. Strangely, this inscription has not been included in *ST*. However, it is far from certain that these two inscriptions reflect Faliscan-Sabellic language contact: the first is from the La Tolfa area and was connected with Faliscan because it contains the 'arrow-*f*', ↑, which may not have been exclusively Faliscan (§11.2.2.*2*), while the latter, ascribed by Buonamici (1928:605-6) to South Etruria, is *originis incertae* or *ignotae*. However, both inscriptions *do* illustrate the early Sabellic linguistic presence in the larger area of South Etruria.

Other inscriptions, whose provenance is more certain, are not wholly Sabellic, and may reflect Faliscan-Sabellic language contact. Epigraphically, this is reflected e.g. by the use of *í* in *atnuíplau...* Cap **423** (Briquel 1972:833 n.2) and in *a · írpios · esú* Cap **389** (Briquel 1972:833-7). In the former inscription, it is apparently used as the second element of a diphthong, in the latter, it represents (Sabellic?) /e/. The *ú* appears in *a · írpios · esú* Cap **389**, in *k · sares · esú* Cap **404**, and in *açiuaiom* or *aḷiuaiom esú* Cap **465**, where it represents (Sabellic?) /o/ (cf. Briquel 1972:833-7). Of the names in these inscriptions, *írpios* is clearly Sabellic (§7.8.1.*74*), while *sares* has parallels in Latin and in Vestinian (§7.8.1.*137*): *aḷiuaiom* may be derived from the Sabellic gentilicium *Allis* (§7.8.1.*11*).

Linguistic features that can be linked with Sabellic languages are few. Faliscan had some phonological developments that have parallels in the Sabellic languages, such as the word-internal development of the voiced aspirates (§3.3.3) and monophthongization of the diphthongs (§3.7), but these can hardly be ascribed as due to contacts with speakers of Sabellic languages: note that the monophthongization of the diphthongs in Umbrian and Volscian may not have been contemporary with the developments in Faliscan.

Morphophonologically, there are a few forms that *can* conceivably be described as Sabellic. A first-declension nominative with the Sabellic rounding of /-ā/ to /-ō/ (§4.2.1) may be attested in *posticnu* MLF/Cap **474***, which has a parallel only in South Picene *postiknam* CH.2, and possibly also in *sta sediu* Cap **466**, if this is a

woman's name corresponding to Latin *Sedia/Saedia/Saidia*: note that the name *Saedius/Saidius* has a parallel in Oscan *saidiieis* Cp 9. Similarly, *k · sares · esú* Cap **404** may contain a second-declension nominative singular in *-es*, reflecting an ending */-i̯os/ → /-is/ with the Sabellic *Endsilbensynkope*. It could also be an Etruscoid nominative in *-es*, however (cf. §9.2.2). The same interpretation can be given to *aiedies* in *k · pa · aiedies ·* Cap **390**. The *Endsilbensynkope* has also been read in *pạrtis* MF **79**, but this may be a case of incidental syncopation, which occurs also in Latin (*uibis pilipus CIL* I^2.552, *mirquris CIL* I^2.563, *caecilis CIL* I^2.1028).

Morphologically, there is the form *esú* that occurs in *a · írpios · esú* Cap **389**, *k · sares · esú* Cap **404**, and *açiuaiom* (or *aḷiuaiom*) *esú* Cap **465**. This form corresponds to South Picene *esom* TE.4 and Praesamnitic *esum* Ps 4, 5, Hernician *esu* He 3, and Umbrian *esu* Um 18, but it also occurs in *pari med esom kom meois sokiois* in the Garigliano inscription and in *morai eṣo[m]* from the ager Signinus. In §5.2.1.5 it is assumed that it may have existed in Latin as well as in the Sabellic languages, and that its occurrence in the ager Capenas can therefore be ascribed to either language: on the other hand, the Capenate inscriptions where this form occurs show other Sabellic features as well. If the form is purely Sabellic, it is an important indication for the presence of speakers of Sabellic, as the form for 'I am' may be regarded as standing on a far deeper level of the language than the other features discussed here, implying interference and borrowing also on other levels (cf. §1.3.2.2).

There may, however, be another reason for the occurrence of *esú(m)* in these inscriptions: in all three instances, this form occurs in *iscrizioni parlanti*-formulas: *açiuaiom* (or *açiuaiom*) *esú* Cap **465** in OWNER$_{GEN}$ *esúm*, *a · írpios · esú* Cap **389** in OWNER$_{NOM}$ *esúm*, and *k · sares · esú* Cap **404** either in OWNER$_{GEN}$ *esúm* or in OWNER$_{NOM}$ *esúm*, depending on the interpretation of *sares*. The type OWNER$_{GEN}$ *esúm* is probably of Sabellic origin (Agostiniani 1982:261-2): the type OWNER$_{NOM}$ *esúm* I ascribed to the replacement of the formulas by this type by a new type of Latin *sum*-formulas (§8.8.2). The verb form *esú(m)* may therefore be present in these Capenate inscriptions because it was (at least in the mind of the individuals who wrote these inscriptions) the form that was the proper one to use in this formula.

Syntactically, there are very few data apart from these formulaic texts with *esú(m)*. The Faliscan sepulcral formula *hec cupat/cupant* has some indirect parallels in the Sabellic inscriptions (§8.10.1), but can certainly not be regarded as due to linguistic influence from Sabellic-speaking areas: if anything, it is due to the Etruscan formula *θui cesu*, but even that is uncertain. In the area of filiation formulas there is *k · pa · aiedies ·* Cap **390**, which may reflect the Umbrian-Volscian filiation formula where the father's name is placed after the praenomen instead of after the gentilicium, 'K. Aiedius son of Pa.' (cf. §7.5). Note that both the gentilicium *aiedies* and the praenomen *pa* = *Pacius* are Sabellic.

On the lexical level, the words *posticnu* in MLF/Cap **474***, allegedly from Falerii Novi, and *pesco(m)* in Torelli's (1974:741-6) reading of Cap **431** from Lucus Feroniae (see below for the complete texts) can be regarded as forms that are probably due to interference from a Sabellic language, for these words have parallels only in South Picene *postiknam* CH.2 and in Marsian *pesco* VM 5 respectively *and* show Sabellic phonological features (*/-ā/ rounded to *-u* in *posticnu*, *pesco(m)* ← */perḱ-sk-o-m/?). If the interpretations *posticnu* 'statue' and *pesco(m)* = 'votive offering' are correct, the words denote the inscribed objects themselves, and are the central 'theme' of their respective inscriptions; also, in both cases the inscription may be thought of as having been phrased carefully.

I would say that, although Faliscan-Sabellic language contact may well have been frequent, the linguistic data point to a discernible Sabellic presence but to little actual 'influence'. A number of families in the area may have been of Sabellic descent, but Sabellic languages do not appear to have entered the area with any great effect. This may imply that speakers of Sabellic languages who settled in the area did so as individuals or in small groups, not in large-scale migrations. The linguistic features that can be ascribed to Sabellic languages are all from a few inscriptions: *a · írpios · esú* Cap **389**, *k · sares · esú* Cap **404**, *atnuíplau...* Cap **423**, *açiuaiom* (or *aḷiuaiom*) *esú* Cap **465**, *sta sediu* Cap **466**, and these may reflect *individuals* of Sabellic origin rather than an overall 'Sabellic presence'. However, there are two exceptions to this picture:

(a) caui : tertinei : | *posticnu* MLF **474**† (reputedly from Falerii Novi, and therefore most likely dating from after 240): the inscription is written in the Latin alphabet, the praenomen is the most frequently occurring Faliscan praenomen, the gentilicium has a parallel in *tertineo* LF **213** but is not attested elsewhere, but the word *posticnu* is parallelled only by the much earlier South Picene *postiknam* CH.2.

(b) pesco ṣal | *plaria · t · l* | *feron · dono* || *[q]uod · a[fluc]* | *dedet · libes* | *m · mereto* Cap **431** in Torelli's (1974:741-6) reading (from Lucus Feroniae, second half of the third century): the inscription is Latin both in the epigraphic and in the linguistic features, the gentilicium *plaria* may be Sabellic or Latin, but the word *pesco* has a parallel only in Marsian *pesco* VM 5.

9.4. Faliscan and Latin

9.4.1. The nature of Faliscan-Latin contact. The contact between Faliscan and Latin must of course be divided into two periods: *(1)* the period before 240, when the ager Faliscus was an independent geopolitical unit belonging to Etruria, and *(2)* the period after 240, when the area came under Roman rule as a consequence of the disastrous war of 241 (§2.6).

Establishing the nature of the Faliscan-Latin contacts *before* 241 is difficult. The Roman and Greek sources concentrate almost exclusively on the wars that Rome fought with the Faliscans from the late fifth century onwards (§2.5). These wars must of course have involved contacts in the form of envoys, truces, treaties, etc. (Livy (5.27) even portrays Faliscan envoys as speaking before the Roman senate), but will not have been influential in bringing Roman Latin to the area: on the contrary, they may have strengthened Faliscan ethnic identity and perhaps even have incited 'anti-Roman' or 'anti-Latin' feelings, especially as during this period the Faliscans always sided with their Etruscan allies. Other forms of contact must have existed, however. It can be assumed that there was contact in the form of trade up and down the course of the Lower Tiber along the ancient Via Tiberina, as well as along the precursor of the Via Amerina (§2.1.3); also, from the early fourth century onward, there were Roman colonies at nearby Sutrium, Nepete, and Capena (§2.5.2). Several inscriptions in the Latin alphabet have been found at Civita Castellana and Corchiano (see §9.4.2), towns that were wholly or partly abandoned after the war of 241-240, and these inscriptions may therefore well belong to the period before 240. Interesting in this respect is the fourth-century strigilis with *med · loucilios · feced* Lat **268** from Corchiano, which is clearly Latin, but contains a unique word order that must be due to the Etruscan model *mini zinace* MAKER$_{NOM}$ (cf. §8.9.2), perhaps implying that it was made in a largely Etruscan-speaking environment, even though the name of the craftsman is Latin.

Traffic from Rome and Latium may have passed through the ager Faliscus and thence to the Sabine and Umbrian interior long before the Romans gained control of the Tiber-crossing near the Grotta Porciosa site after the war of 241. The Roman adoption of the *carmina Fescennina* may also have belonged to this period, especially if Fescennium is identified with Narce, as Narce ceased to exist shortly after the war of 241 (§2.1.2). Other allegedly Faliscan features in Roman society, such as the *ius fetiale* and the additions to the *lex XII Tabularum* (§2.3.3, §2.3.1), if not fictitious, may have been adopted during the same period: even if this attribution is entirely fictitious, it reflects at least a memory of contacts between Rome and the ager Faliscus.

Contact with Latium and Rome, although hard to pin down, may well have been quite frequent. This is implied by the fact that during the fifth, fourth and early third centuries several important morphological changes took place that affected both Latin and Faliscan: the replacement of *-osio* by *-i* (§4.4.9) and probably also the replacement of *-as* by *-ai* (§4.2.2), and the replacement of the old third singular perfect ending *-ed* by a new ending *-et* (§5.2.4*e*). The spread of such replacements, whether originating from Latium, Rome, or the ager Faliscus, cannot have been accomplished without fairly frequent contacts. It may even have been the case that parts of South Etruria were originally Latin-speaking, and by and large remained so even though the written language of the area was Etruscan (cf. §2.4.2) during the earlier centuries of this period.

The contact during the period *after* 240 is a different question. I have already pointed at the changes that affected the area in §2.6.2, whereby the area was 'ruralized' and its main site replaced by a new Roman settlement. It can be assumed that there was a substantial Roman or Latin presence in the area from shortly after this war onward. If, as the sources imply, a large part of the male indigenous Faliscan population had perished in the war (§2.6.1), and were in effect replaced by the speakers of Latin that now *settled* in the area, not only in the new Roman Falerii, but also on the lands that had been ceded to the Romans, this must have changed the proportion of speakers of Faliscan vs. speakers of Latin substantially. If I assume a population for the area of perhaps 20,000-22,500 people at best, of which several thousands (hardly the 15,000 named in the sources, but, say, 5,000) die in the war, and an influx of perhaps 6,000 immigrants (for these numbers see §2.7*e-f* with notes 30-31), this means that over a quarter of the population of the area was in effect replaced by speakers of Latin.

Even more importantly, the administration of the area and especially of its main site now came in Roman hands. In how far this meant that Roman Latin became the 'standard language' is unclear: although it will have become the language of the administration of the Roman parts of the area, the Romans, especially at this period, nowhere seem to have exercised a 'language policy' of forcing people to adopt Latin (Bakkum 1985). The inscriptions on public works from Falerii Novi offer a rather confused picture: one, LF **213**, is in the Faliscan alphabet and shows Faliscan features, but another, LtF **215**, which may likewise have been a public inscription, is in the Latin alphabet. The second-century public dedications Lat **216-217** are Latin. In LF/Lat **214** the alphabet is Faliscan, but the language can be Latin as well as Faliscan.

The ruling class of Falerii Novi may have consisted of local families who could be trusted not to work against the interests of Rome (§2.6.2), and the inscriptions show that the members of the new upper class assumed e.g. the Roman use of the *cursus honorum* in their sepulchral inscriptions (§9.4.2), dropped the use of the patronymic gentilicium in favour of the alternative FATHER$_{GEN}$ [*SON/DAUGHTER*] which was the formula used in Latium (§7.5), and started to give their children Latin praenomina that soon replaced the old Faliscan ones (§7.10.5).

All in all, the contacts with (Roman) Latin during the period after 240 lead to a quite speedy disappearance of Faliscan as a written language. The reasons for this have been discussed in §2.8.3, and more will be said on the subject in the next section.

9.4.2. Latin features in Faliscan inscriptions. For the purposes of this study I have divided the inscriptions in the Latin alphabet from the area into three groups: Latino-Faliscan, Capenate, and Latin, the first two defined as still containing dialect features that are in accordance with the linguistic features of the Faliscan inscriptions, the last term used to denote the inscriptions that show no such features (§11.1.3). The only author to treat these inscriptions together is Safarewicz (1955:184-90).

Inscriptions in the Latin alphabet have been found throughout the area. From Civita Castellana are LtF **63**, **140**, **170-174**, **205**, and perhaps also MF/LtF **21**, and from Corchiano and surroundings LtF **277-278**, **288**, **290**, **292**, **294**, **299-301**. Of these, LtF **140**, **170-174**, **288**, and **299-301** are sepulchral inscriptions and therefore not likely to have been written anywhere else. Some may even predate the war of 241, as Civita Castellana and Corchiano were abandoned not long after that date (§2.6.2). From (near) S. Maria di Falleri (Falerii Novi) are MLF/LtF **241**, LtF **215**, **231-233** (sepulchral), **239**, and MF? **254**, and from the site at Grotta Porciosa, which survived into the Roman period, LtF **340-345**. Other inscriptions in the Latin alphabet are LtF **325-327** from Carbognano-Vallerano and LtF **328** from Fabbrica di Roma, settlements that may have been located in the part of the ager Faliscus that was not ceded to the Romans. Inscriptions in the Latin alphabet are therefore found both in the Roman-administrated part and in the part that was still nominally independent.

Apart from the alphabet, the inscriptions show several other features that do not occur in the contemporary Faliscan inscriptions. On the phonological level, the diphthongs usually show non-monophthongized spelling: beside the already mentioned *loucilios* Lat **268** there is *fourios* Lat **216**, *claudia* Lat **393** (but *polae* Lat **251**), *heic* LtF **231**, *eidus* Lat **393** (beside the late *idem* Lat **456** and the obviously historically motivated spellings *loidos* Lat **217**, *coiraueront* Lat **218**, *coer* Lat **456**): the old diphthong /aj̯/ is spelled as *e* in *pretod* LF/Lat **214** and *leuia* LtF **327**, however.

A morphophonological feature is the form of the ending of second-declension nominative singular. Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions almost universally show this ending as *-o* (§4.3.1, §3.5.7*d*) and the Latino-Faliscan and Capenate inscriptions likewise have *-o* in *[---]ilio* LtF **215**, *cl[i]peario* LtF **233**,**(*)coṇẹo* LtF **290**, *munio* LtF **377**, and *genucilio* Cap **434** (§4.3.1). The oldest Latin inscriptions from the area have *-os* in *loucilios* Lat **268** and *fourios* Lat **216**, but from the late third century onwards, they generally have *-us*: *spurilius* Lat **237**, *spurilius* Lat **238**, *calpurnius* Cap **432**, *[---]rcius* Lat **436**, *egnatius* Lat **291**, *latrius* Lat **218**, *u]mpricius* and *[?]aburcus* Lat **219**, *fuluius* Lat **250** (106), *didius* and *uettius* Lat **456** (*c.*100-50). Lat **251** has *lectu(s)* (twice). The change of /o/ to /u/ in closed final syllables (§3.6.6) is attested for the area only in the inscriptions in the Latin alphabet[173] and in *[fel]ịcinatiu* LF **384**, but not in the Late Faliscan inscriptions. With regard to the writing or omission of *-s*, I have assumed in §3.5.7*d* that this may represent different orthographical conventions rather than different realizations of /s#/: in Faliscan as well as in third- and second-century Latin, /s#/ was 'weakly 'realized as [^{h}] or [^{ʔ}], but whereas in Latin the rule seems to have been to write the *-s*, its omission in Faliscan may have been due to a convention *not* to write it (§3.5.7*d*).

[173] Cf. also *donom* Cap **431** and *esú* Cap **389**, **404**, **464**, vs. *sacru(m)* and *cuncaptum* LF/Lat **214**, *gonlegium*, *aciptum*, and *opiparum* Lat **217**, and *donum* Lat **218**.

In other respects, such as morphology, lexicon, and syntax, there are very few points of comparison between the inscriptions that can be thought of as representing Latin and the Faliscan inscriptions. This is due to the fact that the Latin presence in the area brought with it whole new ways of phrasing specific types of inscriptions. Thus, public dedications on bronze now appear, such Lat **217**, Lat **218,** and the curious Late Faliscan or Latin text *menerua · sacru* | *la · cotena · la · f · pretod · de* | *zenatuo · sententiad · uootum* | *dedet · cuando · datu · rected* | *cuncaptum* LF/Lat **214**. The same change can be observed in the roadside inscriptions that (presumably) mention magistrates responsible for their construction or maintenance: the Faliscan type consisted exclusively of names (MLF **207**, **210**, Etr **XXXVIII**, **XXXIX**), and this is reflected in the Latino-Faliscan *c**(*)coṇẹo · l***(*) · ce · paui[ceo · ru?]so* LtF **290**. A more Latin type appears in *c · egnatius · s[ex ·]f prata* | *faciunda · coirauit* Lat **291**.

This same change in repertoire shows up in the Faliscan sepulchral inscriptions, that now start to contain *cursus honorum* in LF **242**, **243**, **245**, **247**, **248**, **249**, LtF **231**, **232**, (and perhaps LtF **233**), Lat **237**, **238**, **239** (and Lat **219**?) which is a feature that properly belongs to the roadside tombs and monuments of Latium, but quite inappropriate for the sealed-off Faliscan family tombs (§11.1.4.*1*). These inscriptions show words like *quaestor*, *praetor*, *censor*, and formulas like *magistratum gero* that have parallels in Latin. As was said in §6.3.*6*, the lexical subset pertaining to public office and the like is entirely Latin. This is of course not because Faliscan did not have words for magistracies or formulas for official expressions, but because the words and formulas involved occur only in inscriptions that show Latin influence in the way in which they are phrased: the extant Faliscan inscriptions are simply not of the type where such words and formulas were used. It has been assumed that Latin influence in the 'official' vocabulary is also visible in the word *efiles* in MF **113-117**, which may have been a calque on Latin *aediles* (G. Giacomelli 1963:243-4): as argued in §6.2.*1*, I do not think that it is necessary to assume this.

I already pointed to the change in the formula of filiation, where the use of the patronymic adjective is associated exclusively with Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions, while Latino-Faliscan, Capenate, and Latin inscriptions from the area always have the formula FATHER$_{GEN}$ [*SON/DAUGHTER*] (§7.5 with figs.7.3-4). Although the patronymic adjective was still used in Late Faliscan inscriptions (LF **220**, **222**, **332**, **336**), it clearly belonged to the texts written according to the Faliscan rule-set, and disappeared when these ceased to be produced.

The changes in the texts during the period after 240 therefore concern not so much individual features of Faliscan, but the entire way which texts were expressed. The coming of Latin to the ager Faliscus brought with it a different set of rules for the production of written texts, and the rule-set of written Faliscan was not so much influenced as replaced by this new set. This was probably made easier by the fact that Fal-

iscan and Latin were very much alike, so that the rules for written Latin could be applied to Faliscan without too much difficulty. All in all, this sea-change appears to have been quite quick, which might be due to the replacement of part of the population by speakers of Latin as described above. The Late Faliscan inscriptions are far fewer in number than the Middle Faliscan inscriptions, and there appears to be no material that can be dated to after *c.*150: I would not be surprised if it could be shown that Faliscan inscriptions disappeared a generation earlier, between 200 and 175.

This, of course, does not mean that Faliscan itself disappeared around that date: however, the written form of the language that is spoken in the area is the one associated with Roman Latin. This comes close to the idea of formal = Roman vs. informal = Faliscan advocated by R. Giacomelli (2006 *passim*): although I contest that this distinction existed before 241, it may be quite applicable to the Late Faliscan period.

9.5. Summary of §§9.2-4

All in all, the Faliscan material shows some very interesting points with regard to language contact and bilingualism, even though the material is limited. As might be expected, there is a high degree of onomastic borrowing (cf. chapter 7 *passim*), especially from Etruscan. On other levels, interference and borrowing is rather limited, as might be expected on the basis of what has been said in §9.1.

Etruscan interference shows up most clearly in the 'Etruscoid' forms: these are part of a larger set of interference phenomena where morphemes of the nominative appear due to onomastic borrowing. There appears to be no interference of borrowing on deeper levels of the language, and this is not surprising in view of the very different grammatical structures of Etruscan and Faliscan. A very interesting feature, which allows us to draw some conclusions about the degree of bilingualism of some of the writers, is the uncertainty with regard to the use of cases. This can only be ascribed to the different use of the cases in Etruscan. The use, in Faliscan texts, of formulas that are modelled on Etruscan shows that these formulas were not just borrowed, but also adapted to the structure of Faliscan: this is a case of 'true' borrowing by speakers of Faliscan, not interference by speakers of Etruscan.

Sabellic interference is observable, but limited, not only in a numerical, but also in a geographical sense, as it shows up mainly in inscriptions from the ager Capenas.

The influence from Latin in the period before 240 is not so much absent as very hard to detect. In the period after 240, there is a quite rapid change in the written language from Faliscan to Latin, indicating that new rules for writing had entered the area together with the probably quite substantial influx of speakers of Latin. This led to a rapid disappearance of Faliscan as a written language: if it was still spoken after 150, it was no longer written and therefore is not accessible to us.

Resuming what was said in §9.1, the epigraphic material from the ager Faliscus and Capenas thus shows the co-existence of several sets of rules for the writing of the languages occurring in the area: a set for writing Faliscan, a set for writing Etruscan, a set for writing Latin, and perhaps also a set for Sabellic. On the whole, there is remarkably little cross-over between these rule-sets. Writing in language *x* entails a different set of rules and conventions from writing in language *y*, and the individuals that wrote the inscriptions were apparently well aware of this: perhaps because writing was probably not an everyday process for everybody, and therefore required a more conscious effort on the part of the writer, or because the texts that we have are often very formulaic in nature, obeying even more specific rules than a text that is freely composed.

The rule-sets of Etruscan and Faliscan were so different that there is hardly any spread of features apart from onomastic features. In the case of Sabellic features in Faliscan inscriptions, it is clear that most inscriptions that show Sabellic influence are Sabellic in more ways than one, and reflect writers that probably had a Sabellic language as their first language. The rule-set of Latin on the other hand quickly replaced the rule-set of Faliscan, and could do so not only because of sociolinguistic factors as discussed in §2.7, but also because of the close resemblance between the two.

9.5. A note on Faliscan outside the ager Faliscus

In view of the extensive language contacts with Etruscan, Latin, and the Sabellic languages, it might be expected that, just as *their* presence may be observed in inscriptions from the ager Faliscus and Capenas, so Faliscan presence might be observed in inscriptions from areas other than the ager Faliscus and Capenas. There are several inscriptions where this has been assumed: in the first place, *eqo kaṇaios* **482**†, *titoio* **483**† and *neuen deiuo* **484**†, all from Ardea: this is discussed in §18.3.2. I likewise do not adopt Lucchesi's (2005) suggestion that the Satricum-inscription, *CIL* I^2.2832a, is Faliscan: this is discussed in §18.3. On the other hand, Poccetti (forthcoming) convincingly shows Faliscan influence in inscriptions from the area of Magliano Sabino, on the east bank of the Tiber opposite the ager Faliscua and Capenas.

Chapter 10

Conclusion: Faliscan as a Latin dialect

10.1. Language or dialect?

10.1.1. Drawing conclusions. As said in §1.1, it was the aim of this study to show that Faliscan is a dialect of Latin, not an independent language closely related to Latin. This, of course, depends on the definition of dialect that is used, and in §1.2 I therefore described three possible approaches to this subject: the *sociolinguistic* approach, where only extralinguistic factors are taken into account, and the *structural* approach, where only intralinguistic factors are taken into account, the latter subdivided in a *synchronic* approach, which is the one best applicable to living languages and dialects, and the *diachronic* approach, which is the one better applicable to fragmentarily preserved dead languages and dialects whose general position within a well-studied language-family is known. In the following sections, I shall look at each approach in succession and assess the linguistic position of Faliscan according to definitions of each of these approaches.

As has repeatedly been stated, the major difficulty in assessing the Faliscan material is the fragmentary state of the material, not only the Faliscan material itself, but also the Latin and Sabellic material required for a valid comparison. This applies *a fortiori* to the Early Faliscan period. Yet in spite of this fragmentary state, I hope to have shown that a remarkable amount of linguistic data can in fact be derived from this material, allowing an assessment to be made both from a synchronic and a diachronic perspective. Other sources, mainly historical, make it possible to draw the outlines of a very general sociolinguistic assessment. It is therefore possible, in my view, to draw valid conclusions on Faliscan and the people that spoke it on the basis of the epigraphic, historical, and archaeological material that we now possess.

10.1.2. The sociolinguistic definition. According to the exclusively sociolinguistic definition, Faliscan can most definitely be described as a language in its own right, and not as a dialect. As I have shown in §§2.2-3, the ager Faliscus can be assumed to have had an identity of its own, recognized as such probably both by the inhabitants of the area themselves and by the peoples with which they came into contact, as is shown for instance by the existence of an ethnonym (§2.2.2). This identity manifested itself most clearly in the independence of the area, both from Rome and from the Etruscan cities (§2.4.2), but also in a number of local customs and peculiarities (§2.3),

some of which semi-linguistic, such as the use of its own alphabet (§11.2) and of its own praenomina (§7.7.2), or linguistic, such as the use of its own formulas for specific types of texts (§8.10.1). Each of these features may or may not have been regarded as relevant to that identity by the inhabitants of the ager Faliscus and those that came into contact with them. It is noteworthy that this Faliscan identity may not have been connected with one specific 'ethnic' background: the onomasticon shows that the inhabitants of the ager Faliscus have gentilicia that were Italic as well as Etruscan in origin (§7.10.3), and the data on language contact of Faliscan with Etruscan show that a number were probably bilinguals whose first language was not Faliscan, but Etruscan (§9.2). The same may have been true for the ager Capenas and the Sabellic languages (§9.3).

The linguistic aspect of this identity must have been expressed most clearly with regard to the speakers of Etruscan: if the Faliscans were indeed members of the Etruscan League at the beginning of the fourth century (as Livy presents them, see §2.5.1), they were in all probability the only member of the League whose first or main language was not Etruscan. In view of what can be glimpsed of the 'Faliscan identity', I am reasonably sure that if it were possible to explain the modern concepts of 'dialect' and 'language' to fourth- or third-century inhabitants of the ager Faliscus, they would regard what we call Faliscan as a *language*, and that this conclusion would be based not so much on an assessment of the structural correspondences and differences between Faliscan and the languages of Latium or of Umbria, but on a gut feeling that what they spoke was part of their identity as a Faliscan, especially in their probably frequent contacts with speakers of Etruscan (§9.2.1), Sabellic languages (§9.3.1), and Latin (§9.4.1).

Even the facetious wisecrack about 'language being a dialect with an army' (§1.2) is true to the extent that the independence, linguistic or otherwise, of the ager Faliscus was maintained by a number of armed conflicts with Rome during the late fifth, fourth, and third centuries (§§2.5-6), possibly preceded by similar conflicts with Veii during the sixth and early fifth centuries (§2.4.2), and that the disappearance of Faliscan at least as a written language was accelerated by the loss of its army and its political independence in the war of 241 (§2.6). After this war, there are few signs of an independent identity, and the area seems to have been Romanized in many respects, including linguistically, in a relatively short time (§2.8.3, §9.4.2): assuming that Falerii Novi was founded somewhere between 240 and 220, no more than two generations appear to have passed before Faliscan disappeared as a *written* language (possibly with a brief revival in LF/Lat **214**). If it lingered on as a local *patois*, it was not what within the sociolinguistic definition must have been a dialect, for during the second century, Faliscan was no longer an independent variant in its own right, but a variant that was becoming substandard beside a standard that came to be based on or to be identical with Roman Latin (§1.2, §2.8.3).

10.2.2. Synchronic comparison. Whatever the conclusions that can be drawn from the sociolinguistic perspective, what interests me more is whether Faliscan is also a dialect from what I have called the 'structural' perspective. According to the *synchronic* approach, Faliscan can be compared on a number of points with the surrounding languages. For the approach to be as synchronic as the fragmentary material allows, however, this comparison should be made for *one* point in time.

A synchronic comparison for the Early Faliscan period is very difficult, since there are only 10-12 Early Faliscan inscriptions (EF **1-4**, **6-10**, **467***, and EF/Etr **5** and **385**) and the contemporary Latin and Sabellic epigraphic material is likewise scarce. This has caused many problems in the assessment of the position of Faliscan, for it has often forced scholars to compare Early Faliscan forms with much later Latin or Sabellic ones. Three vexed forms in this respect are *fifiked* EF **9**, *fl.fḷiqod* EF **1**, and *ues* EF **4**. *Fifiked* and *fl.fḷiqod* show that Early Faliscan had a reduplicative perfect of *fingo*, and this is contrasted with Latin *finxi*: but *finxi* is much later, and it is very well possible to assume that Faliscan dropped the reduplicative perfect of *fingo* after the Early Faliscan period, while on the other hand Latin *finxi*, which is an old aorist, not a perfect, had replaced an earlier reduplicative perfect (cf. the replacement of *vheivhaked CIL* I^2.3 by *feced CIL* I^2.4). Likewise, *fl.fḷiqod* shows an aorist ending being used in the third plural perfect, while the reconstructed Latin perfect ending is */-ēri/, first attested as *steterai CIL* I^2.2832a. Yet the material does not allow us to say with any degree of certainty whether *fl.fḷiqod* represents the standard Early Faliscan form in this respect, or was an occasionally recurring analogical creation beside a regular perfect ending. The pronoun *ues* can only be compared to Latin *uos*, but neither *uos* nor *ues* is attested for the early Latin inscriptions, and the same dichotomy can be observed in the Sabellic languages, where Umbrian *uestra TI* VIb.61 shows the e-vocalism of the Early Faliscan form, but Paelignian *uus* Pg 9 the o-vocalism of the Latin form (§4.7.3). It will be clear that the Early Faliscan material is just too little and too lacunary to allow a comparison with contemporary Latin and Sabellic material: what, for instance, of *douiad* EF **1**, which can be compared only to much later Latin *duam* and Umbrian *purtuvitu TI* IIa.24, or of *umom* EF **2** which has a parallel only in 'Old Hernician' *udmom* He 2, but shows an assimilation /dm/ → /mm/ that is parallelled in Latin?

If the position of Faliscan is to be judged by a synchronic comparison, this comparison is best made on the basis of the material from the first half of the middle of the third century, that is, Middle Faliscan, and *only* on the basis of this material, without the admixture of Early Faliscan, tempting though it is to fill the gaps in the data. The Middle Faliscan period provides enough material, and, as it precedes the period after 240 during which Rome took over the ager Faliscus, may be assumed to be relatively free from Latin influence. Such a comparison shows that Faliscan is on most points identical with Latin, and differs greatly from the Sabellic languages.

If we look at the Middle Faliscan material from the perspective of a synchronic comparison *both* with Latin *and* with the Sabellic languages, there are different conclusions on different levels.

From a morphological point of view, I can see no other conclusion than that Faliscan is a Latin dialect, or, alternatively, that it split off only at a very recent date. The nominal morphology is remarkably similar (§4.10). Points of difference are perhaps

(1) the Faliscan first-declension genitive singular (§4.2.2), where I assume that the ending was changing from *-as* to *-ai* at this time, just as it was in Latin, but the material is ambiguous, as all forms in *-ai* that can be interpreted as genitives can also be interpreted as datives. If Faliscan only had *-as*, this provides a parallel with the Sabellic languages.

(2) the Faliscan second-declension dative singular, which was still *-oi* (§4.3.2): it is unclear whether the Latin ending was already *-o*, or still *-oi*. The Sabellic ending was certainly /-ōi̯/ at the time.

(3) the ending of the third-declension genitive singular, which was *-os* (§4.5.2), which, however, may have been the contemporary Latin form as well; it was most certainly not the Sabellic form at the time, which was a reflex of /-eis̯/ (e.g. *-e(r)* in Umbrian, but still *-eís* in Oscan).

On every other point of nominal morphology where a difference can be established between Latin and the Sabellic languages, Faliscan sides with Latin (§4.10). Significantly, Faliscan shows a second-declension nominative plural ending *-e* in *lete* MLF **285**, while contemporary Sabellic languages show a reflex of */-ōs/ (§4.3.6), and of course the ending of the genitive singular, /-ī/ (§4.4.3), where the Sabellic languages had /-ēs/.

In the personal pronouns, Middle Faliscan shows both *ego* (*eco* LF **378**, **383**) and *met* (MF **470***), the latter probably showing signs of a change to *me* at this time, which are the same forms (and the same change) as in contemporary Latin (§4.7.1-2): at least in the case of *me* the Sabellic languages may have differed, but the only form to show this is much older.

In the Middle Faliscan verbal morphology, a significant point is the ending of the third singular perfect *-et* (*facet* MF **470***, *keset* LF **242**), as in Latin, in contrast with the Sabellic languages, which have *-ed* (§5.2.4.5). A difference, however, is Faliscan *facet* MF **471*** vs. Latin *fecit*, where it should be noted that a comparison with the Sabellic languages shows that Umbrian likewise had a perfect stem /fak-/: the Latin form /fēk-/ is unique in the Italic languages (§5.3.6). Another interesting form is *esú(m)* Cap **389**, **404**, **465**: this form is attested with certainty for the Sabellic languages, but may have existed in (dialectal) Latin as well, and may therefore have occurred in Faliscan or Capenate (§5.3.5).

From a lexical point of view, too, Middle Faliscan shows no discernible differences from Latin, and where there are differences between Latin and the Sabellic languages, Faliscan sides with Latin (§6.2 *passim*, §6.3). It should be noted that due to the available data, the lexicon is extremely limited: yet note, for instance, that Faliscan has *filios/filia*, as does Latin, while the Sabellic languages show reflexes of *puclom/fu(h)tēr* (§6.2.*24-25*).

A synchronic comparison of the syntax of Middle and Late Faliscan is very difficult. The morphosyntactic data are too few, the data on word order too much depending on purely formulaic texts, and the phrasing of the varying types of inscription too different to allow valid conclusions to be drawn. In my view, no real synchronic comparison can be made between Middle Faliscan and contemporary Latin or Sabellic languages on the points of syntax.

Apart from the already mentioned *facet* MF **470***, the main *differences* between Middle Faliscan and Latin that can be observed in a synchronic comparison are phonological and phonetic. The phonemic system of Middle Faliscan differed from that of Latin in one significant respect, namely that third century Faliscan had no short diphthongs (and long diphthongs perhaps only as the case-endings for the dative singular of the first and second declensions), while it had more degrees of openness in the front vowels (§3.6.1, §3.7). In mid-third-century Latin, this may have been the case in some local variants, but certainly not in all, and certainly not in the dialect of Rome. In a synchronic comparison, this monophthongization and the regular occurrence of word-internal /f/ are features that Faliscan shared with the Sabellic languages, the former feature with Umbrian and Volscian especially, the latter with the Sabellic languages in general. On the other hand, the Middle Faliscan phonemic system certainly differed from the Sabellic languages in having a labiovelar occlusive series, as did Latin (§3.4, §3.5.1). Beside this, there is a phonotactic difference: in Faliscan, /f/ could regularly occur word-internally, as in the Sabellic languages, while in Latin a word-internal /f/ must have been rare at least in Roman Latin, if perhaps not in all Latin dialects (§3.3.3).

Differences that were phonetic rather than phonemic were the tendency to realize word-initial /f/ before a vowel as [h], although it is very probable that this tendency also occurred in Latin or at least in some local variants of Latin, as is shown by several epigraphic instances from Praeneste and the forms quoted by the Latin grammarians (§3.5.2), but not in the Sabellic languages. Another tendency is the one to drop syllable-final nasals, a tendency that sometimes is observed in Latin inscriptions, but is more frequent in the Faliscan inscriptions (§3.5.7*a*). The tendency to omit word-final *-s* when it was preceded by a (short) vowel is not so much a difference with Latin, but occurs in Faliscan with a far greater frequency, perhaps implying that it may well have been regular in the sense that it was an orthographic rule (§3.5.7*c*).

Are these synchronic differences enough to regard Faliscan either as Latin or as non-Latin? This is a difficult question to answer, as in the case of dead languages verdicts of this kind are hardly ever purely based on synchronic comparison. I would say that the phonemic differences, which are not just a difference in individual phonemes but in the phonemic *structure* are certainly a point that divides Middle Faliscan from contemporary Latin, but that on the other hand this must be set off against the vastly greater number of correspondences between the two, not just on the phonological level, but on other levels as well. In my view, these differences still fall within the limits of variation that can be observed among the dialect variants of one and the same language.

Interestingly, the synchronic differences between Middle Faliscan and contemporary Latin are all points where Faliscan sides with the Sabellic languages, both in the phonological differences and in the perfect stem /fak-/. Yet on the other hand the number of differences between Middle Faliscan and the contemporary Sabellic languages is so great, especially on the morphological and the lexical level, that the gap between Middle Faliscan and the Sabellic languages is far greater than that between Middle Faliscan and contemporary Latin.

Would a mid-third century inhabitant of the ager Faliscus, if asked, have regarded Faliscan as substantially different from Latin? It seems very likely that inhabitants of the ager Faliscus and Latium would have understood each other without too much trouble. Such a mutual understanding, however, may be based more on similarity of the lexicon, which in this case appears to have been very great, and on a number of known phonological differences that could easily be 'mentally transposed' in a language contact situation: a Faliscan might well have known that a medial *-f-* usually corresponded to a Latin *-b-* or *-d-*.

10.1.3. The diachronic perspective. The diachronic perspective affords us a look not only at the Middle Faliscan forms, but also at the Early Faliscan forms and even at the reconstructed forms and developments, for these can be used to fill in gaps in the attested material and place it in a wider perspective. This means that we can look at a larger amount of data, and can place these data against the larger background of the developments as they are reconstructed for Proto-Italic, Proto-Latin, and Proto-Sabellic. As said in §1.2, most scholars use a combination of the diachronic and the synchronic perspective in any case.

In the *diachronic* approach, it is quite clear that Faliscan belonged to the Latin branch of the Italic family of PIE. There are *no* indications of separate developments at the Proto-Italic stage, as is to be expected if Faliscan is assumed to be an Italic language, and during the post-Proto-Italic period, Faliscan shares most features of preservation and innovation with Proto-Latin, not with Proto-Sabellic. The clearest cases are:

common Proto-Latin preservations:

(1) phonological: preservation of the labiovelar occlusive series, which in the Sabellic languages merged with the labial series (§3.4);

(2) morphological: the second-declension genitive singular ending */-osi̯o/, preserved in Proto-Latin (§4.4.3, §4.4.6), but replaced in Proto-Sabellic by /-ei̯s/ (§4.4.7);

(3) morphological: the consonant-stem genitive singular ending */-os/, which is in all probility original, which in Sabellic was replaced by /-ei̯s/ (§4.5.2);

(4) morphological: preservation of the Proto-Italic secondary third plural ending */-nd/ (§5.2.4.2), which in Proto-Sabellic was reformed to */-ns/;

common Proto-Latin innovations:

(5) morphological: transfer of the pronominal nominative plural endings */-ai̯/ and */-oi̯/ to the first and second nominal declensions (§4.2.6, §4.3.6), while in Proto-Sabellic the nominal endings were extended to the pronominal declensions;

(6) lexical: the innovations */ɸīli̯os/ and */ɸīli̯ā/, while Proto-Sabellic preserved */puklom/ and */ɸuɣ(i)tēr/, reflecting PIE */putlom/ and */dʰugʰitēr/ (§6.2.*24-25*);

either common preservation or common innovation:

(5) morphological: the accusative */mēd/ of the personal pronoun of the first person singular, where Proto-Sabellic had */mēom/: depending on which form is reconstructed for Proto-Italic, this is either a case of common preservation or of common innovation (§4.7.2).

The only clear instance of a significant and early feature that separates Faliscan from Latin must also be dated to the period preceding the earliest inscription:

separate Latin and Faliscan innovations:

(6) phonological: the development of the word-internal reflexes of the PIE voiced aspirates, where the Faliscan reflexes of */bʰ dʰ gʷʰ/ are /f/, as in the Sabellic languages, while Latin has /b d u̯/ (§3.3.3). The reflex of */gʰ/ is in my view unclear: if it is taken to be /g/, this reflects a uniquely Faliscan development: however, it shows more similarity with the Latin occlusive reflexes than with the Sabellic spirant reflex.

It is in this phonological development that Faliscan shows the clearest early difference from Latin. This difference cannot be recent and apparently did not have any parallel developments in Latin. (As said in §3.3.3, the evidence for a similar development in 'rural Latin' is slight to the point of being non-existent).

During the historical period, the following shared features can be distinguished:

common Latin-Faliscan innovations:

(7) morphological: the replacement of the second-declension genitive ending /-osi̯o/ by /-ī/ (§4.4.9), although the significance of this feature has been played down due to a tendency to regard the genitive in /-osi̯o/ as exclusively Faliscan (cf. §18.3.3);

(8) morphological: probably also the replacement of the first-declension genitive singular ending /-ās/ by /-āī/, although the evidence for this is ambiguous (§4.2.2);

(9) morphological: the replacement of the ending /-ed/, used in the third singular perfect, by /-eịt/ or possibly by /-it/ (§5.2.4.5).

It should be noted that I regard features that Faliscan shares with Latin as *ipso facto* due to Latin or Roman influence in the ager Faliscus. Granted, every development must start somewhere, but in the case of these developments or replacements there is no indication where in the Latin-speaking area (which in my view included the ager Faliscus) they originated. In any case, there is no evidence that any of these features necessarily originated at Rome, as is sometimes assumed.

Beside these points, there are a number of phonological features of recent date that Faliscan shares with at least some of the Latin dialects. These are of minor significance, not *per se* because they are more recent, but rather *(a)* because they are in some cases synchronic phonetic tendencies rather than full-blown phonemic changes, and *(b)* because in some cases they also occur in one or more Sabellic languages.

common recent innovations (some also occurring in Umbrian):

(10) phonological: intervocalic rhotacism (§3.5.3), which is found both in Latin and in Umbrian: note that Umbrian also had word-final rhotacism, which Latin and Faliscan did not;

(11) phonological: a development /#fV/ → /#hV/, which is attested also for some Latin dialects, but not for the Sabellic languages (§3.5.2);

(12) phonological: monophthongization of the diphthongs, which is found both in Latin and in Umbrian and Volscian: the Faliscan monophthongizations took place slightly earlier than in Latin, and probably at around the same time as in Umbrian (§3.7), and affected *all* diphthongs, again as in Umbrian, while the Latin monophthongizations show local (and social?) differences in which diphthongs were monophthongized and at what date.

(13) phonetic realization: a tendency to 'drop' (or realize very weakly) syllable-final nasals and liquids and word-final nasals, liquids, and the sibilant /s/ (§3.5.7): similar tendencies can be observed in Latin and in Umbrian (where the word-final /s/ had been rhotacized to /r/, however).

On the morphological level, there are two or three forms that can and often have been regarded as separating Faliscan and Latin, namely *fifiked* EF **9** and *fl.fḷiqod* EF 1: to these forms must now be added *faced* MF **471*** and *facet* MF **470***.

Fifiked and *fl.fḷiqod* have been discussed only shortly in the section on the synchronic perspective since from a strictly synchronic viewpoint these forms *cannot* be evaluated due to a lack of comparable forms from contemporary Latin. From a

diachronic perspective, however, they can be described as instances of preservation of a reduplicative perfect that is found also in Oscan and is therefore probably Proto-Italic: note the probably Proto-Italic perfect reduplication with /i/ as the reduplicative vowel of a root containing /i/. That later Latin had *finxi* is no argument against this assumption, for *finxi* goes back to an aorist that may at some point have replaced a reduplicative perfect **fifigi*, especially if reduplicative perfects of roots beginning in an original voiced aspirate disappeared in Latin (§5.3.7-*8*). From this perspective, the Faliscan forms can therefore not be considered a feature that separates Faliscan from Latin, unless it is argued that Latin never had this reduplicative perfect. However, in view of the Faliscan form, which reflects a Proto-Italic formation, the reduplicative perfect must have existed in Proto-Latin as well.

The same explanation can be applied to *faced/facet. Faced* MF **471*** and *facet* MF **470*** contrast with Latin *fecit* on a synchronic level: the Latin form is first attested in *feced CIL* I^2.4. Leaving aside the endings and concentrating of the perfect stems, Faliscan has /fak-/ and Latin /fēk-/, which is a clear difference. Both perfects, however, reflect old *Ablaut* forms of the aorist stem, which apparently replaced an older reduplicative perfect of a root starting in an original voiced aspirate (§5.3.*6*): in this case, however, this perfect is actually attested for Latin in *vheːvhaked CIL* I^2.3 (unless the authenticity of the fibula Praenestina is again called into question).

This replacement of reduplicative perfects would therefore be a comparatively recent innovation, occurring *after* the time of the earliest inscriptions, and therefore not indicative of an early split between Faliscan and Latin. Of course, Faliscan and Latin made different choices in the replacement of the reduplicative perfect /fefak-/, possibly because both areas were isolated at the time, or, if one wishes to stress the influence of the Sabellic languages on Faliscan, because Umbrian had /fak-/ as the perfect stem: it is noteworthy that it was Latin that chose /fēk-/, the only Italic language to do so.

The ending of *ſ[.ſ]ıqod* EF **1** was likewise not discussed from a synchronic perspective. It reflects an aorist ending where Latin shows an old perfect ending, but as I suggested, it is not clear from the Faliscan material whether it was regular in Faliscan. The form is in itself unique and we simply cannot judge whether in Faliscan or in Latin third plural perfect forms with aorist endings may have existed either as regular forms or as occasional by-forms due to analogy with the aoristic third singular ending. The only attestation of a third plural perfect ending that comes close in time to *ſ[.ſ]ıqod* is Latin *steterai CIL* I^2.2832a, a form that is likewise not without difficulties, as it is not a direct reflex of */-ēri/ but probably shows analogical evidence from the endings of the first and second singular. If *ſ[.ſ]ıqod* is regarded as significant evidence for a separation of Faliscan from Latin, it should be noted that the form likewise separates Faliscan from the Sabellic languages, where the corresponding ending was a Proto-Sabellic innovation */-ens/.

10.2. Recent views on the position of Faliscan

10.2.1. Recent views. In §1.5, I named several scholars that have given explicit views on the status of Faliscan since the appearance of G. Giacomelli's *La lingua falisca* (1963). In the following sections I shall review their arguments and conclusions briefly, to see where and how these differ from my own. I have not discussed the statements by earlier authors (cf., however, §1.5), among whom I should name Beeler (1956:48), who regarded Faliscan as an Italic language independent from both Latin and the Sabellic languages, a position that I regard as entirely untenable in view especially of the Proto-Italic and Proto-Latin phonological and morphological developments (§§3.2-3), and which Beeler (1966:57) himself eventually abandoned.

10.2.2. Campanile: an independent Faliscan. Campanile first gave attention to the phenomena of Faliscan in 'Elementi dialettali nella fonetica e nella morfologia del latino' (*SSL* 1 (1961), pp.1-21), where he used the Faliscan data like those of other Latin dialects, such as Praenestine. In his later monograph, *Studi sulla posizione dialettale del latino* (1969), however, he devoted seven pages (pp.85-92) to the position of Faliscan, where he made his views on the matter more explicit and came to a different conclusion, questioning the idea that Faliscan is (closely) related to Latin.

First, he admitted that there are a number of features that are common to both Faliscan and Latin, pointing e.g. to the lexical correspondences *cra* MF **59-60** and *foied* MF **50-60** (both forms, by the way, where a comparison with the Sabellic languages is impossible as the corresponding Sabellic forms are lacking), *uxor* MF **17** etc., *saluete* EF **4**, *peparai* [*sic*] EF **1**, and the morphological correspondences *med* EF **1**, **9**, and the future suffix */-bh-/ in *carefo* MF **59** and *pipafo* MF **59**. He then named a number of differences: the phonological difference in the development of the voiced aspirates, the morphological differences in the ending of *fifikod* [*sic*] EF **1** and the formation of *douiad* EF **1**, which compares only to Umbrian *purdouitu TI* VIa.56 etc., finally pointing to the isolated Faliscan lexemes *lecet* MF **88**, *lepe* in Pisani's interpretation of EF **4**, and *ues* EF **4**. As unusable for comparison he named the monophthongization of the diphthongs (§3.7), rhotacism (§3.5.3), which in his view could both be ascribed to Umbrian influence, and the *f-/h-* variation (§3.5.2), which he ascribes to 'a peripheral band of Latin', and Bonfante's (1966) idea that *z-* represents a *saṇdhi* voicing of /#sV-/ (§3.5.3). He concluded:

> "Se scartiamo, quindi, i fenomeni che rappresentano innovazioni proprie del falisco o prestiti più o meno tardi, si resterà piuttosto perplessi innanzi alla conclamata strettissima parentela fra il latino e il falisco. Una lingua che conosce *ues* e non *uos*, *douiad* e non *det*, *fifikod* [*sic*] e non *finxerunt* (o *finxere*), *lecet* e non *iacet*, *lepe* e non *uiue*, mal può, a nostro giudizio, essere valutata come una mera variante locale del latino; e non possiamo sottrarci all'impressione che gli studiosi, nello stabilire la

> posizione linguistica del falisco, abbiano attribuito, forse inconsciamente, peso eccessivo alle caratteristiche meramente conservatrici che esso condivide col latino, senza valutarne adeguatamente gli aspetti innovatori. Con ciò, naturalmente, non concludiamo che falisco e latino siano lingue toto caelo distanti; al contrario, esse presentano varie innovazioni comuni. Ma ciò non dovrà farci dimenticare le innovazioni che il falisco condivide con altre tradizioni linguistiche e che gli conferiscono, pur con le doverose riserve che c'impone la povertà delle attestazioni, una sua precisa anche se modesta autonomia non solo nei confronti dei dialetti italici, ma anche del latino." (p.92)

As Campanile on this basis explicitly *rejected* that Faliscan is a local variant of Latin, it is worth looking at his arguments. First of all, the argument that Faliscan did not have *uos*, *det*, *finxerunt* or *finxere*, *iacet*, or *uiue*, is an *argumentum e silentio* that cannot be substantiated: all the more so as several of these forms are Early Faliscan, which, as said in §10.1.3, makes comparison even more difficult. As a result, Campanile ends up comparing Early Faliscan forms with forms from much later Latin. I agree that *ues* beside Latin *uos* is problematic, but so is Umbrian *uestra TI* VIb.61 (which together with *ues* may point to an earlier e-vocalism) beside Paelignian *uus* Pg 9: the division occurs in *both* branches of the Italic languages, and which of these languages is conservative and which is innovative on this point cannot be established on the basis of the present data (§4.7.3). With regard to *f[.f]iqod*, this form does indeed differ from Latin *finxi*, but as I have argued in §10.1.4, a reduplicative perfect from *fingo* may eventually have disappeared in Faliscan as well, just as the much later Latin form *finxi* may well have replaced an older reduplicative perfect **fifigi*. The form *lepe* (in EF 4) is uncertain and assumes the occurrence of a root that is not attested in either Latin or the Sabellic languages: if only for that reason, I cannot regard it as attested until it can be substantiated in other ways.

Lecet, the only Middle Faliscan form in Campanile's list, may very well have existed in Latin, in view of the nouns *lectus* and *lectica*. It is therefore not an innovation but rather a case of preservation of a verb that had disappeared in Latin: note also South Picene *veialt* MC.1. Moreover, comparing *lecet* to *iacet* is an arbitrary choice: as the inscriptions show, the regular and formulaic Faliscan verb was *cupat/cupant*, and this is of course well-attested for Latin.

I certainly agree with Campanile that in order to establish the position of Faliscan with regard to Latin and the Sabellic languages, one should look at the innovations as much as at the preservations: in fact, I hope to have done so in the preceding chapters and especially in section §10.1.4. My conclusion, however, is that with the exception of the developments of the word-internal voiced aspirates, any development that can be called a 'Faliscan innovation', whether phonological, morphological, lexical, or syntactic, is either of early date and shared with Latin, or is of recent, often even Middle Faliscan, date, and in most cases is parallelled by developments that took place in other local variants of Latin.

10.2.3. Solta: convergence with the Sabellic languages? In *Zur Stellung der lateinischen Sprache* (1974), pp.45-47, Solta also briefly discussed the position of Faliscan, from a mainly synchronic perspective. He stressed the correspondences between Faliscan and Latin, naming especially the preservation of the labiovelars (cf. §3.4), the perfect *pepara[i* EF **1** (cf. §5.3.1.*12*), which, however, cannot be compared with a corresponding Sabellic form, and the *b*-future (cf. §5.2.2.*2*), and also remarked on the second-declension genitive singular, noting that Faliscan had an older ending in *-osio* and a later ending *-i* that is the same as in Latin (§4.4.3, §4.4.6), without drawing any conclusion from this: a point he could have elaborated had he known the *popliosio ualesiosio* of *CIL* I^2.2832a at the time. As his general conclusion, however, Solta also saw a *convergence* of Faliscan with the Sabellic languages:

> "Die adäquateste Deutung des faliskischen Sprachhabitus ist wohl die dynamische Auffassung, wonach sich dieser vom Lateinischen weg zum Umbrischen hinentwickelte. Die stimmhaften Aspiraten *bh*, *dh* sind im Falisk. im Inlaut wie in den ‚ital.' Dialekten entwickelt, nicht wie im Lat. Der vielbehandelte Rhotazismus scheint in Falerii älter zu sein als in Rom und stellt vielleicht das Zwischenglied in der vom Umbrischen ausgehenden Lauttendenz bei ihrem Vordringen nach Rom dar." (p.46)

Note that Solta's conclusion that Faliscan was 'developing away from Latin towards Umbrian' adds a diachronic dimension to his largely synchronic comparison. The first point that he named was the development of the word-internal reflexes of the voiced aspirates, where the Faliscan reflexes point to a development that must have been similar, or identical, to the one in Proto-Sabellic, but that was clearly different from Roman Latin (§3.3.3). This must have taken place at a prehistoric stage, but cannot be dated more precisely. The second of the points named by Solta, intervocalic rhotacism, took place also in Latin and in Umbrian, and as far as this can be established, during the same period, namely the fourth century (§3.5.3): it can therefore not be treated on a par with the development of the word-internal reflexes of the voiced aspirates, unless both are assumed to illustrate a convergence of Faliscan with the Sabellic languages that went back to a very early period. Solta could have pointed to the monophthongization of the diphthongs as well (§3.7), for in Faliscan this took place at an earlier date than in Latin, and the reflexes of the old diphthongs are similar to those in Umbrian. All these points, however, are phonological, while the points that connect Faliscan and Latin are also morphological and lexical (see §10.1.3): on these levels, there is no indication that Faliscan was in any way developing towards Umbrian or any other Sabellic language. The only morphological development where Faliscan shows a difference with Latin and a similarity with Umbrian is the perfect /fak-/ in *faced* MF **471***, *facet* MF **470***.[174]

[174] Solta's perspective almost begs the question whether from a synchronic perspective Faliscan could eventually have become a Sabellic language altogether, just like Trubetzkoy suggested that non-Indo-European languages could eventually *become* Indo-European (e.g. Trubetzkoy 1939). At least from a morphological perspective, this seems unlikely.

10.2.4. G. Giacomelli: a Latin Faliscan with Sabellic influence. I did intentionally not start this discussion with G. Giacomelli's own conclusion in *La lingua falisca* (1963). There, she discussed the position of Faliscan only in the most percursory way, stating her conclusion most clearly as follows:

> "Credo invece che non si debba deflettere dalla posizione tradizionale, che distingue il falisco dal latino, pur tenendo fermi gli stretti legami d'affinità fra i due popoli e le due lingue: senza negare, d'altra parte, la penetrazione di elementi esterni sia italici sia etruschi" (p.21)

This conclusion was unfortunately not argued for by a systematic comparison (whether synchronic or diachronic), although in the linguistic part of the work she pointed out differences and similarities here and there.

Her conclusion in the article 'Il falisco' (in *Lingue e dialetti dell'Italia antica* (1978), pp.509-535) was different, and made some finer distinctions:

> "Gli elementi che sembrano collegare alla base il latino e il falisco sono veramente significativi: si riscontrano non solo nel lessico – che manca, si può dire, di elementi non latini – ma anche nella grammatica: la conservazione della labiovelare [...], i plurali dei temi in *-a* (e probabilmente quelli in *-o*) con desinenza di origine pronominale [...], l'accusativo del pronome di 1a persona *med* [...], il futuro in *-fo* [...]." (p.522)

Here G. Giacomelli rightly pointed to a number of older developments: common preservation in the case of the labiovelars (§3.4), common Proto-Latin innovation in the cases of the first and second-declension nominative plural endings (*sociai* EF **4**, *lete* MLF **285**: see §4.2.6, §4.3.6), and the future in *-fo/-bo* (*carefo* MF **59**, *pipafo* MF **59**: see §5.2.2.2). The form *med* EF **1**, **9** can be ascribed either to common preservation of a Proto-Italic innovation, or to common Proto-Latin innovation, depending on how the Proto-Italic form is reconstructed (§4.7.2).

Yet G. Giacomelli also assumed a convergence with the Sabellic languages:

> "Accanto agli elementi che associano la nostra lingua al latino non vanno però sottovalutati quelli che rivelano un'impronta, sia pure secondaria, delle lingue italiche, riportandosi alla fonetica e alla morfologia osco-umbra: per la seconda si notano il tipo di perfetto raddoppiato *fifiked* [...], forse il genitivo in *-osio*, certo il dativo in *-oi* [...]; per la prima citiamo la tendenza a una monottongazione precoce secondo il tipo che si riscontra nell'umbro (ma anche in parte nel latino rustico e nell'etrusco [...]), la caduta di consonanti finali [...] e la mancata differenziazione tra posizione iniziale e posizione interna per quanto riguarda i resultati di BH en DH indoeuropei – ma non di GH, che dà /h/ all'iniziale e /g/ all'interno [...], in modo probabilmente affine a quello latino. Quest'ultimo fatto è particolarmente importante per mostrarci la lingua protostorica nel suo avvicinamento a parlate osco-umbre (probabilmente al sabino): infatti, in qualunque modo si interpretino questi fenomeni, è certo che almeno per la fonetica non si sono avuti svolgimenti parallelli e indipendenti, ma un'influenza italica la quale ha avuto presa fin dal momento in cui le sonore aspirate si sono ridotte a spiranti sonore, ma non ancora a occlusive sonore, difficilmente riversibili (e non ha avuto presa, per ragioni che ci sfuggono, nel caso del gutturale)." (p.522-523)

With this part of her conclusions I cannot agree at all. The genitive ending *-osio* and the dative in *-oi* are clearly cases of common preservation: even before the publication of the Satricum inscription's *popliosio ualesiosio CIL* I^2.2832a, there was more (presumed) evidence for the existence of an original */-osi̯o/ in Latin than there was for its existence in any of the Sabellic languages (§4.4.6), while it is clear from *numasioi CIL* I^2.1, *duenoi CIL* I^2.4 and Marius Victorinus' remark "*populoi Romanoi* pro *populo Romano* scito priores scribere" (*CGL* 6.17.20), that Latin, too, had a dative in /-ōi̯/, although this appeared somewhere after the period of the earliest inscriptions, perhaps earlier than in Faliscan (§4.3.2).

The fact that *fifiked* EF **9** has a parallel only in Oscan *fifikus* Cp 37,5 does not automatically mean that it is a borrowing, even when the form is contrasted with Latin *finxerunt*: see §5.3.2.*7-8*. Note that *fifiked* EF **9** and *fl.fi̯qod* EF **1** are used in a formula that was taken over from Etruscan and that the use of a verb 'to knead' in this formula is unique: Oscan used *úpsed/úpsens* in such formulas, not *fifikus* (§8.9.2).

The early monophthongization (§3.7) and the 'drop' of word- and syllable-final consonants (§3.5.7) are phenomena of Middle Faliscan that cannot be treated on a par with the much earlier development of the word-internal reflexes of the voiced aspirates (§3.3.3). In the case of the latter, I agree that the Faliscan reflexes point to a development that was probably similar, if not identical with the Proto-Sabellic development, and that this is the most important point of separation between Faliscan and Latin. Monophthongization and omission of word- and syllable-final consonants also occur in Latin dialects, however, although the monophthongization, especially of *all* diphthongs, is nowhere documented as early as in Faliscan.

I find G. Giacomelli's *en masse* attribution of Faliscan features to influence from Sabellic languages very difficult. This virtually denies the possibility of independent parallel development, attributing similar features to language contact apparently *only* because they occur in a nearby language as well. Transfers on the scale that G. Giacomelli envisaged are impossible without intense language contant, especially as the influence affects both the phonology and the declensional morphology (§1.3.2.*2*). Of such intensive language contact between Faliscan and the Sabellic languages, the inscriptions show little or no trace: in fact, the epigraphic and linguistic features in inscriptions from the agri Faliscus and Capenas that can be ascribed to contact with the Sabellic features are few (§9.3). Furthermore, if the morphology and phonology of Faliscan are as heavily influenced by the Sabellic languages as G. Giacomelli suggested, why is there no trace of this influence in the lexicon, which would be the first level on which such influence would manifest itself, or in the formulaic texts? The Faliscan lexicon is Latin (§6.3), with only *posticnu* MLF/Cap **474*** and *pesco(m)* Cap **431** as possibly Sabellic words, both of which are interferential forms rather than borrowings (§9.3.2), and traces of Sabellic influence in the formulaic texts are minimal and limited to the ager Capenas (§8.8.2).

10.2.5. Joseph & Wallace: not a Latin dialect. The most influential and best-argued verdict on the position of Faliscan is surely Joseph & Wallace's article 'Is Faliscan a local Latin *patois*?' (*Diachronica* 8 (1991), pp.159-186). Their conclusions are adopted by Baldi (*The foundations of Latin* (1999), pp.170-4), and apparently also by Meiser (*Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre* (1998), p.9-10).

Contrary to most authors on the subject, they make it quite clear what they mean by the term 'Latin', which they limit to the language of Latium and the colonies sponsored by Rome, thus in effect already ruling out that Faliscan was a Latin dialect. The term 'dialect' they reserve for non-Roman Latin. They also challenge the notion that shared innovation is necessarily indicative of an original linguistic unity, assuming that it can also "reflect the areal spread of changes after considerable divergence of the two languages had taken place" (p.163). I would like to point out that this is exactly the problem discussed in §1.2: from a purely *synchronic* perspective, the result of shared innovation is indistinguishable from unilateral innovation with subsequent spread of the innovative feature. Therefore, the diachronic perspective should be taken into account wherever possible in judging such features. Also, Joseph & Wallace indicate nowhere under which circumstances such a spread could happen or how far the languages can have diverged for such a spread still to be possible, and this makes it difficult to see whether or not this is applicable to Faliscan. If this could happen unconditionally, the value of the diachronic method would in effect be denied.

Joseph & Wallace then point to a number of features that Faliscan shared with dialect Latin: the monophthongization of the diphthongs (§3.7), the representation of antevocalic /i/ by *e* (§3.6.2), the loss of word-final /t/ (§3.5.7*c*), the loss of word-final /s/ after *long* vowels (§3.5.7*d*), the realisation of /#fV-/ as [h] (§3.5.2), the third-declension genitive in *-os* (§4.5.2), /e/ represented as *i* before /rC/ (§3.6.2), the second-declension genitive in *-osio* (§4.4.2), and *f* as a reflex of */b^h d^h/ in medial position (§3.3.3).[175] They conclude that with the exception of the genitives in *-osio* and *-os* and the development of *f* as a reflex of */b^h d^h/ these features are all recent and can therefore not be considered significant for establishing the position of Faliscan, all the more so as several of these features also show up in the Sabellic languages.

Quite rightly, they attach more value to the older features that bind or separate Latin and Faliscan: as such, they name the f-future in *carefo* MF **59**, *pipafo* MF **59** (§5.2.2.2) and the accusative *med* EF **1**, **9** of the pronoun of the first person singular (§4.7.2) as shared innovations (which were not shared by the Sabellic languages), and the development of the word-internal reflexes of the original voiced aspirates (§3.3.3) as a feature that definitely separates the two. They admit that other connecting features

[175] I leave out their first-declension dative singular in *-a*: this is found only in LF/Lat **214**, which may be Latin rather than Faliscan, and which is a feature that, as said in §3.7.6, seems to have spread through Latin colonies. It may be regarded as Latin rather than Faliscan.

may exist, but point rather to two other separating features, namely the third plural perfect endings, where they see a separation, and to the fact that Faliscan shows a *lecet* MF **88** that in Latin was replaced by the new formation *iaceo*. The former point I regard as un-evaluable (§10.1.4 and §5.2.4.5), while the latter must have been a relatively recent and at least post-Proto-Italic innovation in Latin. Their conclusion is:

> "The overall force of the evidence brought forth here points towards the conclusion that Faliscan is not a dialect of Latin. Not only are the features typically adduced in support of the view of Faliscan as dialectal Latin inadmissible once well-established principles for sub-grouping of dialects are brought into play, but there are as well significant innovations that separate Faliscan and Latin off from each other. Some unite all Latin dialects but exclude Faliscan and others are found only in Faliscan to the exclusion of all of Latinity. These facts therefore confirm the traditional view that Latin and Faliscan are distinct languages, though closely related to one another as immediate siblings." (p.182)

This implies that from a *synchronic* perspective Faliscan may give the impression of being a Latin dialect due to a number of shared features, but that these features are due to recent developments, sometimes shared with (or due to?) the Sabellic languages, notably Umbrian, while from a *diachronic* perspective, Faliscan has several older features that separate it from Latin.

In my view, this conclusion gives too much value to the one phonological feature that separates Faliscan and Latin, namely the development of the word-internal reflexes of the voiced aspirates (§3.3.3) and leaves undiscussed a number of morphological innovations (§10.1.4) shared by Latin and Faliscan, but not by the Sabellic languages, as well as the fact that the lexicon is overwhelmingly Latin (§10.1.3). These features cannot be explained by just assuming that spread of an innovation can take place even if the languages have diverged significantly, without discussing at least the conditions under which such a transfer can take place, and an attempt to show that these conditions were fulfilled to some extent. Apart from that, I find it hard to assume that these features could be ascribed to Latin influence on a (closely related but still quite distinct) language. All the features named by Joseph & Wallace, recent or not, can be dated to the period *before* the war of 241, and there is hardly a trace of Latin having been such a strong influence before 240.

Also, if Faliscan belongs to the Latin branch of the Italic languages, as Joseph & Wallace assume and apparently even defend, but is not a Latin dialect, what is it then? If it is a distinct language, it is surely a language that (as far as can be judged on the basis of a diachronic analysis of the material) is separated from Latin by one or two features at best, and that from a synchronic perspective is quite similar to Latin dialects. Some of these features, but surely not all, can be ascribed to recent developments, and not necessarily to influence from Latin. In my view, this is not enough to declare Faliscan an independent language. Among the various local variants of Latin, Faliscan may well be the one that is most separated from Latin, but the degree of separation still remains inside the limits of dialect variation.

10.2.6. R. Giacomelli: level-distinction. R. Giacomelli, in *Ricerche falische* (1978), extensively discussed a number of Faliscan linguistic phenomena, drawing the following concusion:

> "Dall'analisi della fonetica e della morfologia falische che abbiamo condotta sia pur senza pretesa di completezza nelle pagine di questo lavoro, risulta evidente la gran quantità di fatti che *ab antiquo* il falisco mostra di condividere con il latino.
>
> In tale contesto è possibile bensi rilevare la presenza di alcuni fenomeni tipicamente falischi, accanto ad altri che pur trovando riscontro in osco-umbro, possono tuttavia agevolmente essere classificati come propri di un ambiente dialettale cui è possibile, a buon diritto, ascrivere il falisco.
>
> Tuttavia anche fenomeni come gli esiti italici delle medie aspirate ie. ovvero la generale monottongazione dei dittonghi, che parrebbero con sicurezza avvicinare il falisco all'umbro, se osservati in una prospettiva geo-linguistica più ampia, inducono a ridimensionare l'incidenza, nella loro determinazione, della generica soluzione degli influssi italici di Faleri.
>
> Infine, gli evidenti influssi etruschi ce si palesano nel campo dell'onomastica falisca sono cronologicamente recenti ed in pratica vengono a sovrapporsi, senza modificarne minimamente la configurazione dell'insieme, al quadro generale della latinità del falisco." (p.67)

As an overall conclusion, I think this is a fair assessment of the data, even without going into all the data as discussed by R. Giacomelli, where I do not always share his views. He does not adopt G. Giacomelli's idea of a Faliscan that is heavily influenced by the Sabellic languages (cf. §10.2.4), but does not deny that some Faliscan features, such as the development of the word-internal reflexes of the voiced aspirates, appear to be Sabellic rather than Latin and can apparently be ascribed to a shared development of related, but different, languages, in the line of Pisani's Italic *Sprachbund* (§1.3.2.*1*).

In his recent *Nuove ricerche falische* (2006), the most recent contribution to the field of Faliscan studies, he by and large draws similar conclusions, but now places the data in the perspective of level-distinction, a point that had been prominent in his earlier study as well. In chapters VI (*Volgarismi,* pp.73-107) and VII (*Il falisco, un sub-standard latino,* pp.108-119), he makes a synchronic comparison between Faliscan and 'vulgar' Latin, and rightly shows the many similarities between the two. What I cannot accept is his idea that this non-Roman Latin represents a substandard form of Latin, if only because I very much doubt if, during the Middle Faliscan period, there was already a standard of Roman Latin, let alone that this Roman standard was already regarded as the standard for all Latinity. Roman Latin was itself still very much finding its ground in establishing a standard, and I wonder if even Romans themselves would have thought in terms of 'higher level' and 'lower level' Latin in the third century: if they did so, it was perhaps as a social, but hardly as a geolinguistic distinction. From the perspective of ethnic identity, of course, Faliscan was the local standard in the area and will hardly have been regarded as 'substandard' by its speakers, at least before the process of Romanization was well under way, that is, by the end of the third century.

10.3. Faliscan, a Latin dialect

Above, I have discussed several approaches to the question of the position of Faliscan, and several recent views on the subject. Then what, finally, is my own verdict? I shall discuss this mainly from the diachronic, but partly also from the synchronic perspective. I shall take no recourse to the possibility of extensive language contacts and influence from other Italic languages on the deeper levels of language, even though these might be adduced: in my view, these are not necessary to explain the features of Faliscan, although they in no way contradict my conclusion and could even be used to explain those features that can be regarded as contradicting it.

First, I think that this study once more shows that from a diachronic perspective Faliscan clearly belongs to the Latin branch of the Italic family: this is shown by a number of diachronic developments of Proto-Latin date operating on the phonological, morphological, lexical, and perhaps even syntactic levels where Faliscan sides with Latin, which have been enumerated in §10.1.4. These developments consist both of common Proto-Latin innovations and of common preservation of features that in the Sabellic languages were replaced by Proto-Sabellic innovations. The one great exception is the development of the word-internal reflexes of the voiced aspirates, where the development of Faliscan reflects a development similar to that of the Sabellic languages: this is discussed below.

Second, Faliscan shared with Latin a number of developments that took place at a more recent date, that is, during the historic period. Notably, Faliscan and Latin shared several important morphological innovations that did not occur in the Sabellic languages, namely the replacement of the *-osio* by *-i* during the fifth and fourth centuries, the replacement of *-ed* by *-et* during the late fourth century, and probably also that of *-as* by *-ai* during the third century. A shared phonological innovation is the intervocalic rhotacism during the fourth century: although rhotacism also occurs in Umbrian, in Latin and Faliscan it was limited to intervocalic position, while in Umbrian, rhotacism took place also in word-final position.

To the historic period should probably also be ascribed the innovation of the perfect, in Faliscan to *faced/facet* /fak-/ and in Latin as *feced* /fēk-/: in view of Latin *vhe:vhaked*, these were both recent replacements of the reduplicative perfect by stems that originally belonged to the aorist. Both languages differ in how they reformed the perfect, Faliscan generalizing /fak-/ (which is also the perfect stem used in Umbrian), and Latin, /fēk-/. If this replacement was due to a general tendency to replace reduplicative perfects from verbs with a root in /f-/ that operated in both Faliscan and Latin, this opens the possibility that Early Faliscan *fifiked/f[.f]iqod* was also replaced by an unattested form of aorist origin: note the original aorist used as a perfect in Latin *finxi*. This removes a point of difference between Faliscan and Latin.

The more recent developments and tendencies in Middle Faliscan, e.g. the weak realization of word- and syllable-final nasals and of the word-final sibilant /s/, and the realisation of /#fV/ as [h], also occurred in other variants of Latin, even if they are more frequently or better attested for Faliscan. In the case of the monophthongization of the diphthongs during the Middle Faliscan period, the Faliscan development was slightly earlier than in Latin. Note that several of these tendencies also occur in Umbrian.

From a synchronic perspective, I could add that the lexicon of Middle Faliscan is very much the same as that of Latin, and that in all instances where there is a clear difference between the Latin and the Sabellic lexicon, Faliscan sides with Latin. I can see no reason to ascribe this to Latin influence, certainly not for the period before 240.

The only older development that separates Faliscan from Latin is the development of the word-internal reflexes of the voiced aspirates, which unfortunately can be dated only relatively as predating the earliest texts. Here, Faliscan and Latin are clearly different, and the difference is 'old': as said, I think it at best unproven and at worst unlikely that there were other Latin dialects that showed the same development and that what we call the 'Latin' development was originally limited to Roman Latin. A far more recent development is the innovation of the perfect of *facio*, where Faliscan chose for /fak-/ and Latin generalized /fēk-/. Are these two differences enough to say that Faliscan is not Latin? This depends on how far dialects are allowed to vary before they can be said that they constitute a language of their own. With regard to the 'grammar' and the lexicon, Faliscan is Latin. The differences are mainly matters of phonology, or even phonetics, most of them of recent or even very recent date. If these developments are regarded as 'acceptable' within the degree of variation that can be expected within the local variants of one language, Faliscan is, indeed, a Latin dialect.

As the only local variant of the Latin language outside Latium, Faliscan may at times have been isolated to a varying degree from the remainder of the Latin-speaking area, and such a period of isolation might explain the separate development of the word-internal reflexes of the voiced aspirates, and perhaps even the comparatively recent generalization of /fak-/ as a perfect stem. Yet, if there were such periods of isolation, Faliscan would be expected to have diverged from Latin to a far greater extent than appears to be the case. That the divergence remained limited may be due to fairly frequent contacts with the remainder of the Latin-speaking community. The problem with Faliscan seems to be that there is a large number of respects in which Faliscan is, for all intents and purposes, Latin, while there are a small number of features in which Faliscan is not Latin at all, and that these separating features are separated from each other in time and are not *either* all recent *or* all old, implying that they are not due to one continuous process of divergence or convergence. Some of these could of course have arisen due to local variation, as can be expected in a dialect, and especially one both physically and historically at the periphery of the language of which it was a part.

In §2.4.2. I mentioned the possibility that the area where Latin was spoken extended to the north of the Tiber as well, and disappeared or shrank with the growth and emergence of Etruscan culture and language. The area in between Latium and the ager Faliscus remained, to some extent, an area where Latin continued to be spoken until the Roman conquest made it 'officially' Latin again. Perhaps the differences and correspondences between Faliscan and Latin are to be ascribed to such alternating stages when Faliscan was now the northernmost exponent of a Latin-speaking continuum stretching southward all the way to Latium Adiectum, and now separated from that continuum and in more frequent contact with speakers of the greatly different Etruscan and the not-so-different Sabellic languages. It might be this now closer, now looser bond of Faliscan with the rest of Latin to which its many similarities, but its few but significant dissimilarities with Latin may have to be ascribed.

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150 Years of Scholarship
Part II

GABRIËL C.L.M. BAKKUM

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150 Years of Scholarship

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam,
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus
prof. dr. D.C. van den Boom
ten overstaan van een door het College voor Promoties ingestelde
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Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen

Chapter 11

The epigraphic material

This chapter constitutes the introduction to the presentation of the epigraphic material in chapters 12-19. In it, I discuss the nature of the epigraphic material, subdivided according to various criteria such as provenance, age, type, and alphabet (§11.1), the Faliscan alphabet and orthography (§11.2), and the organization of the way in which the material is presented in chapters 12-19 (§11.3).

11.1. The Faliscan epigraphic material

11.1.1. General. In the second part of this study, I present the epigraphic material on which the discussions and conclusions in chapters 2-10 are based. This edition is intended to show the reasons and motives behind my readings and interpretations of the individual texts, and hopefully to discard some of the impossible readings and interpretations that still crop up in the literature from time to time. Discussions other than those necessary to establish the correct or most plausible reading have therefore in many cases been replaced by a reference to the relevant section of chapters 3-9. The aim of the presentation was not to provide a fully-fledged epigraphic edition, as will be clear from the small number of drawings: the edition is intended as a means to an end rather than as an end in itself, and rather than expanding it even further, I have chosen to add references to all published photographs and drawings known to me.

The material presented in chapters 12-19 comprises 535 inscriptions from the ager Faliscus and Capenas, including several inscriptions from other locations or of uncertain or unknown origin which have been regarded as originating from the area, or as somehow connected with Faliscan or Capenate. As the material is intended to be the basis of a comparative study of dialect and language, I have chosen to include every inscription from the area known to me, whether it is Faliscan, Capenate, Latin, Etruscan, or Sabellic, which consists of more than one letter.[176] In the following sections I have subdivided this material according to provenance (§11.1.2), period/alphabet group (§11.1.3), type (§11.1.4), and alphabet (§11.1.5), with a more detailed discussion of the criteria.

[176] Inscriptions consisting of one letter are not only without linguistic value, it is also unclear whether they are in fact letters. A cross may be a Faliscan or Latin *x* (Χ), an Etruscan *ś* (Χ), the number *10* (Χ), a Faliscan or Etruscan *t* (Τ or Ϯ), or a cross; an arrow may be a Faliscan *f* (↑), an Etruscan *χ* (Ψ or ↓), a Sabellic *ú* (Ψ or Ѱ), the number *50* (Ψ or ↓), or an arrow.

Of the 535 inscriptions presented here, 18 are known only through apographs (MF **20**, **65**, **88-89**, **138-139**, **201**, **211-212**, **265-266**, MLF **353-355**, LF **335**, and Etr **XXXIV-XXXV**, and **XLIX**). Of the remaining 517, I publish 125 from autopsy, namely EF **1-4**, **6-7**, **10**, EF/Etr **5**, MF **14**, **35**, **59-60**, **62**, **90-91**, **94-96**, **98**, **100**, **102-103**, **105**, **113-116**, **118-127**, **132**, **136-137**, **140-146**, **148-154**, **158-161**, **163-164**, **166-170**, **175-190**, **264**, **269-272**, **275-276**, MF? **128-131**, MF/Etr **37**, **64**, **66**, MLF **320**, **323-324**, **360**, LF **220-230**, **329-334**, **336**, LF/Lat **214**, LtF **63**, **171**, **174**, **231-233**, and **340**. The others I have published *e prioribus*, working from all available photographs, drawings, and transcriptions of the text in typeset. The only cases in which neither of these were available are MF **135**, LF **246**, Lat **250**, MLF **358-359**, and Cap **394**. The following 111 inscriptions were of little or no linguistic value:

(1) 19 inscriptions consisting only of abbreviations of a praenomen and a gentilicium: MF **29**, **38**, MF? **33**, Cap **395-397**, **400**, **415**, **419**, **424-425**, **427-429**, **452-455**, **461**. These have been used in the chapter on the onomasticon (see §7.1.2), but not elsewhere.

(2) 55 inscriptions consisting only of abbreviations of two or three letters: EF **8**, MF **44**, **46**, **76**, **209**, **274**, **281**, **283-284**, **294**, **373-375**, **460**, MF? **28**, **30**, **68**, **131**, **133**, **134**, **203-204**, **254-255**, MF/Etr **37**, **256**, MLF **320-323**, MF/LtF **241**, **252-253**, **277-278**, LF? **381**, LtF **286**, Cap **398**, **401-402**, **405-414**, **416-418**, **426**, **439-451**, and Lat **386**. Most of these have only been used in the chapter on the onomasticon (see §7.1.2).

(3) 26 inscriptions consisting only of a few legible letters without word-divisions: MF **55**, **104**, **106-108**, **132**, **168**, **176-177**, **179**, **182-190**, **192-194**, **319**, MLF **342-345**.

(4) 7 inscriptions that are illegible or so disputed as to be functionally illegible: MF/Etr **287**, LtF **288**, MF/Etr **61**, MLF **356-357**, and Cap **422-423**.

(5) 4 inscriptions that may be falsifications: MF **335** (known only through an apograph, and perhaps genuine), MLF **464**, Etr **XXXI**, and an inscription discussed under Etr **XXXIX**.

11.1.2. The material divided according to provenance. I have included all the epigraphic material from before *c.*100-50 BCE (see §11.1.3) from the ager Faliscus and the ager Capenas. The extent of these areas I have tried to establish in §2.1.2: broadly speaking, the ager Faliscus comprised the area enclosed by the Tiber, the Monti Cimini, the Monti Sabatini, the ridge connecting these to Monte Soratte, and Monte Soratte itself, while the ager Capenas comprised the area southward from Monte Soratte along the Tiber to Capena and the shrine of Lucus Feroniae to the crossing of the Tiber near Monterotondo.

The area therefore includes the towns of Narce, Nepi and Sutri, even though these towns became dependencies of Veii in the sixth or early fifth century (§2.4.2) and subsequently came under Roman rule from the early fourth century (§2.5.2). Although they thus ceased to be a part of the ager Faliscus at an early date, these towns and their

inscriptions could not be omitted: Narce was in fact one of the most important sites of the area during the Early Faliscan period (§2.4.2), perhaps the site of Fescennium, which is named as a Faliscan town by the ancient sources (§2.1.2). The area of these towns provides 24 Etruscan inscriptions (Etr **I-XVIII** from Narce, Etr **XIX** from Mazzano Romano, and Etr **XX-XXIV** from Nepi), nearly half of the 51 Etruscan inscriptions presented in chapter 19.

I have also included several inscriptions of uncertain or unknown origin that are ascribed to the ager Faliscus or Capenas, whether I support this attribution (as in the cases of **467*-478***) or not (as in the cases of **479†-481†**), and three inscriptions from Ardea (**482†-484†**) that have for various reasons been 'associated' with Faliscan.

Apart from chapters 12 (the Early Faliscan inscriptions) and 19 (the Etruscan inscriptions), the presentation of the material is ordered by provenance:

Chapters 13-14: Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres) and surroundings;

Chapter 15: S. Maria di Falleri (Falerii Novi) and surroundings;

Chapter 16: the sites of the northern ager Faliscus (Corchiano, Vignanello, Fabbrica di Roma, Carbognano-Vallerano, the site at Grotta Porciosa, and the area around Gallese and Borghetto);

Chapter 17: the sites of the south-eastern ager Faliscus and the ager Capenas (Rignano Flaminio, S. Oreste, Ponzano Romano, Civitella S. Paolo, Fiano Romano, Civitucola (ancient Capena), and the shrine at Lucus Feroniae);

Chapter 18: *(1)* inscriptions of unknown or disputed origin that may be from the ager Faliscus or Capenas; *(2)* inscriptions from other provenances that are or have been regarded as Faliscan.

A similar organization is used within chapter 19, where the Etruscan inscriptions are presented: these are divided into *(1)* inscriptions from Narce (perhaps the site of Fescennium) and the south-western ager Faliscus, *(2)* Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres), *(3)* Corchiano and the northern ager Faliscus, *(4)* the south-eastern ager Faliscus and the ager Capenas, *(5)* and inscriptions of unknown or disputed origin that may be from the area.

Dividing the area in this way also serves another aim, as it divides the material into *(a)* Civita Castellana, the main site during the Middle Faliscan period (chapters 13-14); *(b)* S. Maria di Falleri, the main site during the Late Faliscan and subsequent periods; *(c)* the northern ager Faliscus, which on the one hand was probably divided up during the division of the ager Faliscus following the war of 241 (§2.6.2), but which also shows signs of Etruscan presence at its main site, Corchiano (§9.2.3); and *(d)* the south-eastern ager Faliscus and the ager Capenas, where Latin influence was far more pronounced due the Roman colonization of Capena in the early fourth century (§2.5.2), but which also shows signs of the presence of speakers of Sabellic languages (§9.3).

11.1.3. The material divided according to period/alphabet category. As explained in §1.4.3, the dating of the inscriptions is very difficult in most cases. This relative lack of securely dated Faliscan inscriptions also makes it impossible to provide dating criteria that rely on alphabet or orthography, except in the most general way.

An exception is constituted by the inscriptions on movable objects, especially pottery or mirrors, where the object itself can usually be dated more or less accurately on typological grounds. The inscriptions that were added by their makers at the time of the making itself (signatures) are of course from the same time as the object. *Besitzerinschriften* and other inscriptions on such objects are usually tacitly assumed to have been added soon after the object was made and therefore to have approximately the same date, although strictly speaking there is no *a priori* justification for this assumption.

Most of the Faliscan inscriptions are sepulchral, however, and these are unfortunately far more difficult to date. The sepulchral inscriptions are all from chamber tombs cut into the steep rock-faces of the area, or into the sides of hollow roads (§11.1.4.*1*). Here three main problems affect the dating:

(a) These tombs were often re-used for long periods of time, and when a loculus was emptied to make place for another burial, previous burials were inevitably disturbed, grave-goods becoming confused with those of later burials or just left lying around in the tomb.[177] In a number of cases, even the inscribed tiles used to close the loculus were reused for other burials (§11.1.4). Inscriptions at the entrance of the tombs or on the walls of the chamber are virtually impossible to date, as it is unclear to which stage of the use of the tomb they belong.

(b) Over the centuries, many tombs were ransacked, and the chambers cleaned out and re-used as cattle-stalls, shepherds' shelters, tool-sheds, or cheese-cellars. Datable grave-goods thus became separated from the sepulchral inscriptions belonging to the same burial or tomb, and tiles or inscriptions on the walls of tombs are therefore often without any datable context.

(c) Most sepulchral inscriptions are written on tiles (cf. §11.1.4.*1c*), and although these could of course be dated by thermoluminescence dating, that would give only the date of the tile itself as a *terminus post quem* for the inscription: it is not clear if the tiles that were used to close the loculi were (always) new, or had (sometimes) already been in use as roof-tiles for, say, half a century.

Public inscriptions fall into two categories. The first group consists of the inscriptions cut into the rock-face of the side of hollow roads, which usually contain names, presumably those of magistrates that had the road constructed or maintained: these are without datable context at all apart from the roads themselves, which in most cases

[177] A striking example is the tomb of the *gens Velminaea* at Vignanello: although found apparently undisturbed and dating from the third century, it contained remains of a shield of a type that is associated with burials of the seventh century (Giglioli 1916:64-5).

cannot be dated with any accuracy. The public inscriptions on bronze on the other hand can be dated quite accurately, but only because these are nearly all in Latin and can therefore be dated according to the epigraphic and linguistic dating criteria used for the Latin inscriptions.

As said in §1.4.3, I have therefore used a different method of dating, which is basically an elaboration of the criteria suggested by G. Giacomelli (1978:510-1). In this method, the inscriptions are divided into larger 'period groups' according to historical and archaeological criteria. Although crude in both its methodology and its criteria, this way of dating has turned out to be very workable, and the groups arrived at in this way often coincide with groups that can be defined on the basis of linguistic features. In my view, this classification can therefore be regarded as a valid tool to subdivide the corpus. In any case, it remains an open question whether more subtle dating criteria would produce significantly better or different results. Inscriptions are unique objects, and, from a linguistic perspective, they represent unique speech utterances: in a linguistic study, placing them together into larger groups would have been necessary to provide meaningful results in any case.

The 'period groups' into which the inscriptions are divided are the following:

(1) the **Early Faliscan** group (**EF**, 10-12 inscriptions) comprises all inscriptions from before the fourth century. Since these are all inscriptions on pottery, they can be dated quite well on typological grounds, and form a group that is quite distinct in several other respects, such as the alphabet and the contents of the inscriptions. The Early Faliscan inscriptions are EF **1-4** and **6-10** from Civita Castellana and EF **467*** of unknown origin: either Early Faliscan or Etruscan are EF/Etr **5** from Civita Castellana and EF/Etr **385** from Fiano Romano.

All inscriptions in the Faliscan alphabet from the fourth century and later are classed either as Middle Faliscan or as Late Faliscan. The dividing line between the Middle Faliscan and the Late Faliscan periods is the war of 241-240 BCE (§2.6), since as a result of this war several of the more important sites were abandoned, and the influence of (Roman) Latin can reasonably be assumed to have increased markedly, due to the foundation of Falerii Novi and the division of the ager Faliscus into a Faliscan- and a Roman-administrated part (§2.6.2).

(3) the **Middle Faliscan** group (**MF**, 185-228 inscriptions) comprises *(a)* all inscriptions in the Faliscan alphabet from the fourth century or later that have been found at sites that were abandoned after the war of 241, notably Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres) and Corchiano, and their direct surroundings, and are therefore assumed to date from between the fourth century and *c.*240. Inscriptions from these sites in the Faliscan alphabet have *always* been classed as Middle Faliscan unless there is a positive reason not to do so. Middle Faliscan also comprises *(b)* all inscriptions in the Faliscan alphabet from other sites that can reasonably be dated to the period between the fourth

century and *c.*240. The Middle Faliscan inscriptions are: *(a)* MF **11-20**, **22-27**, **31-32**, **34-36**, **39-43**, **45**, **47-60**, **62**, **65**, **69-75**, **79-110**, **113-127**, **132 , 135-139**, **141-170**, **175-198**, **200-201**, probably also MF? **28-30**, **33**, **38**, **44**, **46**, **68**, **76**, **78**, **111**, **128-131**, **133-134**, **203-204**, and possibly also MF? **202** (unclear), from Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres), MF **257-260**, **263**, **265-266**, **269-276**, and probably also MF? **253-255**, **261-262**, **281**, and **283-284**, from Corchiano; *(b)* MF **367-375** from Rignano Flaminio, MF **376** from S. Oreste, and MF **469*-473*** of unknown origin. Either Middle Faliscan or Etruscan are MF/Etr **37**, **61** (illegible), **64**, **66-67**, **77**, and **199**, from Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres), and MF/Etr **256**, **264**, **267**, **279-280**, **282**, and **287**, from Corchiano and surroundings. Either Middle Faliscan or Latino-Faliscan are MF/LtF **21** from Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres) and MF/LtF **252**, **277-278** from Corchiano.

(4) the **Middle or Late Faliscan** group (**MLF**, 57-66 inscriptions) comprises all inscriptions in the Faliscan alphabet from the fourth century or later that have been found at sites that *continued* to exist after the war of 241, and as a consequence cannot be dated with any kind of accuracy other than that they are from between the fourth and the second centuries. Inscriptions from these sites in the Faliscan alphabet have *always* been classed as Middle or Late Faliscan unless there is a positive reason not to do so. The Middle or Late Faliscan inscriptions are: MLF **206-207** and **210-212**, from the wider surroundings of Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres); MLF **285-286**, **293**, and **297-298**, from the wider surroundings of Corchiano; MLF **302-323** from Vignanello; MLF **324** from Fabbrica di Roma; MLF **338-339** and **346-355** from Grotta Porciosa and the surrounding area; MLF **358-359** from the area near Gallese and Borghetto (although very little is known of these inscriptions, they appear to be in the Faliscan alphabet); MLF **360-362** of unknown northern Faliscan origin; MLF **363-366** from Rignano Flaminio; MLF **459-60** and **463-464** of unknown Capenate origin (MLF **464** may be a *falsum*), and probably also MLF/Cap **474*-476*** of unknown origin. Either Middle or Late Faliscan or Etruscan are MLF/Etr **208-209** from the wider surroundings of Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres), MLF/Etr **289** from the wider surroundings of Corchiano, and MLF/Etr **356-357** from the area between Gallese and Borghetto. Either Middle or Late Faliscan or Latino-Faliscan are MLF/LtF **241** and **252** from the surroundings of S. Maria di Falleri (Falerii Novi.).

(5) the **Late Faliscan** group (**LF**, 40-41 inscriptions) comprises *(a)* all inscriptions in the Faliscan alphabet that have been found at S. Maria di Falleri (Falerii Novi), as that site appears to have come into existence or prominence only after the war of 241-240 (§2.6.2). Inscriptions from this site in the Faliscan alphabet have *always* been classed as Late Faliscan unless there is a positive reason not to do so. Late Faliscan also comprises *(b)* all inscriptions in the Faliscan alphabet that can with reasonable certainty be dated to the period after the war of 241-240. These inscriptions are therefore assumed to date from between *c.*240-220 and the middle of the second century. The Late Faliscan

inscriptions are: *(a)* LF **213**, **220-230**, **232** (partly), **234-236**, and **242-249** from S. Maria di Falleri (Falerii Novi); *(b)* LF **112** from Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres), LF **329-337** from Carbognano-Vallerano (LF **335** may be a *falsum*), LF **378-380**, **382-384**, and probably also LF? **381**, from Civitella S. Paolo.

The remaining inscriptions are either in the Latin or in the Etruscan alphabet. Those in the Latin alphabet are *a priori* more likely to date from the period after *c.*240, but in many cases this date cannot be positively established. Also, there are inscriptions in the Latin alphabet that are obviously earlier than *c.*240, such as Lat **268**, on a fourth-century strigilis found at Corchiano, showing that it is dangerous to assume *a priori* a date after *c.*240. The inscriptions in the Latin alphabet have therefore been classed as follows:

(6) the **Latino-Faliscan** group (**LtF**, 33-38 inscriptions) comprises the inscriptions in the Latin alphabet from the ager Faliscus. Inscriptions in the Latin alphabet from the ager Faliscus have *always* been classed as Latino-Faliscan (and thus as representing a local form of Latin) unless they show linguistic features that are not in accordance with those encountered in the Faliscan inscriptions. The Latino-Faliscan inscriptions are: LtF **63**, **140**, **171-174**, and **205,** from Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres) and surroundings, LtF **215**, **231-233**, **239**, from S. Maria di Falleri (Falerii Novi) and surroundings, LtF **277-278**, **288**, **290**, **292**, **294** and **299-301** from Corchiano and surroundings, LtF **325-327** from Carbognano-Vallerano, LtF **328** from Fabbrica di Roma, LtF **340-345** from Grotta Porciosa, and LtF **377** from Ponzano. Either Middle Faliscan or Latino-Faliscan are MF/LtF **21** from Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres), and MF/LtF **253**, **277**, and **278** from Corchiano. Either Middle or Late Faliscan or Latino-Faliscan are MLF/LtF **241** and **252** from the surroundings of S. Maria di Falleri (Falerii Novi). Several Latino-Faliscan inscriptions consist only of abbreviations (LtF **172**, **174**, **205**, **241**, **277-278**, **294**, **342-345**, 12 inscriptions in all) and can therefore not be evaluated linguistically.

(7) the **Capenate** group (**Cap**, 72 inscriptions) comprises the inscriptions in the Latin alphabet from the ager Capenas. Inscriptions in the Latin alphabet from the ager Capenas have *always* been classed as Capenate unless they show linguistic features that are not in accordance with those encountered in the Faliscan inscriptions: 'Capenate' is therefore a counterpart to 'Latino-Faliscan'. The Capenate inscriptions are: Cap **386-392** and **394-430** from Capena, Cap **431**, **433**, **435**, **437**, **439-455** from Lucus Feroniae, Cap **457-459** and **461-462** and **465-466** of unknown Capenate origin. Either Middle or Late Faliscan or Capenare are MLF/Cap **474*-476*** of unknown origin. Most Capenate inscriptions only consist of abbreviations (Cap **386**, **395-398**, **400-403**, **405-412**, **414-419**, **424-429**, **437-457**, **458-459**, 53 inscriptions in all) and can therefore not be evaluated for linguistic features.

(8) the **Latin** group (**Lat**, 19 inscriptions) comprises the inscriptions in the Latin alphabet that show linguistic features that are not compatible with those found in the inscriptions in the Faliscan alphabet: many of these can be dated with some degree of

accuracy to the middle of the second century or later. The Latin inscriptions comprise: Lat **216-219**, **237-238**, **240**, **250**, and **251** from S. Maria di Falleri (Falerii Novi) and surroundings; Lat **268** (an import), Lat **291** and **295-296** (both imports) from Corchiano and surroundings; Lat **393** from Capena, Lat **432**, **434**, **436**, **438**, and **456** from Lucus Feroniae; and **477*-478*** (both imports) of unknown origin.

It may be argued that the distinction between Latino-Faliscan and Capenate on the one hand and Latin on the other is too subtle. The distinction between the two groups is certainly not arbitrary, however, and allows, where necessary, to distinguish between the inscriptions that can be considered to show dialect features and those that do not.

(9) the **Etruscan** group (**Etr**, 51-72 inscriptions) comprises the inscriptions in the Etruscan alphabet that *also* show Etruscan features in the morphology, phonology, or lexicon. These inscriptions, presented separately in chapter 19, are: Etr **I-XVIII** from Narce, Etr **XIX** from Mazzano Romano, Etr **XX-XXIV** from Nepi and surroundings, Etr **XXV-XXXI** from Civita Castellana (Etr **XXXI** may be a *falsum*), Etr **XXXII-XLI** from Corchiano and surroundings, Etr **XLII** from Vignanello, Etr **XLIII** from Rignano Flaminio, Etr **XLIV** from Monte Laceto, Etr **XLV** from Lucus Feroniae, and Etr **XLVI-LI** of unknown origin. Either Middle Faliscan or Etruscan are MF/Etr **37**, **61** (virtually illegible), **64**, **66-67**, **77**, and **199**, from Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres), and MF/Etr **256**, **264**, **267**, **279-280**, **282**, and **287** from Corchiano and surroundings. Either Middle or Late Faliscan or Etruscan are MLF/Etr **208-209** from the wider surroundings of Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres) and MLF/Etr **289** from the wider surroundings of Corchiano, and MLF/Etr **356-357** from the Gallese-Borghetto area.

Two special cases are LF/Lat **214** and Sab **468***. In LF/Lat **214**, the alphabet is Faliscan: the language, however, is Latin, without any dialect features that are specifically Faliscan, and the inscription has therefore been classed as LF/Lat. Sab **468*** is of South Etrurian and perhaps Capenate origin, but shows so many Sabellic features that it can without problems be classed as a Sabellic, perhaps Sabine or Umbrian, inscription. Added to the edition only to *reject* their connection with Faliscan are **479†** (early Latin, of unknown South Etrurian origin), **480†** (early Sabellic, probably Palaeo-Umbrian, from the La Tolfa area), **481†** (perhaps Sabellic, from Foglia, near Magliano Sabino), and **482†-484†** (Latin, from Ardea).

11.1.4. The material divided according to type. The material can also be divided into groups according to the type of inscription: sepulchral inscriptions, inscriptions on moveable objects, dedications, and public inscriptions.

***(1)* Sepulchral inscriptions.** By far the greatest group of Faliscan inscriptions is formed by the sepulchral inscriptions. These are all from the chamber-tombs cut into the relatively soft tuff of the steep rock-face of the gorges or the sides of the hollow roads of the area. These tombs were chambers of varying size, sometimes with a decorated

entrance or façade on the outside, or even a porticus or antechamber. Inside the tomb, the deceased were buried in loculi cut into the walls, which could number well over 30, after which the loculi were closed with vertically placed roof-tiles (see below under *(c)*). For descriptions of such tombs, see e.g. Ward-Perkins & Frederiksen 1957 *passim*, and Colonna 1990:127-35 (short overview and typology, with clear illustrations). The inscriptions show that the tomb or the chamber was designated with the word *cela* (MF **12**, **83-84**, MLF **285**) = Latin *cella*, while the loculi or the places in the loculi were designated as *lete* (MF **285**: the word probably also occurs in MF **17** and perhaps in MLF **361**) = Latin *lecti*: see also §6.2.*8,39*.[178]

(a) Inscriptions on the exterior of the tomb. The first type of sepulchral inscription encountered in these tombs consists of the inscriptions on the *outside* of the tomb, either over or beside the entrance, or in the porticus. Of this type, there are 10 instances: MF **11-12**, **13**, **79**, **83-85** from Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres), MLF **285** and LtF **288** from the surroundings of Corchiano, and LtF **251** from the surroundings of S. Maria di Falleri (Falerii Novi). The aim of these inscriptions was apparently to name the first or most important owner of the tomb, or perhaps more precisely, of its burial rights. They can consist of a name in the genitive (MF **11**, **13**) or of a name in the genitive followed by the word *cela* 'the tomb of ...' (MF **12**, **83-84**, MLF **285**), and thus correspond to the Etruscan inscriptions with *σuθi* (see §8.10.3). A few simply consist of one name in the nominative (MF **79**, and probably also LtF **288**, possibly also MF **85**). Two contain mention of burial rights: MLF **285** reads *[---]fate cela · lete zot xxiiii* 'the tomb of ...fas: there are 24 *lecti*', while Lat **251** is even more elaborate, reading *l · uecilio · uo · f · et* | *po[l]ae · abelese* | *lectu · i · datuș* | *[. ·]uecilio · l · f · et · plenese* | *lectu · i · amplius · nihil* | *inuiteis · l · c · leuieis · l · f* | *et · quei · eos · parentaret* | *ne · anteponat* 'to Lucius Vecilius son of Volta and to Paula Abellensis, one *lectus* is given; to ... Vecilius son of Lucius and to Plenes, one *lectus*: let no one place anything in front against the wishes of Lucius and Gaius Laevius sons of Lucius, and those who venerate them as ancestors'.

The inscriptions *inside* the tomb were placed either on the wall (27 instances) or on the tiles that closed the loculus (181-184 instances). They had a function that was related to but slightly different from that of the inscriptions on the outside of the tombs: obvious though it may seem, they were there to indicate the identity of the deceased – and hardly anything else. The tombs were family tombs, re-used for generations, and the inscriptions had to make it clear who was buried were, with regard to burial rights, with regard to deciding which loculi could be cleared, and perhaps with regard to ancestor-sacrifices (cf. Lat **251**, quoted above). The inscriptions therefore consist of little more than the names of the deceased (sometimes joined by *-cue*), often with their filiation,

[178] Peruzzi (1967a) interpreted *[---]fatecela* in MF **285** (see below) as *[---]f atecela*, which would give a plausible word **a(n)tecela* = **antecella* for the porticus, but the text is in my view to be read with Herbig (*CIE* 8391) as *[---]fate cela* '...fatis cella'.

and sometimes with the formula *hec cupa(n)t* 'lie(s) here' added at the end. In the case of married women not buried together with their husband, the name of the husband was often explicitly indicated (cf. §7.4.2).

These inscriptions therefore have a very different function from the roadside sepulchral inscriptions known e.g. from Latium. Although the Faliscan tombs were often conspicuous, with decorated façades cut into the rock-face, the inscriptions could be seen only by those who had business inside the tomb, and as a consequence they did not have the function of drawing the attention of passers-by. Decoration is therefore very scarce (occurring only in MF **80** and **89**, and LF **223**), *carmina epigraphica* are absent,[179] and the mention of *honores* in Middle Faliscan inscriptions is limited to MF **90** and perhaps MF **91**. In the inscriptions from the period after *c.*240, there are *cursus honorum*, some quite elaborate, in LF **242-243**, **245**, **247-249**, LtF **231** and **233**, LtF **232** and **239**, and Lat **219** and **237-238**, all from S. Maria di Falleri and surroundings: these are in all probability due to Roman influence.

(b) Inscriptions on the walls of the tombs. The inscriptions on the walls of the tomb could either be cut or painted, over, under, or beside the loculi to which they belonged. Cut are MF **40**, **47**, **82**, **86-87**, **195-198** from Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres), MLF **302-303** from Vignanello, and MLF **346** from the surroundings of Grotta Porciosa; painted are MF **15-19** (the tomb of the *gentes Neronia* and *Firmia*) **48-54** (the tomb of the *gens Aufilia*), **57**, **80-81**, and **88-89** from Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres), and MF **347-353** (the tomb of *gens Ara(n)tia*) from Grotta Porciosa. Among these inscriptions, special mention should be made of MF **17**, *· iii · l[---]---]naį[?---]....]o uxo*, which apparently mentions burial rights (*· iii · l[---]* = 'three beds ...' or 'the third bed ...'), and of MF **40**, *[---]o cicio · cicoi : cupat : ifra*, where the usual formula *hec cupat* has been adapted to make it clear that the inscription belongs to the loculus underneath.

(c) Inscriptions on the tiles covering the loculi. The majority of the sepulchral inscriptions (181-184 instances) is made up by the sepulchral inscriptions on one to four of the tiles that covered the loculus. These roof-tiles (*tegulae*[180]) were rectangular slabs of fired clay with flanges running along on the long sides. In the period of the Faliscan inscriptions, two main types of clay appear, one a hard reddish pink- to brown-firing clay, the other a friable yellow-firing one that is very liable to crumbling and flaking. The measures of these tiles vary from 40-48 cm in width with an average of *c.*45 cm (i.e., approximately a Roman *sesquipes*), by a length of 60-70 cm with an average *c.*68 cm (i.e., just over two Roman *pedes*). For descriptions of such tiles from South

[179] Peruzzi (1964d:310-1) unconvincingly tried to interpret the very fragmentary MF **91** as a *carmen epigraphicum*.

[180] Peruzzi (1964d:310-1), in his interpretation of MF **91** as a *carmen epigraphicum*, suggested interpreting the *imr[* read by Gamurrini (1883:166) as *im(b)r[* = Latin *imbrex*, but the *imbrex* is not the tile, but the semi-circular cover laid over the joint between two tiles.

Etruria see R. Bloch 1955:56, 1976:162-3, Ostenberg 1969:103, Murrey-Threipland & Torelli 1970:85-6, and Potter 1976:162.

The inscriptions on these tiles are mostly on the back (non-flanged) side, especially when the inscription covered more than one tile. Most were inscribed lengthwise, i.e. with the text running between the flanges along the length of the tile: only a few were written across. Usually, these inscriptions are painted, either directly onto the tile, or on a layer of plaster covering the tiles.[181] Of this type of inscription, there are 164-167 instances from all periods and localities: MF **14**, **39**, **41-43**, **56**, **90-108**, **136-139**, **141-170**, **175-194**, **211** from Civita Castellana and surroundings, **265**, **297-298**, **305-319**, MLF **339**, **358-360**, **364-366**, LF **220-230**, **232**, **234-236**, **242-249**, **329-337**, LtF **140**, **171**, **173**, **231-232**, **233**, **299-301**, **325-328**, **341**, LtF **172**, **174**, **232**, **239**, **340**, **342-345**, Lat **237-238**, Etr **XLIII**, and probably also MF **55**, **135**, and **212** (where complete descriptions are lacking). In only 17 instances, the inscriptions were scratched into the tile rather than painted, a custom limited to the northern ager Faliscus: MF **257-258**, **266**, **269-272**, **275-276**, and Etr **XXXIV-XXXV** from Corchiano, MLF **324** from Fabbrica di Roma, MLF **338** and **354-355** from Grotta Porciosa, MLF **361-362** of unknown northern Faliscan origin. With the possible exception of MLF **361**, these scratched inscriptions all appear to have been written on one tile each. Interestingly, the inscriptions that were scratched are often associated with clearly Etruscan linguistic features (§9.2.3), whereas among the painted inscriptions there are few that show such features.

A complicating factor from an epigraphic point of view is that these tiles were sometimes re-used and can therefore have multiple inscriptions. In some cases, the tiles were re-used for the same loculus (as in LF **222-223** and LF **224-225**), but apparently sometimes tiles were re-used for an altogether unrelated inscription. Re-use could take the form of *(a)* using the other side of the tile, as in MF **136-137**, **138-139**, **144-145**, **156-157**, and **297-298**; *(b)* washing over the *titulus prior* with plaster and the painting the *titulus posterior* on this second layer, as in MF **90-91**, LF **222-223**, **224-225**, and **228-229**, or *(c)* just painting over the *titulus prior*, as in MLF **365-366**. In the case of LF/LtF **232-233**, the tiles were apparently re-used several times, with the *titulus postumus* painted on a coat of plaster that was washed over several *tituli priores*. This re-use makes the inscriptions unclear, especially when the *titulus prior* was washed over with a new coat of plaster: depending on the state of the plaster, it is either the *titulus prior* (as in LF **228-229**) or the *titulus posterior* (as in MF **90-91**) that is illegible. To complicate the matter even further, when the tiles were re-used for the same loculus, they could be placed back in a different order, as in LtF **231**.

[181] As many tiles are preserved only as fragments, and in some cases no data are given on the way the inscriptions were painted, the data are insufficient to specify the material accordingly: where known to me, such data are given under the individual inscriptions.

(d) Exceptional cases of sepulchral inscriptions are Lat **250**, which also mentions the consuls of 106 BCE and Lat **393**, which also mentions a date.

(2) Inscriptions on movable objects: The inscriptions on movable objects are mostly found on pottery. They fall into several categories:

(a) Signatures (19 instances). In some, the maker of the object is explicitly named as such, as in *mama z[e]xtos med f[.f]ịqod* in EF **1**, *tele*[1-2?] med fifiked* EF **9**, *oufilo : clipeaio : letei : fileo : met : facet* MF **470*** (all three of the *iscrizioni parlanti*-type, for which see §8.9.2), *cauios frenaios faced* MF **471***, *ranazu zinaχe* Etr **III** and *c[e]ṛụr : purφiunaṣ* Etr **LI**. In other cases, the fact that the inscription is a signature is inferred from the fact that the inscription was added during the making of the object: *ac* MF? **111**, *ç cutri* MF **200**, *pleina* MF/Etr **199**, *vce* (?) MF/Etr **256** (a terracotta strigilis), *cel* Cap **386**, and *t · fourios · *[·]f* Lat **216** (a terracotta mould), *l · quinti* Lat **477***, *[c ·] popili* Lat **478***, *c · popil[i]* Lat **295**, and *c · popili meuanie* Lat **296**, and *evrs · ci* Etr **XXX**, all written on pottery objects before they were fired; *arθ[3-5]rẹ* MF/Etr **267** (stamped on a bronze strigilis) and *med · loucilios · feced* Lat **268** (engraved on a bronze strigilis), the latter another example of a signature of the *iscrizioni parlanti*-type.

(b) Besitzerinschriften (205 instances). This large group of inscriptions mainly consists of names scratched on pottery items. Such inscriptions have *always* been interpreted as *Besitzerinschriften* unless there are indications that they are to be interpreted otherwise. The name can be in the nominative, as in MF **22-27**, **73-75**, **259-260**, **371-372**, **376**, **473***, MF/Etr **264**, MLF **463-464**, LF **380**, **382**, Cap **388**, **390** (plural) **391-392**, **420**, **466**, **458**?, Sab **468***, and Etr **V**, **XI-XV**, and **XXI-XXII**; in the genitive, as in MF **20**, **34-36**, **45**, **58**, **69-71**, **72**? (plural), **109** (or a dedication?), **201**, **273**, **367-370**, **472***, MF? **261-262**, MF/Etr **67**, MLF **304**, **469***, LF **112**, **379**, **384** (plural), LtF **63**, Cap **387**, **399**, **413**?, **423**?, **430**, **465** (plural), MLF/Cap **475***, and Etr **XVI**, **XXIII**, **XXXII**, **XXXVII**, and probably Etr **XXIV**; (either nominative or genitive are MF/Etr **64**, **279-280**, **282**, and Etr **XLV**), or abbreviated: MF **274**, **373-375**, MF? **28-30**, **33**, **38**, **44**, **46**, **68**, **76**, **111**, **131**, **133-134**, **203-204**, **254**, **255**, **281**, **283-284**, MF/Etr **37**, MF/LtF **253**, **277-278**, MLF **286**, **320-323**, **460**, MLF? **474***, MLF/LtF **241**, **252**, LF? **381**, Cap **395-398**, **400-403**, **405-412**, **414-419**, **424-429**, **439-457**, **459**, **461**, LtF **294**, and Etr **VI-VII**, and possibly also Etr **II**. Special cases are *locia eiṃoi* MLF **293** and *vultasi* Etr **XLII**, both of which appear to contain datives: see §8.8.1 Possibly also *Besitzerinschriften* are MF **110**, **263**, MF? **78**, **128-129**, **130**, **202**, MF/Etr **62**, **66**, **77**, **287**, Cap **423**, LtF **292**.

A special group are the *Besitzerinschriften* of the *iscrizione parlante*-type, *eco quto *e uotenosio* MF **3**, *eko lartos* EF **6**, and *eko kaisiosio* EF **7**, *aiṃiosio eqo* EF **464***, *m adicio eco* LF **378**, *eco tulie* LF **383**, *a · írpios · esú* Cap **389**, and *k · sares · esú* Cap **404** , and *açiuaiom esú* Cap **465** (the last three with *esú(m)* = dialectal Latin *esum* 'I am'): see §8.8.2. [The area has also yielded several Etruscan *Besitzerinschriften* of the *iscrizioni parlanti*-type: *mi qutun lemausnas* Etr **III**, *cnav**es mi* Etr **XXVI**, *mi alsi*is*

mi Etr **XL**, *velelias mi staslar {v?}* Etr **XLIX**, and *mlakas i se·la i aska mi eleivana* Etr **XLVI** and *ṃi tafina lazia vilianas* Etr **XVII**, where the type of vase is named as well (cf. *ạcṛẹz cat* MF/Etr **67** where *cat* may be an abbreviation of *catinus*).[182]]

(c) Dedications. The dedicatory inscriptions (on movable objects or otherwise) are discussed under *(3)*. Note that in some cases the only indication that an inscription is to be interpreted as dedicatory is the fact that it has been found in a *stips* or in the ruins of a temple or sanctuary.

(d) Part of the decoration (12 instances). In several cases, the inscriptions can be regarded as part of the decoration of the object. In this category come, first of all, the paired inscriptions *foied · uino · pipafo · cra · carefo* · MF **59** and *foied · uino · ‹pi›pafo · cra · carẹ[f]o* · MF **60**. Other inscriptions that come into this category are the inscriptions that label mythological figures, *canumede [die]s pater cupi‹d›o menerua* MF **62**. [Etruscan instances of such inscriptions are *φerse* Etr **L** (painted on vases), *alcestei atmite* Etr **XXVII**, *θevrumines hercle ariaθa vile menrva mine* Etr **XXVIII**, *turṃṣ tinia apulu* **XXXI**, *aχle aivas* Etr **XXXIII**, *uslẹ*es turan acaviser setlans* **XLI** (engraved on mirrors), and *herkle kukne* Etr **XXV** (engraved on a gem).] More or less into the same category falls *caui : tertinei :* | *posticnu* MLF/Cap **474***, on a bronze statuette base.

(e) More elaborate inscriptions from the Early Faliscan period. Several of the Early Faliscan inscriptions of the early period are longer and more varied in content. Thus, *ceres : far *[0-2]e[1-3]tom : *[3-5]uf[1-4]ui[..]m : *[3-4]*ad euios : mama z[e]xtos med f[.f]ịqod : praụ[i]os urnam : soç[iai] porded karai : eqo ụrneḷ[a ti?]tela fitaidupes : arcentelom hutṇ[c?]ilom : pe : para[i? .] douiad* EF **1** contains at least a maker's signature (*mama z[e]xtos med f[.f]ịqod*) and perhaps dedicatory elements in the sense that *ceres* is mentioned, but it also records that the vase was a gift (*praụ[i]os urnam : soç[iai] porded karai*). At least partly a *Besitzerinschrift* is *eco quto *e uotenosio titias duenom duenas salue[to]d uoltene :* MF **3**. Unclear are *propramom : prameḍ [u]mom pramod pramed umom : pramod propramọḍ : pramod umọ[m]* EF **2** and *tulate tulas urate* EF/Etr **385**, which appear to contain word-plays, and *e**azieputilepe ḳapena rufia ḳalẹptia ues saluete sociai ofetios kaios uelos amanos salueto salues seitei ofeteqemeneseseie* EF **4**. [Examples of more elaborate early Etruscan inscriptions from the agri Faliscus and Capenas are Etr **IV**, **VIII**, **IX**, **X**, **XIX**, and **XLVII-XLVIII**.]

(f) Alphabetaries. The area has yielded two early alphabetaries that are apparently neither Etruscan nor Latin or Faliscan (for their importance as data on the development of the Faliscan alphabet see §11.2.2): *abcdevzḥθik* Etr **I** and *abçḍevzḥθiḳsi*p*qχfu* Etr **XLIV**. MF/Etr **110** (*aie**) has been read as *acev* by Colonna (1990:136) and has been classed by him and by Rix (*ET* Fa 9.3) as an Etruscan alphabetary.

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[182] Perhaps in some way related to this type are *eitam* EF **5** and *tafina* Etr **XXXVI**, both of which appear to consist only of a word denoting the type of vase.

(3) Dedicatory inscriptions. Dedicatory inscriptions from the periods before *c.*240 are few, and all from Civita Castellana. The only clear cases are from the temples of Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres): *apolonos* EF **10** and *anae lauvlcies* Etr **XXIX** from the Tempio Maggiore at Colle di Vignale, and the Titus Mercus-dedications MF **113-126** and the cup inscribed *sacra* MF **127** from the temple at Contrada Celle. Another possible dedicatory inscription is *[---]ạltai i* MF **109** from the Tempio Maggiore at Colle di Vignale, and perhaps *ace** (*acẹ*?) MF/Etr **110**, if this is an alphabetary. From these temples are several cups inscribed with names that could be the names of dedicants but could also be *Besitzerinschriften* that predated the dedication of the object. They are LF **112** from the temples at Colle di Vignale, MF? **133-134** from the temple at Lo Scasato, and MF? **128-131** from the temple at Sassi Caduti.

Found in tombs at Civita Castellana, but also sometimes interpreted as dedications are *loifiṛtato* MF **31** and *loifirtato* MF **32**, interpreted either as the genitive of the name of a deity *Libertas* or as dedications on the occasion of enfranchisement, and *apolo* MF **65**, which has also been interpreted as a (abbreviated?) slave-name. Perhaps not dedicatory in the stricter sense, but apparently mentioning gods and perhaps calling on their benevolence are parts of EF **1**. Perhaps dedicatory, too, is the Etruscan inscription *mi cipaχ* Etr **XVIII**.

The later periods yield several Latin public dedications from S. Maria di Falleri (Falerii Novi): LF/Lat **214** to Minerva, Lat **217-218** to the Capitoline Triad, and Lat **219** to Apollo. Private dedications are from the ager Capenas: LtF **377** from Ponzano and Cap **421** from Capena, both to an otherwise unknown *Mars Numesius*, and the series of dedicatory inscriptions to Feronia from the shrine at Lucus Feroniae, Cap/Lat **431**, Lat **432**, Cap **433**, Lat **434**, Cap **435**, Lat **436,** Cap **437**, and Lat **438**, several of which (Cap/Lat **431**, Cap **435**, and Lat **436**) were made by freedmen and freedwomen.

(4) Inscriptions on public works. Most of what can be classed as inscriptions on public works consists of names that are cut into the sides of the hollow roads of the area. These are probably the names of magistrates responsible for the construction or maintenance of these roads (cf. Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:141-2), or of the surrounding fields: Lat **291**, *c · egnatius · s[ex ·] f · prata | faciunda · coirauit*, in fact mentions the reclaiming of pasture-land. Some mentions only one name, like MLF **207** and **210**, from the wider surroundings of Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres), and Lat **291**, and Etr **XXXVIII** and **XXXIX**, from the surroundings of Corchiano, others two, like MLF **206** from the surroundings of Civita Castellana and LtF **290** from the surroundings of Corchiano. Cristofani (1988:19), pointing to the care with which several of these inscriptions are written, also attributes a propaganda value to these texts. An interesting point is that two of these inscriptions, Etr **XXXVIII** and **XXXIX**, are written in the Etruscan alphabet, implying that using this in a public inscription in the ager Faliscus was, if not an everyday occurrence, at least a possibility. Unfortunately, none of these inscriptions can be dated with any accuracy. Several other roadside inscriptions are

unclear, and may not in fact belong in this group: LtF **205** (abbreviations only), MLF/Etr **208** and **209** (only two letters), from the surroundings of Civita Castellana, MLF/Etr **289** (at least one name) from Corchiano, and MLF/Etr **356** and **357** from between Gallese and Borghetto.

The only other clear instance of a building-inscription is *[..]· hirmio · m[·f ·] ce · tertineo · c ·f · pret[ore(s) ?---]* LF **213**, which according to Garrucci (1877:199) was written in mosaic across the entrance of a small building at S. Maria di Falleri (Falerii Novi): this recalls the Oscan inscription Po 14, cut across the entrance to the cella of the temple of Apollo at Pompeii. Two other possible building-inscriptions are *[---]· l*[---]* MF **132**, the text in the terracotta frieze from the temple at Contrada Celle, which is unfortunately too damaged to give any clue to its contents, and *[---]ilio · c[·f ?---]* LtF **215** from S. Maria di Falleri, which is written on a strip of bronze, a material that in the ager Faliscus is known only from official inscriptions. A much later building-inscription from the ager Capenas is first-century Lat **456** from Lucus Feroniae.

11.1.5. The material according to alphabet. The inscriptions from the area can also be divided according to alphabet. Note that a distinction according to alphabet is an epigraphic or orthographic distinction, not a linguistic one, although it can serve as such in an ancillary role to linguistic arguments. The Faliscan alphabet is discussed in detail in §11.2. The distinguishing features between the Faliscan and the Etruscan and Latin alphabets are as follows:

(1) Faliscan vs. Etruscan alphabet: The Faliscan alphabet is distinguished from the Etruscan alphabet *(a)* by the use of *d* and *o* in the Faliscan, but not in the Etruscan alphabet, *(b)* by the use of *v* and *χ* in the Etruscan, but not in the Faliscan alphabet (*θ* occasionally also occurs in the Faliscan alphabet); *(c)* by the differences in the shape of the *f* (Faliscan 𐌚 : Etruscan 𐌘), and of the *r* (Early Faliscan 𐌐, Middle and Late Faliscan 𐌙 : Etruscan 𐌛).

(2) Faliscan vs. Latin alphabet: The Faliscan alphabet is distinguished from the Latin alphabet *(a)* by the use of *b* in the Latin, but not in the Faliscan alphabet; *(b)* by the use of *z* in the Faliscan, but not in the Latin alphabet; *(c)* by the use of *cu* in the Faliscan, but of *qu* in the Latin alphabet to render /k^{u}/; *(d)* by the occasional use of *θ* in the Faliscan, but not in the Latin alphabet, *(e)* by the difference in shape of the *a* (Early Faliscan 𐌀 or 𐌁, Middle and Late Faliscan 𐌁 or 𐌙 : Latin 𐌀) and the *f* (Faliscan 𐌚 : Latin 𐌅) and *(f)* finally by the ductus, which is normally sinistroverse in inscriptions in the Faliscan, but normally dextroverse in inscriptions in the Latin alphabet (although there are exceptions to this (see below), which is why this feature is placed last).

According to these criteria, the inscriptions can be divided as follows:

(1) Inscriptions in the Faliscan alphabet: *(a)* dextroverse ductus (normal in the earliest inscriptions): EF **1-4**, MF? **129;** *(b)* sinistroverse ductus: EF **6-10**, EF? **4647**; MF **11-20**,

MF **22-27**, MF? **29**, MF **31-32**, MF? **33**, MF **34-36**, MF **39-43**, MF? **44**, MF **47-54**, MF **56-60**, MF **62**, MF **65**, MF **69-71**, MF **75**, MF **79-91**, MF **94-103**, MF **105-107**, MF **113-127**, MF? **130**, MF **132**, MF **136-139**, MF **141-165**, MF **167-170**, MF **177-178**, MF **180-185**, MF **193-197**, MF **200**, MF **257-260**, **263**, **265-266**, **269-276**, MF? **284**, **367-372**, **376**, MF **470*-473***; MLF **206-207**, **210-212**, **285**, **293**, **297-298**, **302**, **303-324**, **338-339**, **346-355**, **360-366**, **460**, **469***, MLF/Cap **476***; LF **213**, **220-230**, **232** (partly), **234-235**, **242-245**, **247-249**, **329-337**, **378-380**, **382-384**, LF/Lat **214**; Etr **XLIII**; *(c)* probably in the Faliscan alphabet too, but too fragmentary to show any distinguishing features (all sinistroverse ductus): MF **92-93**, **166**, **175-176**, **179**, **186-192**; *(e)* alphabet unknown but probably Faliscan: LF **246**.

(2) Inscriptions that can be read as being in the Faliscan or the Etruscan (but not the Latin) alphabet: *(a)* sinistroverse ductus: EF **5**, EF/Etr **385**; MF? **30**, **38**, MF **45**, MF? **46**, MF **55**, **72-74**, **104**, **108-110**, MF? **111**, **128**, **133-134**, MF **198**, **201**, **203-4** MF? **254-255**, **261-262**, **281**; MF/Etr **61**, **64**, **77**, **199**, **208-209**, **256**, **264**, **267**, **279-280**, **282**, **356**; MLF **286**; MLF/Etr **356-357**; LF **112**, **236**, LF? **381**.

(3) Inscriptions in the Etruscan alphabet: *(a)* dextroverse ductus: Etr **I-VIII**, **X**, **XIX-XX**, **XLIV**, **XLVI-XLVII**, MF/Etr **67**, **256**; *(b)* sinistroverse ductus: Etr **IX**, **XI-XVIII**, **XXI-XLII**, **XLV**, **XLVIII-XLI**, MF/Etr **37**, **66**, **264**, **267**, **279**, MLF/Etr **289**, **357**.

(4) Inscriptions that can be read as being in the Faliscan or the Latin (but not the Etruscan) alphabet: *(a)* dextroverse ductus: MF? **28**, **68**, **76**, **78**, **131**, **283**, MF **373-375**, **470***; MF/LtF **21**, **253**, MLF/LtF **241**; *(b)* sinistroverse ductus: MF? **202**; MLF **463-464**; MLF/Cap **474***.

(5) Inscriptions in the Latin alphabet: *(a)* dextroverse ductus: LtF **63**, **171-174**, **205**, **215**, **231**, **232** (partly), **233**, **239**, **251**, **277-278**, **290**, **292**, **294**, **299-301**, **325-328**, **340-345**, **377**, and probably LtF **288**; Cap **386-393**, **395-412**, **414-421**, **424-431**, **433**, **435**, **437**, **439-455**, **457-459**, **461-462**, **465-466**, MLF/Cap **475***, and probably Cap **413** and **422-423**; Lat **216-219**, **435**, **237-238**, **240**, **250**, **268**, **291**, **295-296**, **432**, **434**, **438**, **456**, **478***; *(b)* sinistroverse ductus: LtF **140**, MF/LtF **253**.

(6) other: *(a)* Sabellic alphabet **468***; *(b)* alphabet and/or ductus not reported: MF **135**; MLF **358-359**; MLF/LtF **252**; MLF/Cap **394**; LF **246**; *(c)* illegible: MLF/Etr? **287**.

11.2. Alphabet and orthography

11.2.1. The Faliscan alphabet. From the earliest inscriptions onwards, a distinct alphabet was used, which is found in inscriptions from the seventh century (EF **1-4**) until the mid-second century BCE (LF/Lat **214**). Although, like the other alphabets of ancient Italy, the Faliscan alphabet is derived from a West Greek alphabet, and is therefore what was once known as a 'red alphabet' (after the map at the end of

Kirchoff 1887), this alphabet differed both from the Etruscan and from the Latin alphabet in the letters it contained and in the shape of some of these letters, as has already been briefly described in the previous section. From the point of ethnic identity, this will have meant that a text written in the Faliscan alphabet may have been a marker of this identity: it may even have been regarded as such by its users, as may appear from its use in LF/Lat **214**.

When the Faliscan inscriptions were discovered in the middle of the nineteenth century (Garrucci 1854, 1860) there was nothing short of marvel at the new orthography with its sinistroverse ductus and its until then unknown sign for *f*, the 'arrow-*f*' ↑. Many of the early studies were preoccupied with the alphabet, as it had several features that were alien to the Latin and Etruscan alphabets. Interest in the alphabet largely ceased after the establishment of the Faliscan alphabet and its orthographic conventions in the studies of Thulin (1907) and Herbig (*CIE*). In the last decennia, much study has been devoted to the development of the earliest alphabets of Central Italy, which may shed new light on the development of the Faliscan alphabet and its relations to the other early alphabets of the surrounding areas: in view of the scope of this study, which is linguistic, I discuss the origin of the alphabet only briefly.

11.2.2. The origins of the Faliscan alphabet. The Faliscan alphabet, from its earliest occurrences onwards, differed markedly from the Etruscan, and, to a lesser degree, from the Latin alphabet, not just in the shape of the letters, but also in the letters that it consisted of. The discussion of the origins of the Faliscan and Latin alphabets has therefore concentrated on whether these alphabets were developed directly from a West Greek prototype, independently from the Etruscan adaptations of the Greek alphabet, or were derived from an early Etruscan alphabet that acted as an intermediary, and not directly from a Greek model. The differences between the Faliscan and on the Etruscan alphabets must therefore be taken into account.

***(1)* The occlusive series.** The (West) Greek alphabet from which the Etruscan, Latin and Faliscan alphabets were all (ultimately) derived must had three sets of signs for three occlusive series, i.e., the voiceless *π τ κ*, the voiced series *β δ γ*, and the voiceless aspirated series *φ θ χ*. In addition, it also contained *ϙ*, which must already have been a *lettre morte* as the Greek dialects had by this time long lost the labiovelar occlusives.

The Etruscan, Latin, and Faliscan writing systems all adopted *γ* as *c*, which became the regular sign for /k/ (see below). All three writing systems also adopted *κ* as *k* and *ϙ* as *q*, and these signs were originally similarly used to denote /k/. Three signs for the same phoneme, however, proved to be an unsustainable degree of redundancy: in Etruscan, *q* disappeared after the earliest period, in Latin *k* disappeared apart from a few standardized abbreviations, while *q* was used only in the digram *qu* to denote /k^{u}/, while in Faliscan, *q* disappeared entirely and *k* was kept for onomastic abbreviations, and, later, to denote /g/ (§11.2.5.2).

The other two voiced occlusive signs, *β* and *δ*, were not adopted in the Etruscan alphabet, while in the Latin alphabet both signs were adopted as *b* and *d*. In the Faliscan alphabet on the other hand, *d* was retained but *b* was not. The most important reason for this was probably phonological: /b/ must have been one of the rarest phonemes in Faliscan, for /b/ ← PIE */b/ was very rare due to the rarity of PIE */b/ itself, while /b/ ← PIE */b^h/ was absent in Faliscan, where */b^h/ developed into /f/ (§3.4). Another reason for the retention of *d* and the discarding of *b* may have been morphological: the difference between /b/ and /p/ was morphologically irrelevant, and one sign could therefore be used for both phonemes, whereas the difference between /t/ and /d/ was morphologically relevant, since it formed the distinction between the primary and secondary endings of the third singular, /-t/ and /-d/ (§5.2.4.*1*-*2*).[183]

The signs *φ θ χ* that were present in the Greek model were adopted in the Etruscan, but not in the Latin or the Faliscan alphabet: although *θ* occasionally occurs in inscriptions in the Faliscan alphabet, there is no indication that the Faliscan alphabet retained *θ* as a *lettre morte* or an alternative to *t* or *d* (§11.2.5.*3*, §3.5.4).

(2) The letters **u v f.** Another difference between the Etruscan, Latin, and Faliscan alphabet were the letters *u*, *v* and *f*. Here, the model alphabet contained a sign υ and a sign ϝ, and no sign for /f/. The Etruscan alphabet followed this model closely in using *υ* as *u*, and ϝ as *v*; beside these two, a separate sign was developed for /f/. Latin and Faliscan differed from Etruscan in that they used *υ* for both /u/ and /u̯/; they differed from each other in that Latin used ϝ as *f* /f/, while Faliscan had a separate sign for *f*, the 'arrow-f' ↑, probably developed from a variant of Ꟊ. This 'arrow-*f*' has been regarded as emblematic of the Faliscan alphabet, so much so, in fact, that inscriptions that contain this sign have been regarded as Faliscan even when the language is clearly different (e.g. **480**† and **481**†; the sign has also been read in **479**†). It would appear, however, that the sign was *not* limited to the Faliscan alphabet: the sign perhaps occurred already in the 'Lower Tiber' alphabet (see below), and may have been in more general use in the area of the Lower Tiber basin. The Faliscan alphabet, however, happens to be the only alphabet of which a sufficient number of documents is preserved to show that here, at least, it was the standard shape of the *f*.

In view of these differences, it seems almost impossible to assume that the Faliscans took over their alphabet from the Etruscans: as e.g. Cristofani (1972:478) concluded, they must have formed their alphabet separately from contacts with the Greeks.

Wachter (1987:14-22), however, convincingly argues against this on the basis of the so-called 'C/K/Q-convention', the orthographic[184] convention found in early

[183] Probably because the Latin and Faliscan alphabets retained *d*, the shape of the letter *r* in these alphabets was never D, as it was in Etruscan, but of always of the types P R R.

[184] Wachter in my view rightly assumes that this convention was purely orthographical rather than due to a desire to render different phonetic realisations of /k/.

Etruscan, Latin, and Faliscan inscriptions to use *c* before *e* and *i*, *k* before *a*, and *q* before *o* and *u*. According to him, this convention could only have arisen in Etruscan, and its occurrence in Latin and Faliscan presupposes that it was taken over, together with the alphabet, from Etruscan. In his treatment of this matter, the Greek model had *π τ κ - β δ γ - φ θ χ*, with *ϙ* as a *lettre morte*. These letters were *all* adopted by the Etruscans when they adopted the alphabet from the Greeks. Since the Etruscan language did not require *β δ γ*, these would have become additional *lettres mortes*. The Greek model would probably already have had a convention of using *κ* before *α* and *ϙ* before *ο*: in fact, the existence of such a convention in Greek seems to be the only clear reason why *ϙ* was preserved at all in the Greek writing system. This convention was not only adopted by the Etruscans, using *k* and *q*, but was actually *expanded* by using the *lettre morte γ*, which now became another (and in fact completely redundant) sign for /k/, namely *c*.[185] This step is unlikely to have occurred in a language where *β δ γ* did *not* become *lettres mortes*: if the Latin and Faliscan alphabets had been derived directly from a Greek model with *β δ γ*, it is very difficult to see why only *β δ* would have been adopted and a redundant alternative sign *c* for /k/ created, while the obvious step would have been to employ *γ* as *g* for /g/. Note also that Latin as well as Faliscan had a phoneme /k^{u}/, so that it would likewise have been a very obvious step to use the *lettre morte ϙ* to render it: something which Latin eventually did, but Faliscan did not.

A problem with Wachter's theory is that *if* the Latin and Faliscan alphabets were to be derived from the (South) Etruscan alphabet in this way, there must have been a stage where the Etruscan alphabet had both the series *p t c/k/q* and *φ θ χ*, while it had not yet dropped the *lettres mortes b* and *d*. In addition to this, it must have had both *u* and *v* as well as the *lettre morte o*, as well as at least two signs for *s*, namely *s* and *ś* (Χ, which became the model for the Latin and Faliscan *x*). In short, the earliest Etruscan alphabet is assumed to have consisted of (at least) *a e i o u - p t c/k/q - b d - φ θ χ - m n l r - s ś z - v*, containing at least three *lettres mortes*, namely *o b d*, and two redundant letters, namely *c* and *q*.

Although this looks rather strained, there are two early alphabetaries from the Faliscan-Capenate area that appear to point to the existence of just such an alphabet:

ET Fa 9.1=Etr I from Narce (mid-seventh century)

dextroverse: *a b c d e v z ḥ? θ i k*

ET Fa 9.2=Etr **XLIV** from Capena (seventh century)

dextroverse: *ą b ç ḍ e v z h θ i ḳ s i *p? *q? χ f u*

Neither the order of the signs nor the choice of signs is in accordance with the conventional Etruscan alphabet. Pandolfini (in Pandolfini & Prosdocimi 1990:90-4) in

[185] According to Wachter (1987:17 n.33), even this part of the C/K/Q-convention may already have existed in the Greek model, as the oldest reported name of *γ* was *γέμμα*.

fact treats the second alphabetary separately as non-Etruscan, and the first as Etruscan only because the same vase is inscribed with the Etruscan (?) word *ara*. Although both alphabets appear to be incomplete and the second is damaged in the second half, they give *p? k/c/q? bd θχ* (and perhaps *φ*): not only that, they also contain both *v* and *u*, and in addition, an *f* that appears to be ↑, an early form of the arrow-*f*. It is very interesting to see that this *f* is added *at the end* of the alphabet (where new signs were added), while the alphabet still contained *v* as well.

Signs similar to those appearing in these alphabetaries appear in the seventh-century Sabellic ('Palaeoumbrian') inscriptions from Poggio Sommavilla, Um 2, and Magliano Sabino, Um 3, and in the La Tolfa inscription Um 4=Sab **480**† (*c*.530-525). Together with the Narce and Capena alphabetaries, they point to an alphabet used in the basin of the Lower Tiber which may have been the direct source of the Faliscan, the Latin, and the early Sabellic alphabet, and which shows several of the features required by Wachter's reconstruction. Interestingly, the form of the *f* differs in these three alphabets: Latin has a digram FH (perhaps indicating that this alphabet was adapted at an earlier stage than the other two, when there was not yet a separate sign for *f*), later switching to F, while Faliscan has ↑ from the earliest inscriptions onwards and shows no traces of ever having had a digram. The early Sabellic inscriptions, however, show ↑ in Um 4=Sab **480**†, but (Etruscan?) 8 in Um 2. If the sign ↑ remained in use in the not epigraphically attested Sabellic languages along the Lower Tiber, this could explain its occurrence in the (much later) inscription Lat (?) **481**† from Foglia, near Magliano Sabino.

In view of the subject of this study, the importance of this section on the origin of the Faliscan alphabet is relatively small. Yet the origins and adaptations of the early alphabets of the Lower Tiber basin show that the ager Faliscus was independent enough from the Etruscan cultural-linguistic influence to develop an alphabet of its own, and was likewise independent enough from the remainder of the Latin-speaking area to have done so separately.

11.2.3. Alphabet and orthography of the Early Faliscan inscriptions. The base Faliscan alphabet of the archaic period therefore consisted of the letters *a c d e f h i k l m n o p q r s t u x z*.[186] For the shape of these letters in the Early Faliscan inscriptions, see fig.11.1. *B* and *θ* do not occur in the Early Faliscan texts, and, although they occasionally occur in the Middle and Late Faliscan texts (§11.2.4, §11.2.5.*3*), I think this was due to influence from other orthographic traditions, not because they were *lettres mortes* in the Faliscan alphabet.

[186] Note that I give the letters in the order of a modern Latin alphabet: there are no Faliscan alphabetaries that show us whether Faliscan followed the Etruscan or the Latin alphabetical order, or an order of its own.

The Early Faliscan texts show the following orthographic features:

(1) Ductus. The ductus is dextroverse in the oldest inscriptions, but quite early on (already by the end of the sixth century) it changes to sinistroverse (see fig.11.1), as in the Etruscan inscriptions. The Latin alphabet made the reverse shift more or less during the same period.

(2) The C/K/Q-convention. In EF **1** this convention is observed: this inscription has *ceres*, *soc̣[iai]*, *arcentelom*, *karai*, as well as *f[.f]i̯qod* and *eqo* where *q* in all probability represents /g/. Similarly EF **467*** has *eqo*. In EF **3**, **4**, and **7**, the convention is partially observed: EF **3** has *quto*, but also *eco*; EF **4** has *sociai*, *k̨apena*, *k̨aleptia*, and *kaios*, but also *qe* in *seiteiofeteqemeneses*eie*; EF **7** has both *kaisiosio* and *eko*. The convention is not observed in EF **6**, which has *eko*, and in EF **9**, which has *fifiked*. It is perhaps significant that in most cases where the C/K/Q-convention is *not* observed, this involves cases where the phoneme rendered is not /k/, but /g/. Apart from the unintelligible *seiteiofeteqemeneses*eie*, all the 'deviations' are cases where /g/ has to be represented: *eco* EF **3**, *eko* EF **6**, **7**, *fifiked* EF **9**. This may be part of an early tendency to represent /g/ in some way. In the Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions, there are occasional tendencies to use *k* for /g/ (§11.2.5.2).

(3) Double letters. There is no indication that the double consonants or long vowels were expressed in writing. (Note that there are no words where this may be expected.)

(4) Word-division. The use of interpunction in this period is irregular. EF/Etr **5**, EF **8**, and EF **10** consist of one word only; EF **3**, **4**, **6**, **7**, **9**, and **467*** consist of two or more words, but have no interpunction at all, although in EF **3** a double interpunct *:* was added to divide the beginning and the end of this circular inscription. EF 1 and EF **2** use a triple interpunct *⁝*, but there appears to be no recognisable consistency in its use:

ceres [1]*⁝ far *[0-2]e[1-3]tom* [2]*⁝ *[3-5]uf[1-4]ui[..]m* [3]*⁝ *[3-4]*ad euios* [4]*⁝ mama z[e]xtos med f[.f]i̯qod* [5]*⁝ prau̯[i]os urnam* [6]*⁝ soc̣[iai] p̣orded karai* [7]*⁝ eqo u̯rnel̨[a ti?]tela fitaidupes* [8]*⁝ arcentelom huti[.]ilom* [9]*⁝ pe* [10]*⁝ para[i? .] douiad*

Interpunct 1 appears to separate the *nomen divinum* from the rest of the text, while interpuncts 4-5 and 5-7 appear to enclose sentences. Interpunct 9 on the other hand appears to separate the main verb from the rest of the sentence (?), while interpunct 10 appears to have been used to separate the reduplicative syllable from the root of the verb (cf. *vhe⁝vhaked CIL* I^2.3). The aim of interpuncts 3, 6, and 8 is unclear. The interpunction in this inscription has also been explained as indicating metric cola (Radke 1994:106-8), but I do not find this convincing. The use of the interpunct in EF 3, *propramom* [1]*⁝ prame̯d [u]mom pramod pramed umom* [2]*⁝ pramod propramo̯d* [3]*⁝ pramod umo̯[m]* is unclear.

(4) The use of z. For the use of *z* in *z[e]xtos* EF **1**, which may or may not render a specific allophone of /s/, see §3.5.3.

Fig.11.1. The alphabets of the Early Faliscan inscriptions.

11.2.4. The alphabet of the Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions. Between the Early Faliscan and the Middle Faliscan periods, the Faliscan alphabet undergoes several changes. Unfortunately, due to the lack of material from the fifth and early fourth centuries, the process of these changes itself cannot be documented.

(1) ***Ductus.*** The most obvious change is the change in ductus. Already during the Early Faliscan period there appears to be a change from dextroverse to sinistroverse, and in the Middle Faliscan inscriptions the normal ductus is sinistroverse. There are a few exceptions to this, most notably the late fourth-century MF **62**, where the dextroverse ductus is regarded as an archaism by Wachter (1987:367-9). Since there change to sinistroverse ductus started in the sixth century, I doubt whether this is possible: it may be that the ductus 'fluctuated'. Several other inscriptions of the Middle and Late Faliscan periods also show dextroverse ductus, most notably MF? **129** (in the Faliscan alphabet). Other examples are MF? **28**, **68**, **76**, **78**, **131**, **283**, MF **373-375**, MF/LtF **21**, **253**, MLF/LtF **241**, and MLF/Cap **474***; all written in what can be either the Faliscan or the Latin alphabet, although the assumption that the inscription might be in the Latin alphabet is in several cases based on the dextroverse ductus.

(2) ***Shapes of the letters.*** When compared with the Early Faliscan inscriptions, a few letters have quite different shapes in the Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions, as is noted below. The general shape of the Faliscan letters appears to be more rounded, and not just in the inscriptions that are painted: those that are scratched in pottery items or cut into the rock, too, seem to emulate more rounded forms, perhaps implying that the normal way of writing was now the pen rather than the stylus (cf. Cencetti 1957:188). One inscription, LtF **140**, in fact very much gives the impression of having been written with a reed-pen rather than having been painted with a brush. With regard to the shapes of the individual letters, the following can be said:

A. (The basic shape of the *a* evolved from Early Faliscan Ⱥ and Ⱥ, to Middle Faliscan Ⱥ, usually written with a slightly convex left side as Ⱥ. This in turn led to the variant Ⱥ, with the transverse bar sticking out to the left: a very common, if not the commonest shape in the Middle Faliscan inscriptions. As this could also be written as Ⱥ, the distinction between this letter and the *r*, Ⱥ, became less obvious, and there are several inscriptions where Ⱥ and Ⱥ were confused (e.g. in MF **57**). In a few inscriptions, such as MF **101**, a new type of *a* appears, Ⱥ, apparently not so much a correction of *r* to *a* but an independent variant, drawn, like Ⱥ, in two strokes, with a connecting bar. Interestingly, this sign, too, is used as *r* in MF **59-60**, beside the normal Ⱥ. *(2)* A second development that affects the *a* is the occurrence of cursive forms like Ⱥ, Ⱥ, Ⱥ, Ⱥ, and Ⱥ. Although these have been ascribed to Latin influence, they appear in inscriptions that show no other signs of Latin influence, and Cencetti (1957:195-8) has shown that some of these forms may have originated at a very early date, when direct Latin influence in the ager Faliscus cannot have been very great. If

these forms did indeed develop within Faliscan, the development of the Faliscan *a* in fact provides another indication for their early date, since they can be derived much easier from the original Ⱥ than from Ⱥ. MF **79** and MF **111** in fact show a peculiar form , which may be an early Faliscan cursive form of the *a* derived from Ⱥ.

B. As in the Early Faliscan inscriptions, there is no indication of the presence of *b* in the Faliscan writing system, with the exception of *tito · batio* MLF **359**. Unfortunately, this inscription is very badly documented, and there are no reports of the shape of this *b* (or even whether the inscription is written in the Faliscan alphabet at all). On this basis, it cannot be assumed that Faliscan had preserved *b* as a *lettre morte*. The use of *b* was apparently so rare that even in the Latin inscription Lat **219** from between *c.*120-50, the name *Umbricius* is spelled as *umpricius*, perhaps a deliberate archaism recalling the original Faliscan spelling of the name.

C. The C/K/Q-convention of the Early Faliscan inscriptions having disappeared, *c* is the standard sign both for the voiceless dorsal occlusive /k/ and the voiced dorsal occlusive /g/, and is used in the digram *cu* for the voiceless labiovelar occlusive /k$^{\text{ʷ}}$/ (§11.2.5.*1*). The shape is always Ↄ, although in some scratched graffiti it is ⟩.

D. No specific developments or features. The shape is Ɑ (see also under *Θ*).

E. The normal *e* in the Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions is either Ǝ (as it had already been in the Early Faliscan inscriptions) or Ǝ. A few inscriptions have ǝ, which could be a simple error were it not for the fact that it recurs several times (in MF/Etr **64**, MF **258**, MLF **285**). Beside these shapes, however, there are three other types of *e* that are 'cursive'. *(1)* The most numerous of these variants is the cursive *e* also known from Latin inscriptions, Ⅱ (see Cencetti 1957:190-3). *(2)* A probably Etruscan form occurs in MF/Etr **267** and Etr **XXXIV** (and also in Etr **XLV**?). Peruzzi (1964c:228) suggested that this may have formed the basis for Ⅱ. *(3)* A very rare form appears in MF **146** (which also has an *h* of the type) and Lat **483**† from Ardea, which on these grounds has been regarded as Faliscan.

F. The sign for *f* in the alphabet of the Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions is always the 'arrow-*f*', ↑. This letter is in fact one of the distinguishing features between the Faliscan alphabet (where the *f* was ↑), the Etruscan alphabet (where it was 8), and the Latin alphabet (where it was F). The Etruscan type only occurs in Etruscan inscriptions, the Latin only in Latin inscriptions.

[***G.*** Like the alphabet of the Early Faliscan inscriptions, the alphabet of the Middle Faliscan inscriptions shows no separate sign to render /g/, although there are several inscriptions where *k* is used in this way (see under *K*). Two points of note with regard to *g* are adduced by Girard (1989:169): *(1)* the curious spellings *gonlegium, uolgani, gondecorant* in Lat **217**, explained by him as due to a Faliscan struggling with the correct use of an unfamiliar sign (which disregards the fact that in the Faliscan

alphabet /g/ could in fact be rendered by *k*), and *(2)* the fact that the introduction of *g* in the Latin alphabet was ascribed by Plutarch (*Quaest.* 54) to the same Sp. Caruilius Ruga who subjugated Falerii in 293 (§2.5.2).]

H. The normal shape of the *h* in the Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions is 𐌇. There are a few variants, however: *(1)* some inscriptions show 𐌉 or 𐌍, probably a simplification of 𐌇 (or perhaps inspired by the shape of the Latin H). It would be surprising if this sign was much used, however, as it had the same shape as the Faliscan sign for *n*. *(2)* A different (cursive?) *h*, 𐌈, is found in MF **146**: this is also the only Faliscan inscription that has an *e* of the type 𐌋 (see under *E*).

I. In the Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions, the sign for *i* is 𐌉, as it had been in the Early Faliscan inscriptions.

K. The *k* returns in several inscriptions, now always as 𐌊 and no longer as 𐌊. Since the *c/k/q*-convention has disappeared, its use is now special: see §11.2.5.2.

L. The sign for *l* is 𐌋 keeps its old form, although 𐌋 appears from time to time.

M. The basic shape of the *m* in the Faliscan alphabet is 𐌌, as opposed to the 𐌑 and 𐌑 of the alphabet of the Early Faliscan inscriptions. The shape 𐌌, although the usual shape in the contemporary Etruscan inscriptions, is quite rare, occurring in fact only in MF **269** and MF **272** from Corchiano. Both these inscriptions also show other Etruscan features: see §9.2.3*c-d*.

N. The shape of *n* in the Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions is 𐌍, as opposed to the 𐌑 or 𐌑 of the Early Faliscan inscriptions. This 𐌍 is always written upright: the slanting 𐌍 only occurs in Latin inscriptions from the area.

O. The letter *o* is often painted or written in two strokes as 𐌏, which could be called 'cursive'. Variants where the *o* is open at the bottom or the top are therefore found. In inscriptions that are scratched or cut into the rock, the *o* is often diamond-shaped or polygonal. Cencetti (1957:189) regarded this as a distinct cursive type, which is well possible especially in the more open variants.

P. The normal form of *p* is 𐌑, beside rare occurrences of 𐌑 and 𐌑.

[***Q.*** The Faliscan alphabet as used in the Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions did not contain a *q*. (As was the case also in the contemporary Etruscan alphabet, and in a sense also in the Latin alphabet where the *q* was restricted to the digram *qu*. The Faliscan orthography used *cu*, not *qu*, for /k^{u}/.]

R. In Middle Faliscan, the shape of *r* is 𐌓, one of the diffferences between the Faliscan and the Etruscan alphabet (see note 183). The shape is very similar to that of *a*, which was 𐌓 or 𐌀, and the two signs are sometimes confused (see under a). For the erroneous notion that in MF **59-60** 𐌀 represents [z] (Sittig 1932, Belardi 1964), see §3.5.3.

S. The *s* of the middle Faliscan alphabet is always ϟ ϟ ϟ. Apparent instances of Ϟ in Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions are in every case due to accidents or careless writing: there is no indication that the sign continued to be used. A very common feature of Faliscan inscriptions is the reversal of the *s* to Ϟ Ϟ Ϟ: this in fact occurs so frequently that I do not enumerate the instances here, but only indicate it under the individual inscriptions. See also under *Z*.

T. The sign for *t* has three forms that all occur frequently, namely Τ, Ͳ, and Ⱶ. There does not appear to be a chronology in their use.

Θ. The instances of *θ* in Faliscan inscriptions are few, and probably due to orthographic influence from Etruscan. (For the discussion of the possibility that *θ* rendered an allophone of /t/, see §3.5.4.) The sign is usually ⊖ with a central point, probably to avoid confusion with *o* (note that in the Etruscan inscriptions from the area, where this confusion could not arise, the sign usually appears as Ο), as in *θania* MF **81**, *uesθi* MF **83**, *salθan* MF/Etr **77**, and *arθ[3-5]rẹ* MF/Etr **267**, but Ο without central point in *uolθeo* MF **276**: I have suggested that this shape also appears in *hạθi* MF **13**. Three instances, known only from apographs, are unclear: *θanacuil* MF **49** (*θ* given both as ↀ and as ⊖), *[---]nθia* MLF **212** (*θ* given as Ο), *senθia* MLF **362** (*θ* given as Ο). In two inscriptions (MF **49** and MF **276**) the shape of *θ* resembles that of *d*.

U. As in the Early Faliscan inscriptions, the sign for *u* in the Middle Faliscan alphabet is Ⅴ. In careless writing, the two strokes may become separated, or they may be written too close together, so that confusion with *x* sometimes arises.

Z. The *z* is found in several inscriptions. Like s, it can be reversed. It is unclear whether or not the use of *z* denotes a different sound than [s], or whether the variation is merely orthographic: see §3.5.3.

11.2.5. Orthographic conventions in the Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions. In the Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions, the following orthographic conventions can be observed:

***(1) The use of* cu.** In the Middle and Late Faliscan periods, *cu* is used to render the labiovelar occlusive: *-cue* MF **80**, *-ọue* MF **158**, *-cuẹ* MF **170**, *-cue* MLF **313**; *cuicto* MLF **310** (and perhaps *cuitenet* MLF **361**); *(3)* in *cụestod* LF **242**, *cues[tor]* LF **243**, *c]ues[tor* LF **245**, *cue[stor* LF **247**; *θanacuil* MF **49**, *tanacu[il]* MF **101**, *θancuil* MLF **347**; *cua* MF **129**.

***(2) The use of* k.** Whereas in the Early Faliscan inscriptions *k* was used in the C/K/Q-convention, its use in the Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions appears to have been twofold:

(a) k was used to render /g/, as in *kreco* MF **147** = 'Graecus', *keset* LF **242** and *kese[t* LF **243** = 'gessit', and *Ekn* in LF **246**, most likely a form of the name *Egnati-*.

(b) *k* was also used in the name *ḳai[s]i[o* MF **51**, and as an abbreviation of a praenomen *k* Cap **388**, **390**, **404**, Lat **218**, and perhaps Cap **403**. In both these cases the use of *k* is quite clearly a specific convention, the use of a sign that has no normal function as a letter.

(c) The use of *k* in *nuikuę* MF? **202** and *[---]*a*kit*ue*a* LF **234** is unclear.

(3) The use of θ. Although *θ* does not appear to have been a letter of the Faliscan alphabet, it occurs in several inscriptions: *haθi* (?) MF **42**, *θanacuil* MF **49**, *θania* MF **81**, *uesθi* MF **83**, *salθan* MF/Etr **77**, *[---]nθia* MLF **212**, *arθ[3-5]rę* MF/Etr **267**, *uolθeo* MF **276**, and *senθia* MLF **362**. I assume that this is an orthographic variation only: see, however, §3.5.4.

(4) The use of z. In a number of cases, *z* is used instead of *s*: word-initially in *zextos* EF **1** and *zextoi* LF **330**; *zot* MLF **285**; *zenatuo* LF/Lat **214**; in names: *zaconiọ* MF **153** and *zaconiai* MF **154**; *zuconia* MF **271** and perhaps *zu[con]leo* MF **56**; *zeruatronia* MF **272**; word-internally in *zertenea* LF **221**; *fulczeo* LF **329**, *folcozeo* LF **330**, and **olcuzeo* LF **332** vs. *folcuso* LF **331** and *folcosio* LF **333**; and word-finally in *aruz* MF **257**, *morenez* MF **269**, and perhaps *ạcṛẹz* MF/Etr **67**. There is a possibility that *z* represents [z] in at least some of these cases, although I tend to regard most of them as influenced by Etruscan orthography: this is discussed in §3.5.3.

(5) Doubling of vowel or consonant signs. The doubling of signs to express a long vowel or a long or double consonant is exceedingly rare. Doubling of vowels is in fact not attested for inscriptions in the Faliscan alphabet except for LF/Lat **214** (*c.*150?) which has *uootum*: this case can be ascribed to the orthographic influence of contemporary Latin. Doubling of consonants likewise appears to be connected with the Latin rather than the Faliscan alphabet, in cases such as *anni* LtF **63**: the only exceptions are four cases of doubling of *l* in *uoḷḷia* MF **47**, *uoḷḷ[---]* MF **86**, *putellio* MF **156**, and *lullio* MLF **207**. R. Giacomelli (2006:91-3) has suggested that this may represent palatalization: see §3.5.5.*3*.

(6) Interpunction. Word-division in the Middle and Late Faliscan inscriptions is by *:* or ·, and a few inscriptions also use 'stroke-interpuncts' ˈ and ˈ (i.e., short or long vertical stroke used as an interpunct). Interpunction is not always used consistently: several types of interpunction may appear in one text, and interpunction may be used after one word but omitted after another within the same text. At the end of a line interpunction is usually omitted.

(7) Line ends. The Middle and Late Faliscan texts appear to avoid breaking off words at the end of the line, preferring either to start the next word on a new line, or to write the last letters downward, above or below the line as dictated by the available space. Words divided over more than one line are found in *larise : marllcna : citiai* MF **270** (where the text then continues on the line above it), *tito : uellmineo : iunlaị ị*ice* MLF

315 and *popli[o]* | *uelmilno* MLF **316**, and probably also in MF **56**, LF **243**, and LtF **231**. An actual hyphen has erroneously been read in MF **336**.

(8) Graphic contraction. There are a few instances of graphic contraction in the Middle Faliscan inscriptions. Most of these involve *u*, which could stand for *u(o)*: *ulties* MF/Etr **64** (= *u(o)lties*?), *tuconu* MF **85** (= *t u(e)conu*?), *uli* MF? **261-262** (= *u(e)li*?) perhaps also *marllcna* = *marc(e)na* MF **270** and *fulczeo* = *fulc(o)zeo* LF **329**, if these are not a syncopated forms or simply errors. From the ager Capenas are *pscni* = *p(e)sc(e)ni* Cap **387** and *fertrio* = *fert(o)rio* Cap **391**.

(9) Reversed letters indicating women's names. In a few inscriptions, women's names are marked by reversing the initial letter. The instances are: ↄ*a : u[eculi]a* | *ca : e[c]n̰ata : θania* MF **81**, *ca · uecineo* | ↄ*a · mania* LF **225**, *tito [:] acarcelinio :* | *ma :fi · ꟼop · ꟼetrunes · ce · f* | *[h]e cu[pa]* LF **226**, ꟼ*ola marcia : sus[?---]* LF **227**, *[---]rcius · Ʇ · l* | *[fer]oneae* | *[l] m* Cap **436**, and ↄ*a · e**sa* Cap **458**. Note that with the exception of MF **81**, this feature appears to be associated with the Late Faliscan period and with the ager Capenas: it may therefore be due to Latin influence.

11.3. The use of the Etruscan and Latin alphabets

In the ager Faliscus and Capenas, the Faliscan alphabet was not the only one in use (cf. §11.1.5): from the earliest period onward, inscriptions written in the Etruscan alphabet occur in the area, and it is likely that this was also the first writing system in the area (cf. §11.2.2).

However, although there are occasional indications of Etruscan orthographic interference in the use of *θ* and *z* in texts written in the Faliscan alphabet, on the whole both writing systems not only remained quite distinct, but they also appear to have been quite firmly associated with the languages for which they were developed. Although this cannot be used as an *a priori*, a study of the documents in this edition shows that where both the alphabet and the language of the inscription can be clearly distinguished, texts that show Faliscan phonological, morphological and lexical features are virtually always written in the Faliscan alphabet, using Faliscan orthographic conventions, while the texts that show Etruscan phonological, morphological and lexical featureas are virtually always written in the Etruscan alphabet, using Etruscan orthographic conventions. There are very few clear exceptions to this, the clearest being *umrie* Etr **XLIII**, where the alphabet is Faliscan but the phonology and the morphology Etruscan. However, this is an exception to the rule. The texts show that these two writing systems were quite firmly linked to their respective languages, more, perhaps, than would be expected in an area where contacts between speaker and writers of both languages must have been frequent (§9.2.1).

The situation is different where the Latin alphabet is concerned. The Latin writing system is not present from the earliest date, and neither can the frequent occurrence of cursive letters in Middle Faliscan inscriptions be counted as an indication of its presence in the area: these may have arisen independently within other orthographic traditions, as Cencetti (1957, cf. pp.190-2 on Faliscan) suggested. Exactly when the Latin writing system came to be used in the ager Faliscus is very hard to establish (as opposed to *assuming* that its introductions took place after, and as a consequence of, the war of 241). The first inscription in the Latin alphabet that can be dated is *med · loucilios · feced* Lat **268** on a fourth-century bronze strigilis found at Corchiano, but this was probably an import. Several Latin inscriptions appear on imports, and cannot be used to document the introduction of the Latin writing system, apart from the assumption that people were able to read these texts. The inscriptions in the Latin alphabet that were written within the ager Faliscus, i.e. sepulchral inscriptions and roadside inscriptions, cannot be dated with certainty. What, for instance, are the implications of LtF **140** and **171-174**, sepulchral inscriptions written in the Latin alphabet found at Civita Castellana, a town assumed to have been (virtually?) abandoned after the war of 241-240? Do these inscriptions imply that the Latin writing system was used at Civita Castellana before *c.*240, or, conversely, that burials around the town continued in the period after *c.*240, when the introduction of the Latin alphabet can more easily be imagined? In any case, the Latin writing system was present in the new Roman Falerii (S. Maria di Falleri), where it was used by a craftsman signing his work (LtF **216**), in public dedications (LtF **217-218**), and in several undated sepulchral inscriptions (LtF **231-233**). Exactly when the Latin writing system completely ousted the Faliscan one is a question that cannot be answered. The last datable inscription written in the Faliscan alphabet appears to be LF/LtF **214**, which is usually dated to *c.*150 BCE, but in this inscription the use of the Faliscan alphabet may already have been an archaism.

11.4. A note on the presentation of the inscriptions

As has been said (§1.1), the present study is a linguistic one. The aim of the edition is therefore *(a)* to facilitate access to the material on which the linguistic discussions and conclusions are based, and *(b)* to justify and discuss the readings and interpretations that I have used. The aim has not been to present a fully epigraphic edition. For the commentary, this means that the discussion usually focuses on what can be read and what not and what can be used as data and what not.

The edition includes all inscriptions from the ager Faliscus and the ager Capenas that consist of more than one letter, whether in the Faliscan, Etruscan, or Latin alphabet, and whether assumed to be in the Faliscan, Etruscan or Latin language, from

the earliest documents to the early first century BCE, as well as a number of inscriptions of unknown or uncertain provenance that have been regarded as Faliscan. For the ordering of the inscriptions according to provenance, see §11.1.2; for the division in 'period/alphabet groups', see §11.1.3; for a division according to type of inscription, see §11.1.4; for a division according to alphabet, see §11.1.5.

The organization of the presentation in each case consists of the following five elements (sometimes very briefly, depending on the available data):

(1) Introduction. For each locality, and, in the cases of Civita Castellana and Corchiano, for each site, a brief overview of the location is given, with references to its excavation history where this is relevant. As explained in §1.4.5, in some cases the excavation history and the provenance of the inscriptions may not be beyond doubt.

(2) Description of the object. Each lemma starts with a description of the object and the way it has been written, where possible with measurements. Note the following:

(a) in the case of tiles, the *front* is the flanged side and the *back* the non-flanged side (cf. §11.1.4.*1c*). The length is given first, then the width, irrespective of whether the tile is inscribed across or lengthwise. *Across* means that the inscription is written from one flanged side to the other; *lengthwise*, that it is written between the flanges.

(b) in the case of tile fragments, the maximum height and width are given. If preceded by the word 'total', measures are taken across several adjoining fragments.

(c) in the case of pottery or pottery fragments, the measures given are height and diameter (∅), the latter measured at the rim unless indicated otherwise.

(d) in the case of inscriptions painted on or cut in a rock-face, the height and length given are those of the inscribed surface.

These descriptions are followed, where possible, by an approximate dating, and remarks on the provenance, history, or authenticity of the item; if an inscription is known only through apographs, this is also noted here.

(3) Text of the inscription, using the following signs and conventions as given in *Conventions in the representation of epigraphic texts* (p.LII).

(4) Discussion of the reading of the text and/or its interpretation. As I said, the aim of this discussion is to establish the reading of the text and, where possible, enough of its interpretation to use the text as data in the linguistic discussions in part I (chapters 2-10). Note that when rendering letters of the inscription in the text, the use of printable *symbols* indicates that the letter is of a specific but recognizable *type* (e.g. A, Ꭺ, or Я for *a*), while the use of a *drawing* indicates either *(a)* that the letter is either of a unique shape or *variant*, or *(b)* that I intend to render the drawing made by a specific editor of the text.

(5) References. Each inscription is followed by a bibliography that at least contains all editions, as well as publications where the object, the inscription, or its contents are discussed or referred to in a way that is considered relevant. In the reference section, the following elements and symbols are used:

A large number of inscriptions are published from ***autopsy***. The year of the autopsy is given, followed by an abbreviation of the museum where the autopsy was done and the number or numbers of the inscribed objects in the inventory.

Bibliography: Bibliographical references are presented in chronological order. When at a certain point the data were substantially altered (e.g. by the discovery of a new part of the text), the bibliography has been divided into sections numbered (**I**), (**II**), etc. References to publications that I was unable to consult are preceded by †: if I had indirect access to these publications, e.g. because they are quoted or discussed by other authors, this is explained in the text. References between square brackets **[ ]** refer to publications where the inscription is mentioned but no text is given (e.g. in archaeological discussions of the inscribed object or in catalogues). The word **(*autopsy*)** following a reference indicates that the publication is based on an autopsy by the author: later publications by the same author are so marked only if a new autopsy took place, as explained in the text. Numbers between pointed brackets ⟨ ⟩ following a reference represent the number given to the text in that edition.

Since illustrations have been kept to a minimum, references are given to all published ***photographs*** or ***drawings*** that I was able to find. Only if to my knowledge no photographs or drawings have been published are references made to ***transcriptions***, that is, reproductions of the text in appropriate font types, popular especially among earlier editors. If an illustration was reproduced in a later edition, this is referred to as **(reproduced in ...)** following the reference to the original. In cases where authors have used a common source, such as the archive of the Soprintendenza, I have used the sign = to indicate that the photographs in these publications are identical.

Chapter 12

The Early Faliscan inscriptions

12.1. The Early Faliscan inscriptions as a group

The Early Faliscan inscriptions constitute a separate group with regard both to the contents of the texts and to their linguistic features. All are inscriptions on pottery, but several (EF **1-4**) are longer than and different from the usual pottery-inscriptions (cf. §11.1.4.2*e*). The linguistic features of the Early Faliscan inscriptions are also different, notably the second-declension genitive singular in *-osio* (§4.4.2). For the alphabet of the Early Faliscan inscriptions, see §11.2.3.

The Early Faliscan inscriptions in this chapter, EF **1-4**, **6-10**, and EF/Etr **5** are all from Civita Castellana. Two other inscriptions that I regard as Early Faliscan are seventh-century (?) *tulate tulas urate* EF/Etr **385** from Fiano Romano (§17.6) and sixth-century *aiṃiosio eqo* **467*** (§18.2) of unknown provenance. Inscriptions that have at some time been regarded as Early Faliscan but that I regard rather as Latin are the Vendia-inscription *eco urna tita uendias mamar[cos 6-9 m]ęḍ ṿhe[ked]* Lat **479†** (§18.3.1) of unknown provenance, and *eqo kaṇaios* Lat **482†** from Ardea (§18.3.2). Sabellic rather than Faliscan are *setums : míom* | *face* Sab **480†** (§18.3.1) and *pa‹qu›is blaisiís* Sab **468*** (§18.3.2), both of uncertain South Etrurian origin: see also §9.3.2. For the contemporary Etruscan inscriptions from the ager Faliscus and Capenas (Etr **I-XXVI**, **XXXII**, **XLII**, **XLIV**, and **XLVI-XLIX**), most of which are from Narce, see Chapter 19.

12.2. The 'Ceres-inscription'

1. Scratched *c.*2¼ times around the shoulder of a reddish-black impasto urn (∅ shoulder 32 cm, lip base 7 cm) decorated with two winged horses, from tomb LXII/3 of the Le Colonnette necropolis (Mengarelli in Thulin 1908:255, *FI* II.2 p.208).[187] The shoulder fragments appear to be the only part of the vase that is preserved (or found?).

[187] Gamurrini gave the provenance as "la necropoli di Civita Castellana", Della Seta named the necropolis without specifying the tomb. Nogara (in a letter of 14.X.1927, quoted in Stolte 1929:111) stated that he had not found details of its discovery in the inventory of the Museo di Villa Giulia (presumably in 1903, when he did his autopsy). According to Morandi (1982:54), the Museo di Villa Giulia acquired the vase in 1891 from the Collezione Feroldi.

Gamurrini dated the vase and the inscription on technical and palaeographical grounds to the sixth century, and this date is accepted by most authors, although Giglioli not unconvincingly dated the vase on technical grounds to the seventh century: earlier datings had in fact already been considered by Thulin and Della Seta. Bruhl and Norden dated the vase rather later, without giving any arguments for this; Safarewicz (1953:245-6) regarded the text as later than *CIL* I^2.1, but this is based on the readings *farme[n]tom*, *l[o]uf[ir*, and *ui[no]m* that are doubtful or impossible.

Fig.12.1. Mengarelli's reconstruction of EF 1, and Herbig's adjustments.

left: Mengarelli's drawing of his reconstruction. The shards with *]ɪqodːpraɯ[* and *]ilomːpe ːpara[* are drawn more to the left than they are placed in the actual reconstruction. The drawing probably gives their correct position: note that this affects the lacunas above and below it. (From Herbig *CIE* 8079)

right: Herbig's adjustments and restorations. In his drawing, the shards with *]ɪqodːpraɯ[* and *]ilomːpeː para[* are definitely placed too far to the left. The shards with *osurnamːsoç[* and, underneath it, *]douiad [*, are rightly tilted upwards with regard to how they are placed in the reconstruction. Joining them to the shard with *]tomː*[* in the first line would seem to be impossible, however. (From Herbig *CIE* 8079)

The vase, found in shards, was reconstructed by Mengarelli and Malvolta in 1907. There is no need to question the overall correctness of this reconstruction: virtually identical reconstructions had in fact been made independently by Gamurrini in 1894, by Nogara in 1903, and by Thulin in 1906. However, there is an unfortunate tendency among editors of this text to overlook the fact that at several points the reconstruction was explicitly meant as provisory, as Mengarelli (1908:103) himself explained. Especially the first part of the text is therefore less certain than it may appear, as will be explained below.

However, I have three general remarks with regard to the reconstruction:

(1) The circumference of the vase may have been very slightly larger than it is in the reconstruction. Since it is hard to establish this without taking the reconstruction apart or making a virtual model of the shards, I have not pursued this here.

(2) The group of shards with the letters *]iqod:praụ[* and, underneath, *]ilom:pe:para[*, does not fit exactly onto the shard with *ceresfar**, and is probably to be moved slightly to the left and down (cf. figs.12.1-2).

(3) The shards with the letters *]osurnam:soç[* and, underneath it, *]douiad [*, should be moved slightly upwards and tilted *c.*5-10° counter-clockwise (cf. Herbig's drawing in fig.12.1).

Also, several of the lacunas are interdependent, as the shards nowhere join up to form a complete circumference of the vase. This applies especially to the lacunas between *ceres:far*[0-2]e[* and *]tom:*[*, between *]tom:*[* and *]uf[*, and between *]uf[* and *]ui[..]m:*. In each of these cases, every letter that is restored above the minimum amount possible is to be subtracted from the maximum amount possible for one of the others: in all, a total of 8-10 letters appears to be missing. Bearing this in mind, I read the text as:

> ***ceres:far*[0-2]e[1-3]tom:*[3-5]uf[1-4]ui[..]m:*[3-4]*adeuios:mamaz[e]xtosmed f[.f]iqod:praụ[i]osurnam:soç[iai]pordedkarai:eqoụrneḷ[ati?]telafitaidupes:arcen telomhutiḷ[c?]ilom:pe:para[i?1]douiad [***

Dextroverse, and spiralling downward: the text bends downwards after *z[e]xt* and after *arcente* to pass underneath the turns above it. *S* is Ⴝ, but Ⴝ in *praụ[i]os*, *soç[iai]*, and *fitaidupes*, a variation found also in the Etruscan inscriptions Etr **IV** from Narce and Etr **XLVI** of unknown provenance; *h* is 𐌇, a variant of 𐌄. The interpunct is triple: there appears to be no discernable consistency in its usage. G. Giacomelli (1963:41-2) would rather regard it as a punctuation of sorts, which seems attractive, but in that case its word-internal use in *pe:para[i* is awkward. Radke (1994:106-7) implausibly suggests that they divide the text into Saturnian cola. Individual letters are discussed below: see also §11.2.3 for a general discussion of the Early Faliscan alphabet and other orthographical features.

As the inscription is usually divided into five 'phrases' or 'lines', I have divided my discussion accordingly: it should be noted that I do this to facilitate the discussion, not because I necessarily agree with this division at every turn.

(1) ceres — *ad: The first letters, *ceres:far* are beyond doubt. This is followed by the upper left-hand corner of an *m*, or an *n*, or possibly a *d*, although I do not think this likely. The text then continues on another fragment with an *e* of which the bottom half is preserved: it cannot be read otherwise. Whether there is a lacuna between these last two letters depends both on how the letter after *far* is read and on the size of the lacuna in *f[ ]iqod* directly underneath (see fig.12.2). If that lacuna is left as it is in Mengarelli's

reconstruction, possible readings here are *ṃe[*, *ṇ[.]e[*, or *ḍ[.]e[*: if it is reduced, *ṃe[*, *ṇe[* or *ḍe[*, and if it is enlarged, *ṃ[.]e[*, *ṇ[.]e[*, or *ḍ[..]e[*. (*Pace* Radke (1965:134), these three possibilities are impossible if the lacuna in *f[ ]iqod* is left as it is.) Of these nine possibilities, *ṃ[.]e[*, *ṇ[.]e[* (suggested by Thulin) and *ḍ[.]e[* do not look very promising (unless *ḍ[.]e* is *ḍ[u]e...* or *ḍ[i]e...*): the only real choices are *ḍ[..]e[* (Olzscha in Radke 1965:136-7, Radke 1965:134, 1994:105), *ṃe[* (the usual reading since Herbig *CIE*), and *ṇe[* (Gamurrini). As in my view the lacuna in *f[ ]iqod* should in fact be reduced rather than enlarged (see below), I would also dismiss *ḍ[..]e*, leaving only *ṃe[* or *ṇe[*.

***Fig.12.2. Detail of EF 1: the lacunas in* f[ ]iqod *and* huti[ ]ilom.**

The lacunas in *f[ ]iqod:* and *huti[ ]ilom* both depend on the placing of the shard with *]iqod:*. In my view, the group of shards to the right of the lacuna should be moved slightly to the left and down, although it is difficult to see how the shard with *]iqod:* fits unto the one with *ceresfar*[* due to the filler material partly obscuring the join. Note how the decoration is interrupted for the *l* of *ilom*. (Tracing from author's slide.)

The *e[* is followed by a large lacuna to which belong two fragments that cannot be joined to the other shards, but clearly belong to the first line since they contain parts of a ridge that ran around the base of the lip.[188] The larger of these fragments contains the letters *]tom:* followed by the lower half of an *l* (the usual reading since Herbig *CIE*, but Radke (1994:105) expressly rejects this possibility) or a *u* (Thulin 1908:257, Olzscha in Radke 1965:137, Radke 1965:134-5, 1994:105). The *t* is 𐌕, not 𐌈 as in the rest of the inscription: Vetter (1953:208) in fact considered reading *ẓ*, but it is hard to see what word could possibly result from reading *]ẓom*. The smaller fragment reads

[188] Ribezzo joined both fragments, which is impossible. In Thulin's and Ribezzo's drawings, the larger fragment is joined to the shards of the second line, which is equally impossible.

]uf[: the traces of an *o* read by Vetter (1939:156, 1953:280) before the *u* are non-existent, nor is it possible to read the second letter as *a* (*pace* Thulin 1908:257). The order in which these two fragments are to be placed is not known: the provisory arrangement in the reconstruction is *e[2-3]tom:*[4]uf[1-2]*, but the shards could equally well be arranged as *e[2-5]uf[2-5]tom:**. Editors have usually interpreted the word ending in *]tom* as an attribute to *far*. Suggestions are e.g. *mẹ[re]ṭom* (Vetter 1953:280), *me[lc]tom* or *me[lq]tom* (Vetter in Knobloch 1958:138),[189] *ḍ[el]e[c]ṭom* (Olzscha in Radke 1965:136-7, Radke 1965:134 n.1) or *d[el]e[k]tom* (Radke 1994:105), and *me[le]tom* or *me[la]tom* 'molitum'[190] (Joseph & Klein 1981:294). Pisani, however, restored *farmẹ[n]ṭom* as a noun **farmentum* (1946:54, 1964:348), a reading adopted by G. Giacomelli (1963:41) and Morandi (1982:55), but a derivation with /-smentom/ from a *nominal* stem at this date unconvincing, however.[191]

Following the lacuna that contained these two fragments is *]ui[..]m:* (with only the two lower points of the interpunct preserved): the traces of an *r* seen by Vetter (1939:156, 1953:280) before *]ui[* are non-existent.

This *]ui[..]m:* in turn is followed by a lacuna whose size may vary slightly, depending on the restorations in the second line, and contained three or four letters. On the left-hand edge of the lacuna the lower half of a shaft is preserved, which may be part of an *i*, *k*, *m*, *n*, *p*, or *r*, perhaps of an *f*, *q*, or *t*, but not of an *a* (*pace* Herbig *CIE* 8079, Jacobsohn 1910:3, Ribezzo 1918:56, 1927:151-2, 1930:74, 1936:46), as it is too straight for this, nor of a *d*, (*pace* Herbig 1923:233, Vetter 1925:27, Pisani 1946:50, 1964:347), as it shows no sign of a bar or branch at the bottom.

On the right-hand edge of the lacuna part of a stroke leaning to the right is visible, probably part of a *k* or a *u*, although a *d*, *p*, or *r* might also be possible. It might perhaps even be an *i*, although in the rest of the inscription the *i* is more vertical and less inclined than the trace; the *l* read by Ribezzo (1927:151-2, 1930:74), is impossible, as this letter is either straight or leans to the left in the rest of the inscription. This **[3-4]*ad* has been taken as a third person singular present subjunctive since Herbig *CIE*.[192] In that case the only restoration that has been proposed and that fits both the

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[189] Joseph & Klein (1981:294) rejected these restorations, stating that Vetter had proposed them as reconstructed forms of *multum* 'much', but Vetter's discussion clearly shows that he had intended them as reconstructed forms of the perfect participle *multum=mulctum*.

[190] Watkins (1995a:128) points to the parallel between *far me[la]tom* and Avestan *yauua aša*, Hittite ZÍD.DA ZÍZ *mallan*: the same would be true for Vetter's *me[lc]tom* or *me[lq]tom*.

[191] For the derivation, Pisani compared *frumentum*, which he derived from *frux*, presumably through */frūgsmentom/, as */frūgmentom/ would have given *frugmentum* (cf. Bücheler 1905:318-9); it can equally well be derived from the root of *fruor*, /frū(u̯)-/ ← */frūg^{u}-/ (cf. *DÉ*, *LEW* s.v. *fruor*), either through */frūu̯(s)mentom/ or through */frūg(^{u})-smentom/.

[192] Radke (1965:136) compared *]*adeuios* to a South Picene genitive *akinevihi* read by him in AQ.2, but this is now read as a dative *rakinevíi*. Herbig had at first read *ḷẹuios* (1910:184).

traces and the size of the lacuna is Peruzzi's *p[ore]ḳad* 'porrigat' (1964a:157), adopted by G. Giacomelli (1978: 525) and Morandi (1982:55); however, none of the meanings of *porrigo* listed in the *OLD* seem to fit the text.[193] In view of the uncertainty about what precedes, it is also possible, as Peruzzi (1964a:157) noted, to read **[3-4]*ad* as a third person *plural* present subjunctive in *-a(n)d*, or even as an a-stem ablative singular in *-ad*. Radke (1994:106) is the first to interpret **[3-4]*ad* in this way, reading "*a[dkap]iad* (= *accipiant*)" with Herbig (*CIE* 8079) and Jacobssohn (1910:3), but the syntax of the sentence as he reads it, *Ceres : far d[el]e[k]tom : u[el ro]uf[om] ui[nom] : a[dkap]iad Euios*, is strained.

Not surprisingly, this part of the text has been read in various ways. Herbig read *ṃẹ[l ferc]ṭom : l[o]ụf[om]ui[no]m :*, interpreting this a prayer to Ceres to accept (*CIE*, with *ạ[dkap]ḭad*) or to provide (*[dou]ḭad* 1913, *ui[ctu]m : [dou]ḭad* 1923) various gifts, and these readings and interpretations where adopted by editors such as Buonamici and Stolte, and with variations, by Ribezzo. They were rejected ey are based were rejected by Vetter, who read *l[o]ụfir* 'Liber' (1925:27-8: his later *lọuf[ir* (1939:156) and even *louf[i]ṛ* (1953:280) were based on non-existent traces seen by him before *]uf[* and *]ui[*), taking the phrase as a prayer that Ceres should provide spelt and Liber wine. This interpretation was adopted by all later editors except Ribezzo[194] and Radke: for the latter's reading of this passage, see below.

The possibility of reading *l[o]uf[ir* was doubted by Peruzzi (1964a:156-7), however, and was rejected by Radke (1965:134-5) as being simply far too small to fit the lacuna. This I can confirm from autopsy: reading *l[o]uf[ir*, let alone *lọuf[i]r*, is impossible, and consequently there is *no* direct mention of Liber in this text, which makes the interpretation of *euios* as Εὔιος difficult, as is discussed below. (Radke rightly added that it also reduces the likelihood of the restoration *ui[no]m* being correct.) It is necessary to stress this point, since even Watkins (1995a, 1995b) still uses Vetter's impossible *lọuf[i]r* and bases an important part of his discussion of the text on this reading. The contents of the first part *ceres* — **ad* therefore in my view remain unclear apart from the fact that *ceres* is mentioned in association with *far* that was possibly specified as *]tom*, and that, if **[3-4]*ad* is indeed a third singular present subjunctive, the phrase may well be an invocation.

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[193] Other proposals have been *a[dkap]ḭad* (Herbig *CIE* 8079, Jacobsohn 1910:3, Ribezzo 1918:56), *a[dtul]ạd* (Ribezzo 1927:151-2, 1930:74), *ạ[ddou]ḭad* (Ribezzo 1936:46), *[dou]i ad* (Herbig 1913:75, 1923:233, Vetter 1925:27, Pisani 1946:50, 1964:347), *f[in]kad* (Olzscha 1965:123, in Radke 1965:136), *[fe]ṛad* (Vetter 1953:280, Joseph & Klein 1981:294), and *[pa]rad* (Joseph & Klein 1981:294).

[194] Ribezzo interpreted the text as an injunction to *bring* offerings, taking *ceres* either as 'granum', one of the gifts (1918:56, 1927:151; 1929:79 n.4), apparently in the accusative (?), or as the recipient (1930:74 (with *l[o]uf[rom*), 1934:226, 1936:46) in the genitive (??).

(2) euios — f[.f]iqod: The following letters are *euios:mamaz*, followed by a small lacuna. On the lower edge of this lacuna both Mengarelli's and Thulin's drawing shows a small trace, seen also by Vetter (1953:280), who read *ẓẹxtos*, and apparently by G. Giacomelli ("la *e* va supplita quasi interamente", 1963:41). Both Peruzzi (1964a: 152-3) and Radke (1965:137) deny its existence, however, and I myself have likewise been unable to find it. Their doubt whether the lacuna could not have contained two letters seems unjustified. The lacuna is followed by part of an *x* (the upper right-hand and both lower ends are preserved), a *t* (Radke's alternatives *ḳ* and *į* (1965:137) are impossible) and *os*: *euios:mamaz[e]xtos*, or perhaps *euios:mamazẹxtos*.

Reading *l[o]ụf[ir* 'Liber' in the first phrase, after Vetter, has its repercussions for the way in which *euios* is interpreted, since the interpretations quoted in the discussion of the first phrase *ceres — *ad* all presupposed that *euios:* was to be taken together with the following *mamaz[e]xtos* as part of the second phrase. As Herbig (1913:78 n.1) and Scherer (1956:118) had noted, this had the disadvantage of making the first phrase the only one not to end in *:*, while at the same time assuming *: within* what was apparently a closely connected group of names, since *euios : mama z[e]xtos* was interpreted as either *(1)* praenomen + gentilicium + cognomen (Herbig *CIE* 8079 ('Sextus Mama Euius'), Ribezzo 1918:56, 1927:150-1, 1930:74, 1934:226, 1936:47, Vetter 1939:155), an interpretation which can be rejected for a text of this date and which furthermore requires that *f[ ]iqod* is interpreted as a third person *singular*, or *(2)* a gentilicium followed by two praenomina (in which case *euios* is singular (Meister 1916:101), not a Sabellic-type nominative plural in /-ōs/, as Norden (1939:206-7) and Vetter (1953:280) suggested, as this would clash with the Early Faliscan a-stem nominative plural *sociai* in EF **4**, cf. §4.2.6, §4.3.6) or *(3)* three praenomina (Herbig 1913:78 n.1, Pisani 1946:50, 1964:347-8). See also §7.2.1 for a discussion of this group of names.

As a consequence of Vetter's *l[o]ụf[ir* 'Liber', *euios* was again attached to the first phrase by G. Giacomelli (1963:41-2) and Peruzzi (1964a:166) and interpreted as Εὔιος, an epithet of *l[o]ụf[ir*. As was said above, Radke (1965:134-5) is in my view right in regarding *l[o]ụf[ir* as impossible and as a consequence, in removing the basis for the restoration *ui[no]m* and for the interpretation of *euios* as Εὔιος. If *l[o]ụf[ir* is dropped as a correct or even possible reading, maintaining *euios* as Εὔιος (Olzscha in Radke 1965:137,[195] G. Giacomelli 1978:525, Morandi 1982:55) has no other basis than the frequently adduced association of Ceres with Liber: but the only evidence for this association at the time of the Ceres-inscription seems in fact to be the reading of *l[o]ụf[ir* 'Liber' in the Ceres-inscription itself (cf. Le Bonniec 1958:303-4).

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[195] Olzscha, who had previously (1965:123) interpreted *l[o]ụf[ir* implausibly as 'uel' (cf. Oscan *loufir TB* 1,8) to avoid the hyperbaton 'Liber uinum ...at Εὔιος' (although he was apparently quite happy to accept the hyperbaton in *soç[iai] porded karai*), maintained this interpretation by reading *u[el ro]uf[om]* (?) *ui[no]m*, with an adjective preceding the noun, contrary to the normal Faliscan word-order (§8.4.1). This reading is maintained by Radke (1994).

The inscription then continues with *med* followed by a lacuna that has on its left edge the left half of an *f* and on its right edge the middle part of a shaft (see fig.12.1), which can be part of an *i*, *t*, or *z*, but not of an *a* (*pace* Thulin 1908:258 n.3 and Radke 1965:137), and which is in its turn followed by *qod:*. For this *f[ ]iqod* both Buonamici (1913:40) and Herbig (1913:74-80) independently arrived at an restoration *f[if]iqod* or *f[ef]iqod* 'finxerunt'; similar restorations had been considered by Thulin (1908:258) and Herbig himself (*CIE* 8079). This has been adopted by all editors except Ribezzo, who, having first adopted *f[if]iqod* as 'fecit' (1918:248 n.3), later erroneously claimed that it did not fit the lacuna and proposed the impossible *fiqod* 'figat' (1927:150-1), and *f[e]iqod* ('fingat' 1930:74-5, 1936:47, 'figito' 1934:226). The lacuna is in fact large enough to allow even the *f[i:f]iqod* considered by Lejeune (1955:146 n.9) and Radke (1965:137). As the fragment containing *]qod:* cannot be joined perfectly onto the group of shards that contains *f[*, the size of the lacuna can be adjusted by a few millimetres, which affects both the possibilities for the letter between *far* and *e[* in the preceding and the lacuna in *hut*[ ]ilom* in the next line. If the lacuna in *f[ ]iqod* is enlarged, Radke's *f[e:f]iqod* (1965:137) becomes possible; if it is reduced, *f[ ]qod* can be restored only as *f[if]iqod*. *F[.f]iqod* and *fifiked* are usually regarded as perfects of *fingo*: Lejeune (1955:148-50) rejected the possibility that they are forms of *facio*. This view has now been revived by Poccetti (2005:31-5) and Berenguer & Luján (2005:206-7), however: see §5.2.1.*7-8*. For the ending of *f[.f]iqod* see §5.1.4*e*. The names followed by *med* show that the phrase is undoubtedly a potters' signature of the *iscrizioni parlanti*-type (see §8.8.2), with a direct parallel in *tele*[1-2?] med fifiked* EF **9**.

(3) praụ[— karai: The interpunct after *]iqod:* is followed by the clearly legible *pra* and the lower half of a *u* (or possibly of a *d* or *l*), after which the text continues on another fragment (cf. fig.2.1). All editors except Thulin read an *i* at this point, although the traces of this letter seem to fall in the joint between both fragments (Nogara in Herbig *CIE* 8079), and I doubt whether they are not in fact part of the joint. After the lacuna, the text continues with *osurnam:so*. This is followed by the leftmost part of a small circle on the left edge of a lacuna, either *c* (thus most editors) or possibly *q* (Thulin 1908:258; Ribezzo 1927:151). The lacuna itself may have contained three or four letters, depending on the sizes of the lacunas in *f[ ]qod*, **[ ]*ad*, and *ụrneḷ[ ]tela*.[196] On the other side of the lacuna is the lower half of a shaft, which can be part of an *f*, *i*, *p*, *r*, or *t*, but not of a *q* (Thulin 1908:258). Herbig restored this as *soç[iai]ṗorded* (cf. Thulin 1908:258), which has been accepted by all editors except Ribezzo.[197] Note that here is

[196] Thulin's *so(q)orded* (without lacuna), based on a reconstruction he later discarded, is impossible, as he himself admits (1908:255, 258).

[197] Ribezzo's *soq[uiai* (1927:151) and Vetter's alternatives *soc[ruei* or *soc[ru* (1925:26-7) are epigraphically possible; not so Ribezzo's *so[uai* (1918:56, 1930:74) and *so[dali* (1934:226), and Vetter's alternatives *soṣ[orei*, *soṣ[erei*, or *soṣ[rei* (1925:26-7).

only *one* trace between the edge of the lacuna and *orded*: reading *soç[ia]ḷporded* (Vetter 1939:155, 1953:280, Pisani 1964:347) is impossible. This the only part of the inscription where the editors agree to some extent: *praụ[i]os urnam : soç[iai] porded karai :* 'Pravius gave the urn to his dear girlfriend' has been the accepted reading and interpretation since Herbig, with the exceptions noted above.

(4) eqo — fitaidupes: The next phrase starts with the letters *eqo*, clearly 'ego', attested in Early Faliscan *eco* EF **2**, *eko* EF **6**, **7**, and *eqo* EF **465***: Ribezzo's interpretation of *eqo* as an */ekō/ from the Sabellic pronominal stem /eko-/ ('ita' 1918:56, 1934:226; 'sic' 1930:74-5), or as 'e(r)go' (1927:151) is not convincing,

In the following letters, *ụrneḷ[a* (thus first Ribezzo 1918:56), only the lower halves of the *u* and the *l* are preserved (the second is omitted by Thulin). The remaining two or perhaps three missing letters (depending ultimately on the size of the lacunas in *f[ ]iqod* and *soç[ ]ḷporded*) are best taken together with the *]tela* following the lacuna and interpreted as an adjective with *ụrneḷ[a*, as was already proposed by Thulin (1908:259).[198] Since Ribezzo (1934), this *ụrneḷ[a 2-3]tela* has generally been regarded as a 'diminutivo continuativo' along the lines of Catullus' *turgiduli ocelli* (3.18). Of the restorations along this line, the most attractive is surely Watkins' *ti]tela* (1995a:129) based on *eco urna tita uendias* Lat **479**†, although along with it Watkins unfortunately resurrected Knobloch's (1958:137-8) highly fanciful interpretation 'piggy-bank' for *urna tita*. Other possibilities are Pisani's *pa]tela* 'patula' = 'larga, ampia' (1946:53, 1964:347-8) and Giacomell's *lu]tela* 'lute(ol)a' (1963:41-3, 1978:525-6), which has been adopted by Peruzzi (1964a:161), Radke (1965:137), and Morandi (1982:56). Ribezzo's *arcenḷtela* (1918:56, 1927:151, 1930:74, 1934:226) does not fit the lacuna (nor the sense, as the urn is anything but bright as silver), and Vetter's *pu]tela* 'parvula' (1953:280) is based on his very doubtful interpretation of *putellio* MF **151** as 'infans'.

The remaining *fitaidupes*[199] is usually divided either as *fita idupes* or as *fitai dupes*.[200] *Fita* or *fitai* has been connected to *(1)* Latin *fingo* and derivations (*fitilla* Thulin 1908:259, Herbig *CIE* 8079, Ribezzo 1918:56, 1927:151, 1930:74, 1934:226, 1936:47; perfect participle *fi(c)ta* G. Giacomelli 1963:41-3, 1978:525-6, Peruzzi

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[198] Most early editors let the next word start after the lacuna, reading either *telafitai* (thus Gamurrini 1894:340, Thulin 1908:259, Herbig 1913:85 n.2 (both interpreting it as the name of a goddess), Herbig 1923:233 ("der zu Erde gewordenen (Toten)"), Vetter 1925:30 (first person singular perfect of an unknown */tela-/) or *tela* 'terra' (thus Herbig *CIE* 8079, Jacobsohn 1910:3, Buonamici 1913; *ex]tela* 'ex terra' Stolte 1929:107).

[199] Mengarelli's and Ribezzo's drawings, Buonamici (1913:45-6), Ribezzo (1918:56, 1927:151-2, 1930:74-5, 1934:226), and Stolte (1929:107), erroneously read an *r* instead of *p*.

[200] Other divisions are Buonamici's *tela fitaid ures* (1913) and Stolte's *ex]tela fita idu res* (1929:107). Morandi (1982:56) and Watkins (1995a:129 n.5) compare *fitaidupes* to South Picene *pidaitúpas* TE.5.

1964a:161-2, Morandi 1982:56), *(2)* Latin *fio* (*fitum est* Andr.29L Stolte 1929:107, *fitai* 'exstiti' Vetter 1953:280; Herbig's comparison of Umbrian *fito TI* VIb.11 (*CIE* 8079) assumes the same root), and *(3)* Latin *fetus* (Pisani 1946:53, 1964:347-8).

Dupes was first interpreted as 'bipes' (Thulin 1908:259, Herbig 1913:85 n.2, 1923:233), but this was rejected by Vetter (1925:29-30, 1953:282-3), who connected it with Latin *dupondius* (thus also Pisani 1946:51-3, 1964:347-8, and Morandi 1982:56). Ribezzo (1936:47) took *dupes* as a present participle **dubens* 'potens'. G. Giacomelli (1963:41,43, 1978:525-6) and Peruzzi (1964a:163-4) both divide *idupes*, reading '*indupens' = 'pesante' and '*indupes' = 'impes' = 'impetus' respectively. The problem with these last suggestions is that they presuppose an *i(n)du-* (again with a problematic drop of a syllable-final nasal) at a time when this word at least in Latin still had the form *endo* in *CIL* I^2.4.[201] Radke's interpretation (1994:108-9) of *idupes* as 'Idubus', with the ending *-pes* (instead of the expected **-fos*) ascribed to a presumed Siculian presence in the ager Faliscus, is in my view entirely without merit.[202] Likewise unconvincing is Matzloff (2006:67-75), who divides *fit aidupes*, with *aidupes* as 'qui a le pied enflé' (≈ Οἰδίπους), translating "[Pravios] a-t-il une crise de goutte? («devient-il podagre (*aidupes*)?», «devient-il homme aux pieds enflés?»)".

(5) arcentelom — douiad The fifth phrase, which appears to be syntactically linked with the fourth, starts with a clearly legible *arcentelomhut*. This is followed by a lacuna whose width again depends on the one in *fl]iqod*: if that is reduced or left as it is, two letters are missing here; if it is enlarged, two or three (cf. fig.12.2). Pisani's view (1946:53, 1964:348-9), which he incorrectly ascribes to Stolte (1929), that this lacuna contained only a part of the decoration but no letters is untenable in view of the form of the horse on the other side of the vase and also of the fact that the decoration is actually interrupted for the *l* almost directly following the lacuna, implying that the inscription was written *before* the decoration (cf. fig.12.2). A small trace is preserved on the left edge of the lacuna, consisting of the upper part of a shaft tilted slightly to the left, belonging to an *i* (eds.), an *u*, or an *l* (Ribezzo 1936:47). The traces of a *c* or *x* seen by Vetter (1939:156, 1942:220) on the right-hand edge of the lacuna are non-existent.

Arcentelom is obviously derived in some way from *argentum*, either as a diminutive or as an adjective. Some authors have interpreted both words as nouns, e.g. Herbig, who interpreted *arcentelom* as '*argentulum', and his *hut*ilom* (*CIE* 8079) as ≈

[201] This applies also to Stolte's interpretation of his misreading *idu res* (1929:107).

[202] Note e.g. *(1)* that Radke's parallel, Siculian *nanepos* in the inscription from Centuripe, has a different vowel-grade; *(2)* that assumptions about a Siculian presence in the ager Faliscus are entirely based on Dion. 1.21.1; *(3)* that this would be an instance of interference involving an *inflexional* suffix without any indications of interference or borrowing from Siculian on the higher levels of the borrowing hierarchy (§1.3.2.2).

Greek φύτλη?, later (1923:233) suggesting *hut[im p]ilom* '*χύσιν πῖλον*': others have interpreted both as adjectives, e.g. Pisani (1946:51,53-4, 1964:347-8) who read *dupes : arcentelom hutilom* (or *hut*ilom*) and interpreted 'dupondium argentulum fusile'. Martzloff (2006:68-9) unconvincingly derives *arcentelom* from *arceo* in the same way that *adulescentulus* is derived from *adolesco*, and regards it as similar in sense to Greek *ἀλεξιφάρμακον*. He continues (2006:75) his translation (quoted above) with "Je tiens a sa disposition (*pe:parai*) une petite potion, en guise de petit remède (*arcentelom*)".

***Fig.12.3. Detail of 1, showing the join between* prau[*and*]osurnam:soç.**

The shards with *prau[* and *]osurnam:soç[* do not fit together, a fact obscured by the large amount of filler material used in the reconstruction. The line underneath, with *pe:para[*, runs straight into *]osurnam:soç[*, whereas *]douiad* is written much lower. The shards with *]osurnam:soc[* and *]douiad* should be moved slightly upwards and tilted *c.* 5-10° counter-clockwise (cf. fig.12.1). (Tracing from author's slides.)

Most editors, however, take one of the words *arcentelom hut[ ]ilom* as a noun and the other as an adjective (often again as a 'diminutivo continuativo'). Reading *arcentelom* as a noun and *hut*[.]ilom* as an adjective does not result in adequate interpretations for the latter (Herbig 1913:85-6; Buonamici 1913; Vetter 1925:29-30, *hutiçilom* 1953:280,283; Stolte 1929:107; *hutiçilom* 'gegossen', from an adjective in *-icius*, Knobloch 1958:136; *hutį[p]ilom* 'quadruplum', from Etruscan *huθ* with a Latin suffix, Radke 1965:138). It is more promising to take *arcentelom* as an adjective, with *hut*[1-2]ilom* as a noun. The best proposal seems to be G. Giacomelli's *hutį[c]ilom* '*futicillum' (1963:41,43, 1978:525-6), a double diminutive, like *penis - peniculus - penicillus* (Peruzzi 1964a:163-4). In that case, the change in gender is surprising (G. Giacomelli 1963:43 n.15), and the word is perhaps rather a genitive plural (Peruzzi).[203] Ribezzo's *hut[r]ilom* 'poculum', 'operculum' (1918:56 etc.) and *hutlilom* 'futillum, operculum' (1936:47) are epigraphically and linguistically impossible.

[203] Unclear as to the precise status of both words are Buonamici's *hutifilom* (1913) and Radke's 'Silberausguß' (1965:138).

The final part of the text is usually read as *pe:para[i]douiad* (with enough space after *douiad* to show that this is indeed the end of the text) and interpreted as 'peperi duat' since Herbig (1913:84-7): reading *pe:paraị* at this point (Herbig 1913:85 n.2, 1923:233, Stolte 1929:107, Pisani 1946:50, 1964:347) is unjustified. The reading is not without problems, however. The width of the lacuna shows that more is missing than one *i*, and while *pe:para[* seems to run straight into the *praụ[i]os* in the line above it, *douiad* is written downwards at an angle to the rest. This difference in direction is less marked if the shards with *]osurnam:soç[* and *]douiad* are moved slightly upwards and tilted 5-10° counterclockwise, as they are in Herbig's drawing (cf. fig.12.1).

Syntactically, too, the abrupt change from the first person *pe:para[i* to the third person *douiad* is awkward: *douiad* is usually taken either as a loose addition to the text or as directly dependent on *pe:para[i* (Herbig 1923:233, Vetter 1925:30). Vetter (1953:283) in fact considered integrating a conjunction, but the lacuna is too small for this. None of the proposals to avoid these problems are attractive. Peruzzi's *pe : par a[dke]douiad* 'per par accedat' and *pe : para[te ke]douiad* 'per parate accedat' (1964a:164-6) do not result in a really meaningful phrase, and assume an omission of word-final *r* that is difficult (§3.5.7*b*). Ribezzo's *pe* ('-que' (1918:56, 1930:74, '(nem)pe' 1927:151-2) followed by *para---* 'para(tum)' (1918:56) or by *para[ad]doviat* [sic] (1927:151), *para[i]douiad* (1930:74-5), or *para[:]douiad* (1934:226) 'superaddat', 'iuxta addat' (1936:47), are impossible on various grounds.

Therefore, even though several words can be more or less plausibly isolated, it is very difficult to make any sense of the last two phrases. The fourth phrase opens with 'I, a little ... urn', which appears to be the subject of *pe:para[i* (if to be read thus), but how *pe:para[i* is to be understood is unclear because of the problems in interpreting *telafitaidupes* and *arcentelom hutị[.]ilom*, which constitute or contain the object of *pe:para[i*. None of the attempts to interpret this part of the text or similar sentences resulting from different restorations (Pisani 1946:51-4, 1964:347-9, G. Giacomelli 1963:41-3, 1978:525-6, Peruzzi 1964a:160-6) is in my view really convincing.

***(1-5)* The text as a whole.** Putting together the readings discussed above, I arrive at the following text, choosing to be too cautious rather than too bold:

(1) ***ceres:far*[0-2]e[1-3]tom:*[3-5]uf[1-4]ui[2]m:*[3-4]*ad*** (invocation?)
(with interdependent second, third and fourth lacunas, where 8-10 letters are missing in all, and the possibility that *]tom:*[* and *]uf[* are in the wrong order)

(2) ***euios:mamaz[e]xtosmedf[.f]ịqod:*** (formulaic potters' signature)

(3) ***praụ[i]osurnam:soç[iai]pordedkarai:*** (statement that the vase was a gift)

(4) ***eqoụrneḷ[ati?]telafitaidupes:***

(5) ***arcentelomhutị[.]ilom:pe:para[i? 1-2]douiad***

Earlier authors regarded the contents of the text, especially of the first and the last part, as religious (Thulin 1908:258, Herbig *CIE* 8079, Buonamici 1913:37-8, Taylor 1923:76-7); some more specifically connected it with the funerary ritual (Herbig 1913, 1923, Stolte 1929:109-111, 1930, Altheim 1931:117-8, Ribezzo 1918:56, 1927:150-1, 1930:74-5, 1934, 1936:46-8).[204]

Vetter, stressing the third phrase, regarded the text rather as a commemoration of a festive occasion, with the first part as an invocation of Ceres' blessing on the recipient (1925:27-8). This interpretation has been adopted by most later authors (Pisani, Lejeune, Knobloch, G. Giacomelli, Peruzzi (connecting the first part with the cult of Bacchus), and, with some hesitation, Radke). Although this has the advantage of being based on a relatively clear part of the text, it provides no clues for the restoration of the more fragmentary parts of the text. The fact that the first phrase may be an invocation while the second phrase is a definitely formulaic signature (§8.9.2), while the third phrase seems to be of a more personal nature, does not seem to point to any kind of consistency within the text as a whole. Like many of the early texts, it appears to be 'highly individual', and, although using of formulaic phrases, it has no real parallels.

Poetic aspects. The inscription was regarded as metrical by Vetter (1925:27, 1953: 281-2) because of the word-order in *soç[iai] porded karai* and because the text can be divided into five lines of an approximately equal number of syllables. Thus, we have *c.*12 syllables in the first line (depending on the reconstruction, e.g. 12 in Vetter's 1953 rendering *ceres : far ṃe[re]ṭom : l[o]ụf[ir] uinom : [fe]ṛad*), 11 in the second, 12 in the third, probably 11 in the fourth, and 10-13 in the fifth, depending on the inclusion or exclusion of *douiad*). The same has been maintained by Norden (1939:206) and Brandenstein (in Pisani 1964:348)[205], who apparently analysed the inscription as iambic senarii. As Peruzzi (1964a:155) states, there is a distinct possibility that the verse is Saturnian, and it is in fact analysed in this way by Radke (1994:106-8), although his interpretation of Saturnians is difficult to follow. The main problem with any metrical interpretation is that it must necessarily be based on more or less complete texts, as it requires an approximately equal number of syllables per line. Given the great uncertainties in both reading and interpretation, I do not think that it is possible to arrive at a metrical interpretation of the text that is in any way justifiable.

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[204] Stolte (1930) and Altheim compared the horses of the decoration to hippomorphic representations of Demeter from Arcadia. The type of decoration is a common one at this period, however, and has probably no significance for the interpretation of the text (Peruzzi 1964:151 n.9, Morandi 1982:56).

[205] The latter's scansion, however, *cerés farméntom lóufir vínom dóvjad / evjós mamá zextós med fífiqód / pravjós urnám socjái pordéd karái / eq' úrnelá ?telá fitái dupés / arcéntelóm hutícilom péparai dóvjad*, is very implausible, to say the least: note (among several other oddities) that the reduplicative syllable is apparently long in *fífiqód* but short in *péparai*.

An elaborate and more attractive discussion of the poetic aspects of the text is given by Watkins (1995a:126-31, 1995b:45-8), for his discussion focuses more on the *textual* than on the *metrical* basis for a poetical interpretation. Unfortunately, his interpretation is based on Vetter's untenable restorations, and this invalidates several of his conclusions, although perhaps not the overall gist of his discussion. In his view, *Ceres far me[la]tom Louf[i]r ui[no]m p[a]ṛad* is a variation of a traditional blessing formula found also in Paelignian *dida · uus · deti · hanustu · herentas* Pg 9[206]: a variant in the sense that the crucial verb of the formula, *douiad*, was replaced in the first phrase by a *p[a]ṛad* that is echoed later in the text by *pe:parai* (as he reads it). The 'frustrated expectation' in which this results is then resolved at the end, where the expected *douiad* is deftly inserted, making the text into 'ring-composition' (for his definition of this term, cf. Watkins 1995a:34-36). Watkins is thus unique in making the difficult and isolated *douiad* at the end into one of the cornerstones of his interpretation. Poccetti (2007:251), too, draws attention to the stylistic features that can be regarded as Faliscan, abstaining from judgement on the poetic form or metre itself.

From two autopsies in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 3548). ***Bibliography:*** Gamurrini 1894:339-41 (*autopsy*); Mengarelli 1908 (*autopsy*); Thulin 1908 (*autopsy*); Herbig 1910:184-5 (*autopsy*); Jacobsohn 1910:3 ⟨11⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8079; Herbig 1913:74-8, 80-7; Buonamici 1913:37-49 ⟨1⟩; [Weege in Helbig 1913:361]; Meister 1916:99-101; [Della Seta 1918:52 (*autopsy*)]; Ribezzo 1918: 248-9; Taylor 1923:77; Herbig 1923:233; Vetter 1925; Ribezzo 1927:150-1; Buonamici 1929b:511; Ribezzo 1929a:79 n.4; Stolte 1929; Ribezzo 1930:74-5; Stolte 1930; Giglioli 1930:337; Altheim 1931: 117-8; Ribezzo 1934; Buonamici 1936:424-6; Ribezzo 1936; Vetter 1939a:155-6 (*autopsy*); Norden 1939:266-7; [Andrén 1940:87]; Vetter 1942:220-1; Pisani 1946; Lejeune 1952a:340-1; Safarewicz 1953:245-6; Bruhl 1953:25; Vetter 1953:279-83 ⟨241⟩; Lejeune 1955:146-8; Scherer 1956:118; Knobloch 1958; Le Bonniec 1958:303-4; Radke 1962:143; G. Giacomelli 1963:41-4 ⟨1⟩ (*autopsy*); Pisani 1964:347-9 ⟨151⟩; Peruzzi 1964a:150-67 (*autopsy*); Radke 1965b (*autopsy*); Olzscha 1965:123; G. Giacomelli 1978:525-6 ⟨1⟩; *FI* II.2 p.208 (*autopsy*); Joseph & Klein 1981; Agostiniani 1982:150-1 ⟨591⟩; Morandi 1982:54-6 ⟨8⟩; Radke 1994 (*autopsy*); Watkins 1995a:126-31; Watkins 1995b:45-8; Martzloff 2006:66-74; Poccetti 2007:251. ***Photographs:*** Mengarelli 1908:101-2; G. Giacomelli 1963 tav.II; G. Giacomelli 1978:509. ***Drawings:*** Mengarelli 1908:103 (reproduced in Herbig *CIE* 8079 p.23, Peruzzi 1964:151 fig.2); Thulin 1908 *inter* pp. 254-5 (reproduced in Herbig *CIE* 8079 p.22, Morandi 1982:55); Ribezzo 1918:56 fig.2 (reproduced in Ribezzo 1927:151); Lejeune 1952:122.

12.3. The two impasto pitchers

2-4. Two impasto pitchers, reputedly from Civita Castellana, were sold to the Museo di Villa Giulia in 1921. The first words of **2** were quoted already in 1933 by Pallottino, but the inscriptions were published in their entirety only in 1935 by Giglioli and Braun. They were dated to the seventh century by Giglioli, in which case they would be older than the Ceres-inscription (which is usually treated as the oldest Faliscan inscription).

[206] Already Buonamici (1913:38) had pointed to this text as a parallel, but it has largely disappeared from the discussions of the text by later authors.

2. Scratched *c.*1½ times around the body (letters 4-11 mm high) of a small impasto pitcher that also contains **3**. From their position on the vase, G. Giacomelli (1963) concluded that **2** is the primary inscription.[207]

propramom^{10}***:pramed̨[u]mo***^{20}***mpramodpra***^{30}***medumom:pr***^{40}***amodpropra***^{50}***mo̧d̨:pr amod***^{60}***umo̧[m]***

Dextroverse. The letters vary in size, and the text is damaged at several points. After letter 46 the text bends downward to pass under the first line. From my autopsy, I can almost completely confirm the readings of G. Giacomelli and Peruzzi. They rightly stated that the text starts with *propramom*, not with Giglioli's *propramod* (adopted by most authors), Braun's *propramop*, or Ribezzo's *propramoe*. They also rightly read letter 11 as *:* where others read a lacuna (*[e]* Giglioli, *[:]* Ribezzo) or an empty space (Ribezzo, Pisani, Vetter). Letters 16-17 are a very clear *e* (certainly not Braun's and Ribezzo's *i*!) and the upper left-hand corner of a *d* (hardly Ribezzo's and Vetter's *p*). This is followed by a lacuna of one letter on the place of letter 18, where *[u]* is the obvious restoration: the traces of this *u* seen by Vetter are non-existent. Letters 26-27 are *od*, as G. Giacomelli and Peruzzi saw, not Giglioli's *oe*, which has been adopted by most authors.

Following letter 44, Vetter read a double and G. Giacomelli a triple interpunct, but, like Peruzzi, I can see no interpunct at all at this point. The text then continues with *propram*, followed by letters 51-53, the first of which is obviously *o*; the second is read as *d̨* or *d* by G. Giacomelli and Peruzzi, and the third is a triple interpunct with one point missing. Feretti's drawing accompanying Giglioli's article has lead to the misreadings *pro pram[od] ępramod* (Giglioli), *pro pram[ed]i* (Ribezzo), *pro pram[o]e* or *pro pram[oe] e pramod* (Pisani 1937) and *pramo̧[e a]pramod* (Pisani). After *um* there appear to be slight traces, so that the final letters 63-64 can be read as *umo̧[m]* (Vetter and G. Giacomelli) rather than *um[om]*.

Due to the repetition of the various elements, the resulting text can easily be divided into separate words and word-groups: *(1) propramom : pramed [u]mom*, *(2) pramod pramed umom :* , and *(3) pramod propramo̧d̨* (or *pro pramo̧d̨*) *: pramod umo̧[m]*. (Alternatively, the text could be divided into segments according to the interpuncts, but this does not result in a clearer picture.) Apart from the fact that this is clearly some kind of polyptotic word-play like e.g. *duenom duenas* EF **3** and *tulate tulas* EF/Etr **385**, the interpretation is difficult, to say the least. The main word is *pramo-*, occurring in the ablative *pramod*, and in the masculine or neuter accusative (or neuter nominative) of a compound *propramom*. *Propramo̧d̨* is usually read as *pro pramo̧d̨* (preposition with noun in the ablative) but in view of *propramom*, it can also be read as *propramo̧d̨*, an ablative of the compound *propramo-*. *Pramed* appears to be an

[207] Pisani, too, regarded **2** as earlier, but his argument for this, namely that in **3** the word-final consonants are missing, is spurious.

adverb (Vetter 1939a:147): Pisani, however, interpreted it as a subjunctive of a verb **pramo*, equal in sense to Latin *promo*. Although I cannot agree to the details of his interpretation, it does appear to be the only way of reading a verbal form in the text. (Another way would be to take *propramom* as a first person singular aorist (or perfect with an aorist ending?), as has been proposed (and rejected) for *tulom* MF **72**, but this would clash with the accepted reading *pe:para[i* in EF **1**. Knobloch's (1966:48) *pramo(n)d* is morphologically impossible.)

Pramo- /prāmo-/ ← PIE */prH̥mo-/ (*/prh̥₃mo-/?) recurs in Latin *prandium* ← */prām(o)-ed-i̯o-m/ 'early meal' or 'first meal' (cf. §6.2.*5*8), but the exact meaning of *pramo-* and its derivatives in this text can only be guessed at. A meaning 'breakfast' (thus Ribezzo (with *pro pram[ed]i* 'pro prandio' and an adjective *pramidumom*, *pramedumom* ('prandial'?)), and Knobloch) or 'meal' (Pisani) does not seem particularly attractive. Vetter (1939:148) gave the word the meaning 'good', but later does not recur to this unargumented explanation.

Umom has only recently received a convincing interpretation. M. Mancini (2003:239-41, 2004:205-7) rightly points to the *udmom* in 'Old Hernician' *[---]matas udmom ni hvidas mi kait[sis ---]* He 2. This may be the name of a type of vase: Rix (1998:250-1) explains it as /ud-mom/ ← PIE */u̯ed-/, comparing Latin *unda* ← */ud-nā/, and *umom* can in fact very well represent */ummom/ ← */ud-mom/ (cf. §3.3.4.*3*). This may finally lay to rest the presumed connection between *umom* and Latin *umidus* and *umor*, which, although rejected already by Braun (in Giglioli 1935:241), keeps cropping up in the literature. If *umom* were indeed derived from an */ūg^{u}-smom/, the expected result at this date would rather be */ūksmom/ (cf. *iouxmen*|*ta CIL* I^{2}.1). (Pisani tried to avoid this problem by deriving *umidus* from */uH̥-sm-/, which seems equally impossible.) I fail to understand how *umom* can be explained by "assonanza con vinom o, meglio ancora, a ragioni onomatopeiche" (G. Giacomelli 1963:45).

It is in my view impossible to interpret the text beyond the vaguest possible sense. Most of the interpretations that have been proposed are based at least partly on misreadings, on the impossible connection of *umom* with *umidus*, or on various unsubstantiated interpretations of *pramo-*. Explaining the text as an injunction to eat all day (Ribezzo) or to drink wine before, during, and after breakfast (Pisani, Knobloch 1966:48-9) furthermore require a *pro* used in the sense of *ante*, while Pisani's *a]pramo* 'post prandium' also requires an *a* used in the sense of *post*. A similar translation which avoids these problems is M. Mancini's (2004:206-7) "al primo pasto (*propramod*) per prima una brocca (scil. di vino); al pasto principale (*pramod*) per prima una brocca; al primo pasto, al pasto principale per prima una brocca". For Giglioli, the text was an invocation referring to "una primizia (di un liquido –vino? latte?– oppure invocazione a qualche divinità di sorgente?)" (1935:241); Braun (1935:443) referred to the text as a "formula magica", which amounts to little more than saying 'this is unintelligible'.

3. Scratched, once around the body (letters 5-9 mm high), close to the foot, of the impasto pitcher that also contains **2**.

ecoquto*e**[10]uotenosiot***[20]***itiasdueno***[30]***mduenassal***[40]***ue[to]duolte***[50]***ne:***

Dextroverse. The *q* is ♀, the *s* ⋿. For *c* before *o* and *q* before *u*, see §11.2.2-3. The fifth letter, although damaged, is certainly a *t* (pace Ribezzo's *eco quịo* 'ego cuius?'). *Quto* is followed by a vertical stroke (cf. Agostiniani's drawing). The *n* read by virtually every editor apart from Buffa (who read nothing at all here), Braun (interpunct), and Vetter (*i*), is impossible: the reading of the second word can only be *quto* (thus Dirichs, Buffa, Pisani (although *quto[n]* still in Pisani 1934), Braun, Vetter, Peruzzi, Agostiniani).

Quto is an adaptation of the Etruscan *qutun* occurring e.g. in *mi qutun lemausnas* Etr **III** from Narce. It is usually regarded as the nominative of an ōn-stem (thus first Braun 1935:440-1), cf. *cupi‹d›o* MF **62** and *apolo* MF **65**, but this poses a problem if (as most editors do) *duenom* is interpreted as an adjective to go with *quto*, for *duenom* can only be a neuter nominative. However, *quto* might be read as *quto(m)*, an adaptation of Etruscan *qutun* to the o-stem neuters. Colonna (1974:140-1) in fact observed that Etruscan *qutun* would best be derived, not from Greek *κώθων*, but from a Greek **κῶθον*, apparently unaware that this form is attested from Hesychius (*κῶθα· ποτήρια κ* 4788 Latte). Early Faliscan *quto* could thus represent /kŭtom/ or /kŭttom/ (or perhaps even /gŭtom/ or /gŭttom/, cf. Latin *guttur* and *guttus*). Another possibility is that *quto* is to be read as *quto(r)* /gŭtor/ or /gŭttor/, a counterpart of Latin *guttur*, which is also often derived from *κώθων* (or perhaps from a **χύτωρ*?). Both readings assume omission of a word-final consonant in Early Faliscan (cf. §3.5.7), but provide a satisfactory explanation for the neuter *duenom*. There are several possible ways to divide the text here:

(1) quto‹n› euotenosio (Pallottino, Pisani 1934, Buonamici 1934, Buffa, Giglioli, Braun, Ribezzo, G. Giacomelli, Devine, Agostiniani), with *quto‹n›* = Etruscan *qutun* and a name *euoteno-* that is has been connected with *euios* EF **1**, although it is usually not made clear how: a direct derivation (with as suffix /-tēno-/?) seems unlikely (but cf. Lejeune 1952b:123), so that some editors have assumed an (equally unlikely) pun, e.g. '«quello che tiene da Evio»' (G. Giacomelli 1963:46, 1978:527);

(2) quto‹n›e uotenosio, with *uotenosio* = *uo‹l›tenosio/uo(l)tenosio*, referring to the same person as *uoltene* (see below), in which case *quto‹n›e* could be explained (like *arute* MF **269** and *larise* MF **270**, and MLF **372** and **373**) as having an 'epenthetic [ə]' or as being an accusative in *-e(m)* used for the nominative (see §9.2.2.*1,4*);

(3) quto ịeuotenosio (Vetter), with a name *ịeuoteno-*;

(4) quto neuotenosio (Pisani 1935 etc.), with a name *neuoteno-*;

(5) quto [n]euo tenosio '*κώθων* novum Teni' (Dirichs), taken up by Peruzzi, which depends entirely on the *[n]*, and assumes preservation of a Proto-Italic */eu̯/ (§3.2.5; see also §18.3.3), and an early omission of word-final *-m* (§3.5.7*a*).

*(6) quto *e* (?) *uotenosio* (*quto ne uo(l)tenosio* Steinbauer in Rix 1998:250 n.21), with *uotenosio* = *uo‹l›tenosio/uo(l)tenosio*, the same person as *uoltene* (see below).

My own preference is either *(2)* or *(6)*, although in *(6)* it is quite unclear how **e* should be interpreted. Note that regarding *uotenosio* as the same name as *uoltene* is only possible if it is assumed that in *uotenosio* the syllable-final *l* was omitted either by accident (*uo‹l›tenosio*) or intentionally (*uo(l)tenosio*): I would then rather regard it as an error than assuming that it is the omission of a consonant that was weakened in syllable-final position, as is discussed in §3.5.7*b*. However the name is read, the name is certainly a genitive in *-osio*, not, as Knobloch wants it, an adjective *euotenosio(s)* (1954) or *euotenosio(m)* (1966:48). Note that in the first of these interpretations it is assumed that *quto* is masculine, in the second that it is neuter, while stems in ōn-stems are usually feminine.

The next problem is *duenom*, which as it stands can hardly be anything else than an adjective with *quto* (thus first Braun 1935:443). This is only possible if *quto* is a neuter, which would seem to point to *quto(m)* or *quto(r)* rather than to an ōn-stem *quto* /kŭttō/ or /gŭttō/, for it is unlikely that the latter would be neuter (thus G. Giacomelli 1978:527). If *duenom* is a noun, the only possible meaning would be *bonum* 'a good thing' (*TLL* 2.2098,42-2099,27): the meaning 'possession' is apparently found only in the (collective) plural (*TLL* 2.2101,6-81). Even if *duenom* could mean 'possession', then *titias duenom* would still clash with *eqo quto euotenosio*: *euotenosio* certainly gives the name of the owner, not of the potter, as Pisani suggested. Peruzzi's *eqo quto neuo tenosio titias duenom duenas* 'ego *κώθων* nouum Teni (et) Titiae bonarum bonae', involves a morphologically difficult a-stem genitive plural in *-om* (cf. §4.3.7). This whole problem would be solved if *duenom* could in any way be interpreted as = Latin *donum*, but it is impossible to derive *duenom* from *donom* /dōnom/ ← */doh₃nom/ (or, alternatively, Latin *donom* /dōnom/ from *duenom* /du̯enom/) by any regular process. Pisani therefore explained *duenom* as a hyper-Umbrism (!) for *donom*, comparing cases where Umbrian *ue* corresponds to Latin *o*, which would have been used to obtain a pun with *duenas*. This explanation is apparently adopted by G. Giacomelli (1978) and Morandi: in my view, it is too far-fetched.

The text ends in *salu[..]duoltene* (certainly not Ribezzo's *salạẹmo* or Braun's *uoltz̥ne*). The last *e* of *uoltene* is placed below the line for lack of space, as the (circular) inscription had already ended up against its own beginning: to mark this point, a double interpunct was added between *uolten* and *eco*. The earliest editors read no more of the verb than *salue...*. Vetter's *saluteṃ* has no ground at all and made him take *uoltene* as a dative with an impossibly early monophtongization of /-ei/ → /-ē/ (§3.7.5). G. Giacomelli and Peruzzi rightly read a *d* after the lacuna, making it possible to read *salue[to]d*, for which cf. *saluetod tita* (Colonna 1980). G. Giacomelli's *saluę [me]d* (1963:44,46, 1978:527) remains an attractive alternative, however, in view of Latin *ne*

med malo statod CIL I^2.4. Peruzzi's *salu[o me]d uoltene* 'nonne me saluum uultis?' (assuming, like his *eco quto neuo* (see above), that the pitcher replaced one that was broken) is very difficult, assuming (again) an early omission of *-m* (§3.5.7*a*), a *uolte* apparently with a secondary ending, and an impossible *-ne* = *nonne* (?) affixed not to the *initial* but to the *final* word of the question. *Uoltene* appears to be a vocative of a name derived from the frequently occurring *Volta*, perhaps with a suffix /-ēno-/: cf. §7.2.2.*16*. It is not necessary to compare Greek *χαῖρε καλός* (Pisani) or to assume that *uoltene* is the vocative of a */u̯l̥tenos/ 'Geliebter' (Knobloch 1966:49).

From two autopsies in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 43110). ***Bibliography:*** (I) Pallottino 1933:241 n.1 (*autopsy*); Pisani 1934; Buonamici 1934:356; Dirichs 1934:26; Buffa *NRIE* 974; Pisani 1935; – (II) Giglioli 1935:238-41 (*autopsy*); Braun 1935:436-45; Buonamici 1936; Ribezzo 1936:143-65 (*autopsy*); Pisani 1937; Norden 1939:266 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1939a:145-56 (*autopsy*); Hofmann 1940:120-2; Pisani 1946:51 n.2; Lejeune 1952b:121-3; Vetter 1953:283-5 ⟨242A-B⟩; Knobloch 1954; Bassi 1956:51-2 ⟨61⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:44-6 ⟨2*a-b*⟩ (*autopsy*); Pisani 1964:349-51 ⟨152a-b⟩; Peruzzi 1964a:174 n.78; Knobloch 1966:48-9; Peruzzi 1967b; Devine 1970:112-4; G. Giacomelli 1978:526-7 ⟨2b⟩; Colonna 1980c:52-3; Agostiniani 1981:389; Agostiniani 1982:150 ⟨590⟩; Morandi 1982:56-7 ⟨9⟩; Lejeune 1989:67 ⟨8⟩; M. Mancini 2003:240-1; M. Mancini 2004. ***Photographs:*** Giglioli 1935:239 fig.1; Ribezzo 1936:154 fig.A, tav.I; Bassi 1956 tav.XXI; G. Giacomelli 1963 tav.III. ***Drawings:*** Ferreti in Giglioli 1935:240 fig.2 (reproduced in Lejeune 1952b:122 (partly), Morandi 1982:57, Lejeune 1989:67); Gasperini in Agostiniani 1981:389.

4. Scratched *c.*1½ times around an impasto pitcher (height 15 cm, letters 4-11 mm high), similar to the one of EF **2** and EF **3**. Seventh century.

***e**azieput*^{10}*ilepeḳapen*^{20}*arufiaḳalę*^{30}*ptiauessal*^{40}*uetesociai*^{50}*ofetioskai*^{60}*osuelosa ma*^{70}*nossalueto*^{80}*saluesseit*^{90}*eiofeteqem*^{100}*eneses*eie*^{110}

Dextroverse. Several of the letters have very curious forms or appear to be corrections of other letters, as is explained below. The inscription leaves me with the impression of having been written by someone who had only a slight grasp of the art of writing, or, more specifically, who was perhaps not used to writing in this particular alphabet. The reading of the difficult text has been greatly improved by Prosdocimi's re-edition of the text in *CivFal*, all the more as this is accompanied by excellent photographs, and my discussion is largely based on his readings and interpretations (see also fig.12.4).

The traces of letters (*ut*?) read by Vetter before the text are at the very best accidental scratches. Letter 1 is an *e*, followed by letters 2-3 that look like and have been read as *pe* by most editors (*pi* Braun 1935:447-8). Prosdocimi, however, interprets this as an *n* with a square *c* inserted underneath, comparing the *c* in Etr **XLIV**. The use of *c* itself, square or otherwise, remains suprising, however, as elsewhere in the inscription *k* is used before *a*. Letters 8-12 are , to be read with G. Giacomelli and Prosdocimi as *util* (*ạl* Giglioli, *χil* Braun, *i̯il* Ribezzo, **l* Vetter, *itu* Pisani 1937, 1946, *ię* Pisani 1964). This first part of the text defies any attempt at interpretation. Prosdocimi goes no further than *en* = 'in' and a hesitating adoption of Pisani's *lepe* 'vive' (for which, see below).

Fig.12.4. Various details of EF 4 as shown in Prosdocimi's photographs.

(1) Letters 2-3, usually read as *pe*, but by Prosdocimi as *nc*. (2) Letters 8-12, read by G. Giacomelli and Prosdocimi as *util*. (3) Letter 16, the *k* of *kapena*. (4) Letter 27, the first letter of **aleptia*. (5) Letters 30-31, the *ep* of *kaleptia*. (6) Letters 104-107, read by Prosdocimi as *seṣb*. (Author's drawings after the photographs in Prosdocimi 1990.)

The next part is usually read as the names of women followed by *ues saluete sociai* (cf. §7.2.1). The first is *kapena*: the first letter of this word, letter 16, is ᚴ, apparently some kind of correction (*r* from *c* Vetter, *k* from *r* or *p*, or *r* or *p* from *k* Peruzzi, *k* from *r* Prosdocimi). The second is *rufia*: although the sides of the *u* are convex, Vetter's *roſia* is groundless. Both readings presupposes an almost impossibly early monophthongization of /ou̯/ (cf. §3.7.2 and Rix 1993a:85-6). The third name is more difficult. The first letter (letter 27) is ᚠ and has been read as a *v* (Giglioli, Braun; *v* or *u* Pisani), but Prosdocimi's photograph shows that it is rather a *k* (thus Ribezzo, Vetter, G. Giacomelli, and Peruzzi). According to Peruzzi and Prosdocimi it was corrected from a *t* (which was in fact an alternative reading proposed by Giglioli). Letters 30-31 are ᚼ: the first is usually read either as an *e* (Braun, Ribezzo, Pisani, Vetter, Peruzzi) or a *k* (Giglioli, G. Giacomelli), the second may be an *e* (*s* Vetter). According to Prosdocimi, the first letter is an *i* with horizontal bars that are probably unintentional, while the second is *p* (*kaliptia*). I am not so certain with regard to the *į* as Prosdocimi, especially as the distance between this letter and the next is quite large, and would maintain the possibility of an *e*. The phrase *ues saluete sociai* gives a problematic *ues* (cf. §4.7.3), and a *sociai* that shows that at this date the pronominal nominative plural had replaced the older nominal nominative plural in /- ās/ and /- ōs/ (cf. §4.2.6).

What follows is usually read as the name of several men followed by *salueto*. The names are clearly legible as *ofetios* (*ofetχos* Giglioli, *ofeiχos* Braun), *kaios, uelos* (*velqs* Braun), and *amanos*, but the relation between these names is not clear: see §7.2.1. Most editors assume four separate names. Vetter took *ofetios* as the nominative plural of a gentilicium, followed by three praenomina, but I doubt if at this date gentilicia already played any role: Brauns praenomen + gentilicium + patronym + cognomen is certainly impossible at this date. In all these interpretations *uelos* is nominative, a thematized form of Etruscan *Vel*, although it could also be a genitive *uelos* (thus Pisani, who interpreted *kaios uelos amanos* 'Gaius Velis f. Amanus' with the father's name between the praenomen and the gentilicium, as is done later in Umbrian and Volscian).

Salueto presents a problem, for, not only would we expect *saluetod*, as in the seventh-century inscription from Osteria dell'Osa, *saluetod tita* (Colonna 1980c), but as the number of men is plural, we might even expect even *saluentod*. Prosdocimi (1990:304-5) attributes the absence of *-d* it to a different morphology, pointing to Umbrian, where the original form */-to/ is not differentiated for number either: cf. §5.2.4.*4* and §5.3.1.*16-17*. *Salueto* seems to be followed by a similar expression *salues seite*. *Salues* appears to be an i-stem nominative plural in /-ēs/, either a regular plural from an elsewhere unattested i-stem adjective */saluu̯i-/, or an irregular transfer of the i-stem ending to another declination. *Seite* is can hardly be taken in any other way than equal in sense to Latin *sitis*, in which case it must be an error either for *s{e}ite* or for *s‹ei›te*: see §5.2.1.*18*. The greetings themselves, *ues saluete sociai*, *salueto*, and *salues seite* have parallels in *salue[to]d uoltene* EF **3** and the inscription from Osteria dell'Osa, *saluetod tita* (see Colonna 1980c).

The last part of the inscription starts with *ofeteqemene* (not Ribezzo's *ofeiehemene*). Peruzzi (1967b:122), finding a sequence *qe* difficult, read this as *φe*, but Prosdocimi rightly chose for *qe*, pointing to Etruscan *silqetenas ET* La 2.3 and Latin *qetios CIL* I^2.2658 (text after Mancini 1979:370). The last problematic part is letters 104-107, 𐌔𐌉𐌔, where several of the letters appear to be reworkings or corrections. The readings of the various editors at this point are, understandably, wildly different (*seịṣeie* Giglioli, *sevesgseie* Braun, *seṣıpseie* Ribezzo, *seis(u)peie* Pisani, *seis[*]eṣie* Vetter 1939a, *seis.eṣie* Vetter 1953, *seị**eie* G. Giacomelli 1963, *sses**eie* G. Giacomelli 1978). Prosdocimi read *seṣbeie* (his text erroneously has *neṣbeie*), with a *b* that would presumably be a *lettre morte*: the photograph (tav.XII*c*) shows that it is virtually impossible to read otherwise, although it is equally impossible to see what it should mean. Prosdocimi cautiously referred to South Picene *bie* at the end of Sp CH.1.

I mention only to reject Pisani's *e pea zie pię lepe kapena rufia uale eti aues saluete sociai (i)ofet u̯os kaios uelos amanos salueto salue sei te iofet eqemene sei s(u)peie* 'In pia die pie vive, Capena; Rufia, vale et aveas; salvete, sociai! Futuit vos Gaius Velis f. Amanus. Salveto! Salve, sive te futuit equitabiliter, sive *suppediter' (thus Pisani 1964:349). Apart from impossible readings *pea*, *pię*, *uale eti aues*, *uos*, *sei*

s(u)peie, this contains several oddities: *(1)* the absence of *-d* in the ablatives *pea* and *die* and in the adverbs *pię*, *eqemene*, and *s(u)peie* (its omission in *salueto* is at best an exception, not the rule); *(2) eti* side by side with *(i)ofet*, *iofet* ← */i̯ob^{h}eti/, as both should have lost /i#/ by the same rule; *(3) aues* as a subjunctive of *aueo*; *(4)* an accusative *uos* side by side with the nominative *ues*; *(5)* the active sense of *eqemene*, formed with same suffix as the Greek medial participles in *-μενος*. Of this reading, *lepe* (which has no parallel in Italic at all) has been adopted by some recent authors. Rix (1993a:86) considers the possibility that *iofet* may be *iubet*, but (like *rufia*) this requires a very early monophthongization of /ou̯/.

From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 43111). ***Bibliography:*** Giglioli 1935:241-3 (*autopsy*); Braun 1935:445-51; Buonamici 1936:424-6; Ribezzo 1936:165-8 (*autopsy*); Pisani 1937: 238-45; Vetter 1939a:151-6 (*autopsy*); Pisani 1946:51 n.2; Vetter 1953:285-7 ⟨243⟩; Bassi 1956:51-2 ⟨62⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:44-6 ⟨3⟩ (*autopsy*); Pisani 1964:349-51 ⟨152a-b⟩; Peruzzi 1967b (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1978:526-7 ⟨3⟩; Prosdocimi 1990 (*autopsy*); Rix 1993a:85-6. ***Photographs:*** Giglioli 1935:241 fig.3; Ribezzo 1936:162 fig.B, tav.II-III; Bassi tav.XXI,62; G. Giacomelli 1963 tav.IV; Prosdocimi 1990 tav.I-XII. ***Drawing:*** Giglioli 1935:242 fig.4.

12.4. The other Early Faliscan inscriptions

5. The eighth- to seventh-century necropoles of Montarano, situated to the northeast of the town, on the north side of the Rio Maggiore, are the oldest necropoles of Civita Castellana, and probably belong to the early settlement on Colle di Vignale. These necropoles were excavated in 1888-1890 (*FI* II.2 pp. 4-5), when the following inscription was found, scratched on a seventh-century *olla* decorated with two horses, from tomb LVII/43:[208]

eitam

Dextroverse. The form of the *t*, ⊦, is unexpected at this date, especially in a dextroverse inscription (cf. §11.2.3). Vetter, comparing Praesamnitic *te·cliia·m* Ps 16, 17 and Oscan *spurĺieis culcfnam* Cm 27, suggests that *eitam* may be an accusative. This is preferable to dividing the word as *eita m(arci)* (Peruzzi, comparing the interpretation of *tulom* MF **72** as *tulo m(arci)*). For these problematic 'isolated accusatives' see §8.1.4 and §9.2.2. Peruzzi also suggested that *eitam* may an adaptation of the Etruscan *itan* Ve 3.21 and may denote a type of vase. In an earlier publication (Bakkum 1991) I rejected this interpretation, but I am now prepared to adopt it on the basis of e.g. *tafina* Etr **XXXIII**. As a parallel, I then suggested fourth-century *eiṭma leicunas ET* Cm 2.83, 2.84; other possible parallels are South Picene *íitas* AP.3 and *ęitah* AQ.1. G. Giacomelli's equation of *eitam* with Oscan *eitiuvam* Po 3, *eituam TB* 19 etc. is unconvincing.

[208] Nogara (in Herbig *CIE* 8001) erroneously gave the provenance as tomb LVI.

From autopsy in the Museo Archeologico dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 3519). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8001 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:289 ⟨250⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:56 ⟨22⟩; Peruzzi 1964a: 169-70; G. Giacomelli 1978:78-82 ⟨5⟩; Colonna 1980d; *FI* II.2 p.86 (*autopsy*); Rix *ET* Fa 0.3; Bakkum 1991 (*autopsy*); Bakkum 1992:2. ***Drawings:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8001; *FI* II.2 p. 86.

6-7. Scratched, **6** beside a graffito of a human profile, **7** upside down,[209] on a bucchero cup from tomb LXXXVI/6 of the La Penna necropolis. Sixth century.

ekolartos

ekokaisiosio

Sinistroverse, with *s* ⋛ (the apparent ⋛ in **6** is a slip of the stilus). For the use of *k* before *o*, see §11.2.2-3. In **6**, *lartos* is a genitive: there is no reason to interpret it as a nominative, as does Colonna (1977). In **7**, a chance point in the second *o* (not in Cozza & Pasqui's drawing) led the earliest editors to read *kaisiθsio*. Herbig was the first to read *kaisiosio* (1910) and to interpret this as a genitive (*CIE*), although he still considered Danielsson's *kaisi oṣtio* ('ostiu(m)'='poculum'?). His interpretation was not generally adopted (Buonamici preferred Danielsson's, and Stolte and Ribezzo regarded *kaisiosio* a dittography) until it was confirmed by the publication of *uotenosio* EF **2** in 1933 and of *aiṃiosio* EF **467*** in 1952. For Knobloch's suggestion that *kaisiosio* is an adjective *kaisiosio(s)* (1954) or *kaisiosio(m)* (1966:48) has not been adopted (cf. §4.4.2). For the formula *ego* $\text{OWNER}_{\text{GEN}}$, see §8.7.1.

From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 759). ***Bibliography:*** Cozza & Pasqui 1887a:175 (*autopsy*); Gamurrini 1887:61-2; †Dennis 1890:161; Gamurrini 1894:340; Herbig 1910:97-8 (*autopsy*); Jacobsohn 1910:4 ⟨12⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8163; Buonamici 1913:54-55 ⟨6⟩; [Weege in Helbig 1913:368]; Herbig 1917:33; [Della Seta 1918:59 (*autopsy*)]; Stolte 1926:28 ⟨11⟩; Ribezzo 1930:98; Lejeune 1952b:123; Vetter 1953:288 ⟨245a-b⟩; Knobloch 1954; G. Giacomelli 1963:48-9 ⟨4a-b⟩ (*autopsy*); Pisani 1964:342 ⟨146Ca-b⟩; Peruzzi 1965:149 n.2; Knobloch 1966; Devine 1970:23-4; Colonna 1977:104; G. Giacomelli 1978:528-9 ⟨4a-b⟩; *FI* II.2 p.151 (*autopsy*); Agostiniani 1982:151 ⟨592⟩; Lejeune 1989:66-7 ⟨6⟩. ***Photograph:*** G. Giacomelli 1963 tav.V. ***Drawings:*** Cozza & Pasqui 1887a:175 (reproduced in *CIE* 8163); Herbig *CIE* 8163; Lejeune 1952b:122; Lejeune 1989:66.

8-9. Scratched, **8** close to, and **9** behind a broken-off handle on a dolium (height 63.8 cm, ∅ rim 24 cm on the outside; letters 25-35 mm high) from tomb III of the Ponte Lepre necropolis.

ud

tele*[1-2?]medfifiked

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The letters *ud* are unexplained. Gulinelli's edition of the text (the first based on autopsy since Herbig's, as well as the first to include photographs and a drawing) now clearly shows that the first letters are *tele* and that the

[209] When the cup stands on its foot. Vetter read the inscription as dextroverse with an upside-down *a*, but the other letters, especially the *e*, show that this is incorrect.

earlier readings *heva*, *h·eva*, *veza*, *vepa*, or *zvea* (Herbig 1913), *ḥęya* (Herbig 1923, Pisani), *ḥ·ęya* (Herbig 1923), *-e-a* (Vetter), and *[...]a* (G. Giacomelli) are impossible. *Tele* is followed by a shaft with a small side bar that may or may not be intentional: an *i*, *a*, *v*, or *e*, according to Gulinelli. These first signs are separated from the rest by a space of 4 cm that is apparently empty: Gulinelli saw only very slight traces here, but noted that the distance of the letters elsewhere in the inscription is very regular, which would make the empty space a strange anomaly. *Fifiked* has been interpreted as a third singular perfect of *fingo* since Herbig, in which case the *k* may be an early instance of the occasionally occurring Faliscan custom to use *k* to denote /g/ (see §11.2.4). It is unlikely that it is a form of *facio* (cf. Lejeune 1955:148-50), although this idea has recently been revided (e.g. Poccetti 2005:31-5, Berenguer & Luján 2005:206-7): see §5.2.1.*7-8*. The phrase has a parallel in *mama z[e]xtos medf[.f]iqod* EF **1**: see §8.8.2.

Bibliography: (**I**) Herbig 1913:71-4 (*autopsy*); Herbig 1923:231; Vetter 1953:291 ⟨257⟩; Lejeune 1955:146-8; G. Giacomelli 1963:51-2 ⟨11*a-b*⟩; Pisani 1964:345-6 ⟨148⟩; Agostiniani 1982:151 ⟨593⟩. – (**II**) Gulinelli 1996 (*autopsy*). ***Photographs:*** Gulinelli 1996:226 figs.1 and 3. ***Drawing:*** Gulinelli 1996:226 fig.2.

10. Scratched under the foot (∅ 8.5 cm; letters 8-10 mm high) of an Attic black-varnished cup from the area of the Tempio Maggiore on Colle di Vignale. First quarter of the fifth century.

apolonos

Sinistroverse, with *a* 𐌀, *p* 𐌐, *n* 𐌍, and reversed *s* (𐌔). There is enough space both before and after the word to show that the text consisted of one word only. Just as the genitive is used in *Besitzerinschriften* to indicate a human owner, so it is used here to designate the god as the owner of the cup dedicated to him (Pisani). It is not necessary to assume that a verb such as *sum* or an adjective such as *sacer* is lost or was implied, as does G. Giacomelli. The use of the isolated genitive in Faliscan dedications is discussed in §8.10.1. For the worship of Apollo in the ager Faliscus, see §2.3.4.

From autopsy in the Museo Archeologico dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 7377). ***Bibliography:*** Jacobsohn 1910:3 ⟨3⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8030 (*autopsy*); Taylor 1923:78; Vetter 1953:292 ⟨260⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:59 ⟨31⟩; Pisani 1964:341-2 ⟨146A⟩; Moscati 1983:66 (*autopsy*); Comella 1986:171 ⟨28⟩ (*autopsy*); Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.2912; Wachter 1987:397. ***Photograph:*** Moscati 1983 tav.XVIII,b-c. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8030 (reproduced in *CIL* I^2.2912); Comella 1986 tav.76,R49.

Chapter 13

The inscriptions from Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres) I

13.1. Civita Castellana and its inscriptions

Like many South Etrurian towns, Falerii was situated on a spit of land enclosed by deep river-gorges. On the eastern side, a narrow saddle connects the site of the modern town with the Colle di Vignale, the place of the oldest settlement and probably of the Faliscan *arx*. Both hills are surrounded by the wide but steep valleys of the Rio Filetto to the south and of the Treia to the east, and by the sheer-sided ravine of the Rio Maggiore to the north. A short history of the town has been given in §2.4-6. The results of the many excavations at Civita Castellana have mostly been published in *FI* II.2: a more recent overview may be found in Moscati 1990.

Civita Castellana yields the great majority of the Faliscan inscriptions, even allowing for errors in the attribution (cf. §1.4.5). Most of the inscriptions are from the necropoles along the ancient roads radiating from the town. A smaller number comes from the various temple sites (§14.2). I have tied the dating of the inscriptions from Civita Castellana to the apparent desertion of the town after the war of 241 BC (§1.4.4, §11.1.3), classing all inscriptions from Civita Castellana as Middle Faliscan unless there are reasons to suppose otherwise. There are indications that some of the temples remained in use until the second century, and at least two inscriptions from the temple sites (LF **112** and LtF **131**) appear to belong to this period. Families owning tombs near the old town may also have continued to use these: the sepulchral inscriptions in the Latin alphabet, LtF **140** and **171-174**, may belong to such late burials. Another inscription apparently in the Latin alphabet is MF/LtF **21**.

13.2. The necropolis of Contrada Le Colonnette

Contrada Le Colonnette lies to the northeast of Civita Castellana, on the other side of the Rio Maggiore, a little to the north of the station of the Roma-Viterbo railway line. From there, an ancient hollow road leads down to the Fossa dei Cappuccini and the temple of Contrada Celle. The discovery of Faliscan remains in this area by Count Feroldi de Rosa (cf. Del Frate 1898:72-3), including the discovery, in 1873, of the small fourth- to second-century temple known as the 'Ninfeo Rosa' (cf. Eroli 1875, Pasqui 1887:93 n.1, and Blanck 1990), led to an excavation in the necropolis in 1890. This

excavation, published in *FI* II.2 pp.206-10, yielded the 'Ceres-inscription' EF **1** (§12.2) and MF **14**; MF **15-19** were discovered by Mengarelli during the 1880s and 1890s (cf. Thulin 1907:264).

11-12. Cut, **11** to the right (letters *c.*9 cm high) and **12** to the left (letters *c.*8 cm high) of the entrance to a tomb.

uoltiɬeti

cau‹i›o:pauiꟻceo:
ḷ[oc]ḷes:cela

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The interpunct in **11** consists of a vertical stroke: see §I1.2.4. The first line of **12** turns around a corner in the rock-face after *paui*. Following the lacuna, Thulin's drawing shows only a small part of a shaft. – *Uolti teti* may be an abbreviated nominative (Herbig) or a genitive (Vetter, G. Giacomelli): see §8.8.1. Both Thulin and Herbig asserted from autopsy that the first word of **12** is *caulo*. If this is not an error for the very frequent *cauio* (the same error of ꟻ for I occurs in MF **32**), it can be compared to Etruscan *Caule*, Latin *Caulius* (Herbig); Thulin's and Vetter's Etruscan *Cavili*, and Latin *Cavilius*, *Gavilius*, or *Gavillus* assume a syncope that is not in accordance with Faliscan phonology (§3.6.6.2). The name *Pauicius* occurs also in *ce · pauiꟻceo · ru?]so* in LtF **290**. The restoration *ḷ[oc]ḷes* goes back to Herbig (*CIE*), although similar restorations had been proposed earlier by Thulin and Herbig (1910).

The problem of this inscription is its awkward syntax. *Ḷ[oc]ḷes*, probably a genitive (see §9.2.2.*4*), belongs with *caulo : pauiceo*, 'Gavius Pavicius [son] of Lucius': taking it with *cela* would give 'Lucius' tomb', but when a person is designated as the owner of a tomb, the expected onomastic formula would be PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM (as in the other inscriptions of this type, MF **84-84** and MLF **285**), not PRAENOMEN: cf. §7.3. Even more problematic is the syntactic relation between the nominatives *cau‹i›o : pauiceo* and *cela* (unless Herbig's and Buonamici's very improbable interpretation of *cela* as a cognomen is adopted, cf. §7.9.1.*5*). Thulin pointed to the similar lack of congruence in *poplia : calitenes* | *aronto : cesies* | *lartio : uxor* MF **265** (cf. §9.2.2.*4*), but his alternative, taking *caulo : pauiceo* (as he read it) as a dative ('C.P. Lucii (filio) cella') is unattractive, as comparable inscriptions have either the nominative or the genitive (§8.8.1, §11.1.4,*1.a*). Vetter and G. Giacomelli adopted Thulin's suggestion that the lines *cauio : pauiceo :* and *ḷ[oc]ḷes : cela* belonged to two different inscriptions. This is not impossible, in spite of the interpunct after *pauiceo*, but the second text, *ḷ[oc]ḷes : cela*, can then hardly be complete.[210]

I have considered combining these inscriptions as

[210] "Die Zweite [Zeile] ist jedenfalls mehr zerstört, vielleicht absichtlich ausradiert, als das Grab den Besitzer gewechselt hat" (Thulin 1907:274).

cau⟨i⟩o : pauiceo : :OƎƆIVAꟻ:OꟻVAƆ

uolti f teti ┌─┐l[oc]ies : cela ꟻꟻƎƆ:ƧƎ ꟻI ┌─┐IFƎFIIFꟻOV

('Gavius Pavicius. – The tomb of Voltius Tettius son of Lucius.')

but the epigraphical differences between the two inscriptions are perhaps too great for this. However, this would solve the problem of the awkward syntax.

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:273-4 ⟨7-8⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig 1910:101-3 ⟨15⟩ (*autopsy*); Jacobsohn 1910:3 ⟨9⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8076-8077 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:56 ⟨8-9⟩; Vetter 1953:295 ⟨271a-b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:74 ⟨68,I-IIa-b⟩ (*autopsy*); Loicq 1965:697. ***Photograph:*** G. Giacomelli 1963 tav.VIII. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907:273, 274 (reproduced in *CIE* 8076-8077).

13. Cut over the entrance of a tomb *c.*10 m to the right of the one of **11-12** is a badly legible inscription. My reading, which is in effect a guess rather than a certainty, is based on the drawings by Thulin and Herbig (reproduced in fig.13.1), and on G. Giacomelli's photograph, which is unfortunately unclear.

t qvintoi *q haloi*
tetia t : front *teti atroni*

Fig. 13.1. Thulin's and Herbig's drawings and readings of MF 13.

left: Thulin's drawing and reading. (From Thulin 1907:275.)
right: Herbig's drawing and reading. (From *CIE* 8078.)

ohaθi
tetiatron (or ***tetiatroni*** ?)

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Thulin read a very narrow ꟻ before the first *o*, coinciding with a small edge in the stone, but Herbig's drawing shows no such letter and he doubted its existence. The *o*'s are angular and pointed at the bottom, which led Thulin and Herbig to read the first *o* as a *q* in spite of the fact that the Middle Faliscan alphabet has no separate sign for *q* (§11.2.2-4). The third letter is ꟾ, which Thulin interpreted as a ligature *vi* (IƎ), adding a second non-Faliscan letter to the text. Thulin's reading, with its many ligatures and *qv* instead of the usual Faliscan *cu*,[211] is unaccept-

[211] Vetter erroneously credited Thulin also with a ligature *qv*.

able to me. The third letter is either an *n* or an *a*, but neither *ohnoi* nor *ohaoi* makes any sense. I therefore suggest that the second *o*, and perhaps also the first, might be a *θ*. This letter occurs occasionally in Middle Faliscan inscriptions, and although it is virtually always written as ⊙, there are parallels for the omission of the central point (see §11.2.4). This gives *o hạθi* or *θ hạθi*, with *hạθi* a gentilicium comparable to Latin *Fadius*, cf. *cauia* | *hadenia* MLF **360**. The second line is more legible, except for the last sign. I assume that this is *n*; Herbig and G. Giacomelli took the elongated shaft of this letter as an *i* written over the *n*, which would give the expected *atroni*. If read in this way, the resulting *hạθi* and *teti atroni* are either genitives or abbreviated nominatives, perhaps rather the former, cf. *uolti* / *teti* MF **11**, if that name is to be read in isolation.

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:274-5 ⟨9⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8078 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:57 ⟨10⟩; Herbig 1914a:239 ⟨6⟩; Vetter 1953:296 ⟨272⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:74-5 ⟨69⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Photograph:*** G. Giacomelli 1963 tav.VIII. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907:275 (reproduced in *CIE* 8078); Herbig *CIE* 8078.

14. Painted in red on a tile (66×40 cm, letters 7-10 cm high) from tomb CXXXVI.

cauipi:leueli
filea

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The first line bends downwards at the end, showing that the inscription occupied just one tile. Conway's *cauiại* is an error. Thulin interpreted the text as 'Cauipi Leueli filia', Herbig as 'Gaia Vibia Levelii filia', with *uipi* as an Etruscan feminine: see §9.2.2.2*a*. Vetter took *uipi* as the genitive of the father's praenomen, and this has been adopted by all editors except Morandi (who followed Herbig). It is the only instance of FILIATION added to of PRAENOMEN and the only instance of a FILIATION consisting of PRAENOMEN GENTILICIUM (§7.5.1).

From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 3733). ***Bibliography:*** Conway 1897:379 ⟨334⟩ (*autopsy*); Thulin 1907:281-2 ⟨15⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig 1910:88-9 ⟨8⟩ (*autopsy*); Jacobsohn 1910:3 ⟨8⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8075; Buonamici 1913:58 ⟨12⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.7516; Vetter 1953:295 ⟨270⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:73 ⟨67⟩ (*autopsy*); Pisani 1964:336 ⟨143B⟩; Dohrn in Helbig/Speier 1969:690 ⟨2775⟩ (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1978:532 ⟨9⟩; *FI* II.2 p.207 (*autopsy*); Morandi 1982:58-9 ⟨11⟩. ***Photograph:*** G. Giacomelli 1963 tav.VII. ***Drawings:*** Herbig *CIE* 8075; Morandi 1982:59.

15-19. Painted[212] inside a tomb discovered by Mengarelli "vor vielen Jahren" (Thulin 1907:264-5 with plan[213]) but lost already in 1908 (Herbig *CIE* 8070-8074). The tomb belonged to the *gentes Neronia* (**15-16**) and *Firmia* (**18-19**): the former gentilicium also occurs at Fabbrica di Roma (LtF **325**, **328**) and the Grotta Porciosa site (LtF **340**), the latter also at Falerii Novi (LF **213**) and at Vignanello (MLF **302**).

[212] G. Giacomelli's "scolpite nel sasso e dipinte" is a misinterpretation of Herbig's "titulus qui a sinistra parte loculi inferioris [*c.q.* superioris], qui a latere dextro introitus [*c.q.* ingressus] ... rupi insculptus est, calce in saxo pictus".

[213] It is not clear how correct this plan is: the drawing of MF **15** shows two loculi to the right of the inscription, which is impossible if the plan is correct.

15. Painted in white beside a loculus.

uolta
ne·roni
cafi

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The point in *ne·roni* is accidental. *Neroni* is an abbreviated nominative, not an Etruscan form (as Pisani suggested): see §9.2.2.2*a*.

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:267-8 ⟨4*d*,α⟩; Herbig 1910:109 n.1; Jacobsohn 1910:3 ⟨6⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8070; Buonamici 1913:57-8 ⟨11⟩; Vetter 1953:294 ⟨269a⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:73 ⟨66,I⟩; Pisani 1964:335-6 ⟨143A⟩. ***Drawing:*** Mengarelli in Thulin 1907:267 (reproduced in *CIE* 8070).

16. Painted in red on plaster beside a loculus.

[.....]
ner̩[oni.]
i̯[.....]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The second line probably consisted of a form of the gentilicium *Neronius*, although only a minimal trace of the *r* is preserved. The third line will have contained the filiation; if the shaft that is all that is preserved of its first letter is an *i*, it may have been *i̯[uneo]*, *i̯[unea]*, or *i̯[unai · f]*.

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:264-8 ⟨4*d*,β⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8071; Vetter 1953:294 ⟨269a⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:73 ⟨66,II⟩. ***Drawing:*** Mengarelli in Thulin 1907:268 (reproduced in *CIE* 8071).

17. Painted in red on plaster beside a loculus. The letters of the second line are smaller than those of the first and the third; perhaps the lines were written at different times.

·iii·l̩[.....]
[.....]naı̯[?---]
[....]ouxo [

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *l* is ⅃, a rare form in the ager Faliscus, and associated rather with the Latin alphabet. Thulin rightly pointed to LtF **251**, where *lectus* is used in the sense 'loculus' or 'place in a loculus' (cf. §6.3.*39*): *· iii · l̩[.....]* would then be 'the third *lectus* ...' or 'three *lecti* ...': cf. *lete zot xxiiii* 'lecti sunt XXIIII' MLF **285** and perhaps *let* in MLF **361**. The rest is difficult: *[---]naı̯[* can be a dative or a genitive, but the space after *uxo* in Mengarelli's drawing shows that this word is apparently complete and therefore a nominative, implying that the woman's name was likewise a nominative. (Herbig's *uxo[ri]* [*sic*] ignores this space.) The *[....]o* preceding *uxo* is probably the genitive of the husband's name, e.g. *[arut]o* or *[lart]o* (Vetter).

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:265 ⟨4*a*⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8072; Vetter 1953:294 ⟨269b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963: 73 ⟨66,III⟩. ***Drawing:*** Mengarelli in Thulin 1907:265 (reproduced in *CIE* 8072).

18. Painted in red on plaster underneath a loculus.

poplia
l̩irmia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The first letter of the second line is ᚺ. Thulin read this as a reversed *n*, but in view of the Faliscan attestations of *Firmius* (§7.8.1.*62*), Herbig's *ḥirmia* has been adopted by all later editors. A similar *h* occurs in MF **88** (cf. §11.2.3).

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:266 ⟨4*b*⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8074; Vetter 1953:295 ⟨269c⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963: 73 ⟨66,V⟩. ***Drawing:*** Mengarelli in Thulin 1907:266 (reproduced in *CIE* 8073).

19. Painted in white underneath a loculus.

Fig.13.2. Mengarelli's drawing of MF 19.

(From Thulin 1907:266.)

[---]ḥiṛṃeoiu·

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The letters given in Mengarelli's drawing are meaningless (*..ia II ueθiu.* Thulin, *θure ueθiu.* Herbig, *ọi-ạiiueoiu.* Vetter, *ọi.ạIIueoiu.* G. Giacomelli). Taking ᚹᚹᚾ as a damaged *m*, however, gives *[---] ḥiṛṃeo iu ·*, with a gentilicium as in *poplia* | *ḥirmia* MF **18** (or perhaps *[---]**ṛịṇeo*) followed by a filiation *iu*.

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:266-7 ⟨4*c*⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8073; Vetter 1953:295 ⟨269d⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:73 ⟨66,IV⟩. ***Drawing:*** Mengarelli in Thulin 1907:266 (reproduced in *CIE* 8073).

13.3. The necropolis of Contrada Celle

Contrada Celle lies to the northeast of Civita Castellana, to the north of the Rio Maggiore. The necropolis spread to the southeast of the ancient road to the Tiber crossing near Borghese (Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:152-3). With the exceptions of MF **39**, a chance find, and MF **40**, discovered in the 1950s, all inscriptions from this site were found during the excavation of the necropolis in 1888. These excavations have been published by Pasqui (1887) and in *FI* II.2 pp.99-143 with map p.100).

20. Scratched inside a red-varnished cup from tomb LXXVI/50. Known only through the apograph in *FI* II.2 and Nogara's copy of the apograph in the Museo di Villa Giulia inventory.

caisioi

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *o* contains an accidental point. *Caisioi* is usually interpreted as a dative, but it is perhaps rather a genitive (Pisani): see §4.4.4.

Bibliography: Jacobsohn 1910:3 ⟨1⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8002; Herbig 1914a:239 ⟨4⟩; Lejeune 1952b:125; Vetter 1953:289 ⟨251⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:57 ⟨23⟩; Pisani 1964:342-3 ⟨146E⟩; Devine 1970:17-9; *FI* II.2 p.126 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** *FI* II.2 p.126.

21. Scratched near the rim inside a black-varnished plate (height 4.5 cm, ∅ 18 cm; letters 4-7 mm) from tomb 94.

ṛica

Dextroverse: the *r* is ⅄. Lejeune regarded *ṛica* as a woman's name, perhaps in the genitive, but this involves omission of *-s* after a *long* vowel, which is rare (§3.5.7*d*).

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8020; Lejeune 1952:117; Vetter 1953:294; G. Giacomelli 1963:58-9 ⟨29,III⟩; *FI* II.2 p.144 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Nogara in Herbig *CIE* 8020.

22-30. The following inscriptions are all from tomb CXIX/89.

22-27. Scratched on six similar red clay saucers (∅ 12 cm, let. 5-15 mm).

turia

turia

turia

turia

turia

turia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The inscriptions do not appear to be all in the same hand, or even in the same alphabet: in **26**, *a* is Λ, in the others ꟸ (of a more squarish shape in **24** and **27**); in **25** and **26** the *r* is ◁, in the others Ꟃ. *Turius* is also attested in *caui : turi* MF **273**, and probably also in *ca : tu* MF **38**: it is unnecessary to assume a connection with Greek Τυρώ (as did Herbig).

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:307 ⟨60⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8003-8008 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:290 ⟨252⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:57 ⟨24,I-VI⟩; *FI* II.2 pp.137-8 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Pauli in Herbig *CIE* 8003-8008.

28. Scratched inside a cup (∅ 13 cm; letters 14-20 mm high) described as red-varnished in the Museo di Villa Giulia inventories quoted by Thulin, but as black-varnished in *FI*.

sta

Either sinistroverse with a reversed *s* and an upside-down *t* (*FI*) or dextroverse with an upside-down *a* (all other editors). For the interpretation, see MF **29**.

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:307 ⟨59⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8013; Vetter 1953:290 ⟨254b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:58 ⟨27⟩; *FI* II.2 p.137 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:307 (reproduced in *CIE* 8013).

29. Scratched inside a cup (height 4 cm, ∅ 12.2 cm, letters 11-16 mm high) described as red-varnished in the inventory of the Museo di Villa Giulia (quoted by Thulin), but as black-varnished in *FI*.

statuo

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with reversed *s*. Thulin compared *sta* MF? **128**, which he read as a verb *sta(t)* 'ist aufgestellt' (in a sacral sense). *Statuo* could then be "das Aktivum dazu" (Thulin 1907:307), apparently the equivalent of Greek *ἀνατίθημι*, while *sta* MF? **28** could be either *sta(t)* or *sta(tuo)*. This was adopted by Herbig and G. Giacomelli, but I do not adopt Thulin's interpretation of *sta* MF? **128**, and regard *sta* and *stat* with Vetter as abbreviations of *Statius*, and *uo* as an abbreviated gentilicium.

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:307 ⟨58⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8012; Vetter 1953:290 ⟨254a⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:58 ⟨26⟩; *FI* II.2 p.137 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:307 (reproduced in *CIE* 8012).

30. Scratched inside a black-varnished Etrusco-Campanian cup named in *FI* among the finds from this tomb, but published by Herbig and G. Giacomelli as *incertae originis*.

ce

Sinistroverse.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8294; G. Giacomelli 1963:61 ⟨38,III⟩; *FI* II.2 p.137 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8294.

31-32. Usually treated together because of their identical contents are two inscriptions on black-varnished cups from two different tombs of this necropolis.

31. Scratched on the bottom of a black-varnished cup (∅ 12.4 cm; letters 6-12 mm high) from tomb CXX/105.

loifi̯rtato

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The first *i* is either written as ⅃ (as an error for Ⅰ) or damaged by a scratch that makes it look like an ⅃. The *r* is , an example of the confusion of Я (*r*) and Я (*a*) rather than an example of Λ: see §11.2.4. The reading *loifirtato* goes back to Herbig (*loifia tato* Thulin, *loifirtatio* Nogara). See under **32**.

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:306 ⟨56⟩ (*autopsy*); Jacobsohn 1910:3 ⟨2a⟩; Jacobsohn 1911:464; Herbig *CIE* 8010 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:53-4 ⟨4⟩; Vetter 1953:290 ⟨253⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:57 ⟨25,I⟩; Pisani 1964:342 ⟨146B,a⟩; *FI* II.2 p.134 (*autopsy*). ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907:306 (reproduced in *CIE* 8010); Herbig *CIE* 8010.

32. Scratched inside a black-varnished cup (height 8.8 cm, ∅ 13.2 cm; letters 5-8 mm high) from tomb CXXIII/92.

loifi̯rtato

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Leaving aside Thulin's interpretation (based on the misreading *loifia tato*), all editors have interpreted *loifirtato* as the genitive of a noun

corresponding to Latin *libertas*.[214] The meaning of the text is unclear. *Loifirtato* has been taken as 'libertatis (ergo)', a dedication made on the occasion of enfranchisement (thus Herbig and G. Giacomelli), or as 'Libertatis', the name of a deity (Herbig, Jacobsohn 1911:464, Buonamici, Vetter 1953:410),[215] with a genitive as in *apolonos* EF **10** (cf. §8.11.1) Herbig notes that in the latter case *loifirtato* could also be a plural genitive. Problematic is that both interpretations presuppose the presence, in tombs, of dedications that are apparently not related to the funeral rites. Pisani tried to avoid this problem by interpreting *loifirtato* as the genitive of the woman's name 'Libertas' read by him in MF **41** as *l]oifiṛṭa(s)*, but the correct reading there is *l]oifirta* 'liberta'. For the diphthong, see §3.7.3.

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:305 ⟨55⟩ (*autopsy*); Jacobsohn 1910:3 ⟨2b⟩; Jacobsohn 1911:464; Herbig *CIE* 8011 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:53-4 ⟨5⟩; Vetter 1953:290, 410 ⟨253⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:57 ⟨25,II⟩; Pisani 1964:342 ⟨146B,b⟩; *FI* II.2 p.132 (autopsy). ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:305 (reproduced in *CIE* 8011); Herbig *CIE* 8011.

33. Painted in ochre inside a black-varnished plate (∅ 16 cm, letters 8 mm high) from tomb CXXXIV/90.

lo:cr

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. *Lo* is 'Lo(ci-)' (Thulin), not Vetter's 'Lo(uci)', nor Herbig's *lθ* 'L(ar)θ'. For *cr* cf. the gentilicium *Grae-* in *crạ[---]* MF **141**, *cre[---]* MF **142**, *cṛ[---]* MF **143** (Herbig); *kreco* MF **147**, adduced by Thulin and G. Giacomelli, is a praenomen.

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:306 ⟨57⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8018 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:290 ⟨256b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:59 ⟨30⟩; *FI* II.2 p.111 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:306 (reproduced in *CIE* 8018).

34-37. On four vessels from tomb CXXXV/98.

34-36. Scratched inside a black-varnished cup (∅ 13 cm; letters 8-11 mm high) and two black-varnished plates (∅ 17 cm, letters 7-15 mm high and ∅ 18 cm, letters *c.*7 mm high respectively).

serui

serui

serui

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *s* is reversed (ꟻ) in **34** and **36**; in **35**, it is ϟ, but written so casually that it looks like an ϵ. *Serui* is a genitive or perhaps an abbreviated

[214] Herbig also discussed possible interpretations of his *loifir tato*, 'Tatus liber', 'Tatus liber (=puer)', and 'Liber pater'.

[215] Cf. (Latino-)Venetic *[---]firtati*, published by Innocenti Prosdocimi (1976:269-72), perhaps connected to the enfranchisement of the Latin citizens by the *lex Iulia* in 90-89 BCE.

nominative: it is not necessary to assume that it is an Etruscan nominative (as Herbig proposed, cf. §9.2.2.2*a*). The name can be a praenomen or a gentilicium.

35 from autopsy (Museo di Villa Giulia, inv. 2271). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8014-6 (*autopsy*); Weege in Helbig 1913, p.372; Vetter 1953:290 ⟨255⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:58 ⟨28,1-III⟩; *FI* II.2 pp.141-2 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8014-8016.

37. Scratched inside a small cup (∅ 8.5 mm; letters 7-10 mm high).

a·r·n

Sinistroverse. Etruscan alphabet. The *a* is ; the *r* is the Etruscan 𐌛. The points that between the letters (*a·r·n*) are in all probability accidental or decorative. Herbig compared Etruscan *Arn* and Latin *Arnius*, Hirata Etruscan *Arnθ* and Latin *Aruns*.

From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giullia, Rome (inv.2311). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8017 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:290 ⟨256a⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:58-9 ⟨29,I⟩; Hirata 1967:35; Rix *ET* Fa 2.18. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8017.

38. Scratched before firing inside a black-varnished saucer on a high foot (height 8.7 cm, ∅ 12.3 cm, letters 5-6 mm high)

ca:tu

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *u* is carelessly written as . *Tu* is an probably an abbreviation of the gentilicium *Turius*, cf. *caui : turi* MF **273** and *turia* MF **22-27.**

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8019; Vetter 1953:290 ⟨256c⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:58-9 ⟨29,II⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8019.

39. Painted in red across a tile (letters 10-12 cm high) said to have been found "in sepulcreto di Celle multis annis ante [*sc.* before 1912]" (Herbig *CIE* 8566).

iuna
malio

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The gentilicium is *Mallius* or *Ma(n)lius*: see §7.8.1.*94*.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8566 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:303 ⟨288⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:84 ⟨87⟩. ***Drawing:*** Nogara in Herbig *CIE* 8566.

40. Cut over a loculus.[216]

[---]ocicio·cicoi:cupat:ifra

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The first part of the text is to be read either as *[---]ocicio* (G. Giacomelli 1963, 1978), either *[---]o cicio* '...us Cincius' (for a *Cincia* from Civita Castellana, cf. MF **135**), or *[---]ocrio* (with *ic* ⟩I read as *r* ꟻ) which gives a gentilicium *Ocrius* (G. Giacomelli 1965, Calzecchi-Onesti). Rix's *u(m)p]ricio* is impossible, see G. Giacomelli 1965. *Cicoi* is the only form in *-oi* that cannot possibly

[216] Calzecchi-Onesti erroneously called the necropolis 'Necropoli del Colle'.

be taken as a dative. G. Giacomelli interpreted it as a Faliscan transcription of an Etruscan feminine *Cicui* (§9.2.2.2*a*), but I think that it could better be interpreted as a genitive in *-oi* of a *Cincus* or *Cicus*, as was done by Pisani. For the genitive in *-oi*, see §4.4.4. The resulting '...us Cincius son of Cincus' could perhaps be compared to the *tul · tullius · tul · f* in *CIL* I^2.1493 and 1497 from Tibur. *Cupat : ifra* is a unique adaptation of the normal formula *hec cupat*: see §8.10.1.

Bibliography: G. Giacomelli 1963:84 ⟨88⟩ (*autopsy*); Pisani 1964:340 n.1; Olzscha 1965:122; Rix 1965:447 n.4; G. Giacomelli 1965a:549-50; Calzecchi-Onesti 1981:181; G. Giacomelli 1978:531-2 ⟨8⟩.
Photograph: G. Giacomelli 1963 tav.IX (reproduced in G. Giacomelli 1965 tav.CXXXIV*a*).

13.4. The Valsiarosa necropolis

The necropolis of Valsiarosa lies to the west of Civita Castellana, to the north of the modern road to Nepi, near the ancient road leading to the Ponte Terrano. Several tombs were excavated here between 1886 and 1889 (cf. Cozza & Pasqui 1887c, FI II.2 pp.187-204 with map p.188), but all the inscriptions from this site are from a tomb excavated in 1900 by Magliulo.[217] Although it contained eighteen loculi, only three sepulchral inscriptions are recorded: it is not stated whether the other loculi had any inscriptions. The fact that two of the sepulchral inscriptions were still in situ and that some at least of the grave-goods were recovered (cf. Thulin 1907:257) seems to imply that the tomb was intact.[218] Thulin (1907:257) dated the sepulchral inscriptions to the fourth rather than the third century. All pertain to apparently unrelated women: Peruzzi (1964b) assumed that they were women initiates of the Bacchic mysteries, partly because of the burial of a freeborn woman and a freedwoman in the same loculus (see MF **41**), but there is no convincing argument for adopting this interpretation. The inscriptions contain several Etruscan features: see §9.2.3*f* and Peruzzi 1964b.

41. Painted in violet on plaster across four tiles (each *c.*60×*c.*49 cm; letters 13 cm high) found in situ.[219]

[1]fas[2][i]es:c[3][ai]sia[4]:louṛia
[1]louc[2]i:teti:u[3]xor[:l][4]oifirtą

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The last letters of each line (*ria* and *irta*) are written vertically downwards as there was no room to write the line in full on the last tile. Only

[217] Several other inscriptions (**347-355**) ascribed to the Valsiarosa necropolis by Herbig have now been shown to come from the site at Grotta Porciosa (§16.6).

[218] Peruzzi (1964b:142) assumed that the tomb was plundered because of the small number of grave-goods listed by Thulin: the latter, however, gave only a selection, not an exhaustive list.

[219] Herbig (*CIE* 8190) gave the height of the letters as "m. c. 0,03 a.", but from Thulin's drawing it appears that this must be an error.

the bottom parts of the letters *ur* in *loụṛia* remain: reading e.g. *loụçia* would appear to be impossible, however. The *f* in *fasies*, the *c* and the *a* in *c[..]sia*, the *i* in *louci*, the interpunct between *louci* and *teti*, and the *x* of *uxor* had disappeared already by Thulin's time and were restored by him from Magliulo's apograph. The lacuna in the first line is large enough for *c[ai]sia* (which is more in keeping with the *ou* in *louci* and *loụṛia*) or *c[ei]sia*: Thulin's *c[e]sia* is too short, and Herbig's *c[ae]si(ạ)* (1910:195) is untenable and was abandoned later. *Fasies* has been interpreted as the genitive of the father's name (Thulin, Herbig, Buonamici, Pisani) used as the woman's patronym (Vetter) or gentilicium (G. Giacomelli): rather, it is an Etruscoid form in *-es* (see §9.2.2.2*d*) of the gentilicium *Fassius* (attested for Oscan in *fassiiſs* ZO 1) and placed here before the praenomen as in Etruscan. Thulin took the inscription as pertaining to two daughters of *Fasi-*, namely *c[e]sịa louria* and *l]oifia*. A different interpretation was proposed by Herbig (1910:196). From the triple interpunct that follows *c[ai]sia* in Thulin's drawing and from the fact that *louria* and *l]oifia* (as he read the text) were not started on a third line but written at the end of the first two, he concluded that the fourth tile was added later. This interpretation became all the more attractive when the last word was read as *l]ọifirtạ* by Nogara (in *CIE* 8190).[220] The inscription could then be read as pertaining to a *fasies : c[ai]sia* | *louci : teti : uxor* and to a *loụṛia* | *[l]oifirtạ* interred in the same loculus. This interpretation was rightly adopted by most later authors. Pisani read *l]ọifiṛtạ(s)*, interpreting this as a woman's name 'Libertas'.

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:257-64 ⟨1⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig 1910:195-8 ⟨37⟩; Jacobsohn 1910:4 ⟨18⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8190; Buonamici 1913:59 ⟨14⟩; Vetter 1953:297 ⟨276a⟩; Knobloch 1954:36; G. Giacomelli 1963:76-7 ⟨73,I⟩; Pisani 1964:337-8 ⟨143G⟩; Peruzzi 1964b. ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:258 (reproduced in *CIE* 8190); Herbig *CIE* 8190.

42. Painted in red on plaster on two tiles (60×44 cm, letters 10 cm high) found in situ.

[1]cauia[2]:satelie
[1]caui:fel[2]içinate
[1]uxor [2]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *i* in *cauia*, the interpunct between *cauia* and *satelie*, the second *e* in *satelie*, the *i* in *caui*, the interpunct between *caui* and *feliçinate*, and the *r* in *uxor* were all restored by Thulin from Magliulo's apograph. Magliulo's *satelie* is probably to be preferred to the *satelie[s]* read by Herbig and all editors after him, for although Herbig (1910:199) asserts that in Nogara's drawing there is space to restore *s*, this is not borne out by the drawing as published in *CIE*, and the possibility is expressly rejected from autopsy by Nogara himself.[221] The form is an Etruscoid name in

[220] "Non si vede più il terzo punto dell'interpunzione in principio del tegolo IV, quello in basso, e probabilmente non esistette mai" (Nogara in Herbig *CIE* 8190).

[221] The final *e* is based on Magliulo's apograph: it is unlikely that misread a damaged *a* (Ǝ) as an *e* (Ǝ), as he read the damaged last letter of *cauia*, which in Nogara's drawing is Ǝ, as *a*.

-ie(s), for which see §9.2.2.*2d*. In the second line, the drawings show the top parts of the letters *i* and *c* (or *o*, or *θ*) between *fel* an *inate*. Herbig's *feliçinate* (*CIE*), with a toponymic gentilicium that occurs also in Etruscan (*felcinatial* Pe 1.485 and 1.1235) and Latin (*Feliginas*), has been adopted by all authors, and is now confirmed by *[fel]ịcinatiu* LF **384**. The genitive ending *-e* renders either /-es/ or /- ēs/: see §4.5.2.

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:257-64 ⟨2⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig 1910:198-9 ⟨38⟩; Jacobsohn 1910:4 ⟨19⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8191; Buonamici 1913:59 ⟨15⟩; Vetter 1953:297 ⟨276b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:76-7 ⟨73,II⟩; Peruzzi 1964b. ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:261 (reproduced in *CIE* 8191); Herbig *CIE* 8191.

43. Painted in red on plaster along the length of the backs of two tiles (max. 51?×44 and 66×44 cm; letters *c.*10 cm high).

[1] ***ueṇe[*** [2] ***] na·***
[1] ***ux[or*** [2] ***]*** ***[***

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The tiles, found and described separately by Magliulo, were joined by Thulin, who read *Venena ux.* (with the letters *ne* restored from Magliulo's apograph?). A trace of a shaft after the letters *ue* was in fact seen by Nogara (in Herbig *CIE* 8192), who also read the interpunct at the end of the first line. Vetter emended Thulin's *Venena* to *ueḷiena*, which was adopted by G. Giacomelli. Herbig interpreted *ue(ne)na* either as a masculine genitive *ue(ne)na(s)* preceded on a lost tile by a woman's name in the nominative, or as a feminine nominative preceded on a lost tile by the woman's praenomen in the first line, and by her husband's praenomen in the genitive in the second line. The former interpretation was adopted by G. Giacomelli.

Both interpretations presuppose that a missing tile preceded the text, and this appears to be impossible in view of the amount of space before *ueṇe[* and *ux[or* shown in Thulin's drawing. Vetter (1953:443) took his *ueḷiena* as a masculine nominative, apparently reading the text as 'Veliena (and) wife' without any missing tiles, but there is no Faliscan parallel for a woman to be designated by the word *uxor* alone. I suspect that a tile is missing in the *middle*, in which case the text may be read as a woman's name with in the second line *ux[or*, followed by the husband's name in the genitive. For *ueṇe[*, cf. perhaps *ue* in MLF **206** and the gentilicium *nel[n---]* LtF **299** and *neln* LtF **300**? *Uene[ ]na* can be a man's name, *Venel ...na*, but in that case it is very difficult to explain what the remainder of the text (starting with *ux[or*) may have looked like.

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:257-64 ⟨3⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig 1910:189 ⟨27⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8192; Buonamici 1913:60 ⟨16⟩; Buonamici 1935:343; Vetter 1953:298 ⟨276c⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:76-7 ⟨73,III⟩; Peruzzi 1964b:140. ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:264 (reproduced in *CIE* 8192).

44-46. From the same tomb are two or three inscribed vessels. Thulin (1907:307) spoke of "zwei [Gefässen] mit kleinen Graffiti", but describes not two, but three. Editors have tacitly assumed that all these three vessels belonged to this tomb.

44. Scratched under a small black-varnished cup (∅ 10 cm; letters 5-10 mm high).

tur

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Cf. *turia* MF **22-27** and *turi* MF 273.
Bibliography: Thulin 1907:307-8 ⟨61⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8193; Vetter 1953:289 ⟨247⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:50-1 ⟨8⟩. ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:308 (reproduced in *CIE* 8193).

45. Scratched inside a black-varnished cup (∅ 12 cm; letters 6-12 mm high) similar to that of **44**.

ani

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet? The *a* is written rather carelessly as . A genitive (Vetter and G. Giacomelli) rather than an abbreviated nominative (Thulin); see §8.8.1.
Bibliography: Thulin 1907:307-8 ⟨62⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8194; Vetter 1953:289 ⟨247⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:50-1 ⟨9⟩. ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:308 (reproduced in *CIE* 8194).

46. Scratched under the foot of a small plate (∅ 14 cm; let. 5-7 mm) is

hap

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet? The *h* is . G. Giacomelli took the elongated *p*, , as a ligature *pi* (considered also by Herbig), but this seems unnecessary. *Hap* may render *Fabius* (Herbig) with the Faliscan spelling *h-* for original /f-/ (§3.5.2).
Bibliography: Thulin 1907:308 ⟨63⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8195: Vetter 1953:289 ⟨249⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:51 ⟨10⟩. ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:308 (reproduced in *CIE* 8195).

13.5. The La Penna necropolis

The La Penna necropolis is situated to the southwest of the city, south of the modern road to Nepi. Excavations were conducted at this site in 1886 and 1887, and several more tombs were excavated in 1888 and 1889 (see Cozza & Pasqui 1887a-b, *FI* II.2 pp.144-86 with map p.145). Most of the inscriptions from this site, including the cup with *eko lartos* EF **6** and *eko kaisiosio* EF **7** (§12.3), were found during these excavations; only the discovery of MF **55** seem to be undocumented.

47. Cut over a loculus of Cozza & Pasqui's tomb II.

uolḷia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The third and fourth letters are . Most editors read *uollia*, but the rarity of the geminated spelling in Faliscan inscriptions (§11.2.4.3) lead Herbig to read *uolḷia* and Vetter to read *uolḷia*. The latter is attractive, but may not be necessary, cf. *uolḷ[---]* MF **86**. See also §3.5.5.*3*.
Bibliography: Cozza & Pasqui 1887b:263 (*autopsy*); Conway 1897:375 ⟨xl.24⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8164; Vetter 1953:296 ⟨273⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:75 ⟨70⟩. ***Transcription:*** Cozza & Pasqui 1887b:263 (reproduced in *CIE* 8164).

48-54. The following inscriptions were painted under and over loculi of Cozza & Pasqui's tomb 6, 7, or 8 (cf. Thulin 1907:271, with a drawing showing the inscriptions). Deecke jr. suspected the inscriptions, and Thulin remarked: "Alles macht den Eindruck, gleichzeitig von einer Hand gemalt zu sein. Viel schwerer fällt es mir jedoch zu verstehen, wie jemand auf den Gedanken hätte kommen sollen, die Wände eines leeren Grabes zu bemalen. Vielleicht rühren die Inschriften von einer Restaurierung in antiker Zeit her." (1907:272-3). The tomb was the family tomb of a *gens Aufilia* or *Oufilia*.[222]

48. Painted in red between two loculi (letters *c.*7 cm high).

iuna·oufilio·poplia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *n* is reversed. The first *a* seems to be damaged at the top. In Lignana's transcription (from an apograph by Fiorelli), the first *p* is given as ⍱ and the second as ⍱; in Cozza & Pasqui's, both are ⍱; in Thulin's, both are ⍱. Ribezzo impossibly regarded *oufilio* as a genitive in *-io* (§4.4.5).

Bibliography: Lignana 1887:202 ⟨*b*⟩; Cozza & Pasqui 1887b:267 (*autopsy*); Deecke 1888:151-2 ⟨29⟩; Conway 1897:375 ⟨xl.19⟩; Thulin 1907:271 ⟨*6a*⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig 1910:85-8 ⟨3⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8167; Jacobsohn 1910:4 ⟨13⟩; Ribezzo 1930:99; Vetter 1953:296 ⟨274a⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:75-6 ⟨71,I⟩ (*autopsy*); Pisani 1964:339 ⟨144B⟩; G. Giacomelli 1978:530-1 ⟨7,I⟩; R. Giacomelli 1978:74-5 ⟨2,I⟩. ***Drawing:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.I.

49. Painted in red between two loculi (letters *c.*7 cm high).

cauio·aufilio·θanacuil

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. In Lignana's and Cozza & Pasqui's transcriptions (the former from an apograph by Fiorelli), the *θ* is ⍋ (*Danacvil* Lignana); in Deecke's drawing (and in Thulin's?), it is ⍜. For the use of *θ*, see §3.5.4. Both transcriptions show a stroke after *cauio*. Ribezzo took *aufilio* as a genitive in *-io*: see §4.4.5.

Bibliography: Lignana 1887:202 ⟨*d*⟩; Cozza & Pasqui 1887b:267 (*autopsy*); Deecke 1888:152 ⟨30⟩; Conway 1897:375 ⟨xl.20⟩; Thulin 1907:271 ⟨*6b*⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig 1910:85-8 ⟨4⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8168; Jacobsohn 1910:4 ⟨14⟩; Buonamici 1913:58 ⟨13⟩; Ribezzo 1930:99; Vetter 1953:296 ⟨274b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:75-6 ⟨71,II⟩ (*autopsy*); Pisani 1964:339 ⟨144C⟩; G. Giacomelli 1978:530-1 ⟨7,II⟩; R.Giacomelli 1978:74-5 ⟨2,II⟩. ***Drawing:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.I.

50. Painted under a loculus (letters *c.*7 cm high).

caui[o]·aufilio·poplia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. In Lignana's transcription (from an apograph by Fiorelli), *caui* is followed by ⍋⍙⍙. ⍱⍲; in Cozza & Pasqui's, it is preceded by a space.

Bibliography: Lignana 1887:202 ⟨c⟩; Cozza & Pasqui 1887b:267 (*autopsy*); Deecke 1888:152-3 ⟨31⟩; Conway 1897:375 ⟨xl.21⟩; Thulin 1907:271 ⟨*6c*⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig 1910:85-8 ⟨5⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8169; Jacobsohn 1910:4 ⟨15⟩; Ribezzo 1930:99; Vetter 1953:296 ⟨274c⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:75-6 ⟨71,III⟩ (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1978:530-1 ⟨7,III⟩. ***Drawing:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.I.

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[222] Lignana, Conway, and Deecke read *-filio* as 'filius' preceded by an abbreviated father's praenomen, which is implausible; the correct interpretation goes back to Thulin.

51. Painted in red under a loculus (letters *c.*7 cm high).

ḳai[s]i[o·auf]ilio·iun[?eo]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The first letter is very doubtful: Lignana's transcription (from an apograph by Fiorelli) gives it as (𐌊), Cozza and Pasqui's as 𐌊, which in a Middle Faliscan inscription may reflect a specific use of *k* to mark this name, as in Latin (§11.2.4.3).[223] The letters *iun* were seen only by Herbig.

Bibliography: Lignana 1887:202 ⟨a⟩; Cozza & Pasqui 1887b:267 (*autopsy*); Deecke 1888:153 ⟨32⟩; Conway 1897:375 ⟨xl.22⟩; Thulin 1907:272 ⟨6*f*⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig 1910:85-8 ⟨6⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8170; Vetter 1953:296 ⟨274d⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:75-6 ⟨71,IV⟩ (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1978:530-1 ⟨7,IV⟩. ***Drawing:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.I.

52. Painted in red between two loculi (letters *c.*7 cm high).

[---]oụ*[..]o *ạ**[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Herbig's drawing shows that only the top halves of the letters were preserved. Herbig read this as *ọuf[ili]ọ cauị [.f]*, which has been adopted by the later authors, but I doubt very much whether this is possible.

Bibliography: Cozza & Pasqui 1887b:267 (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8172; Vetter 1953:296 ⟨274f⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:75-6 ⟨71,VI⟩ (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1978:530-1 ⟨7,VI⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8172.

53. Painted underneath a loculus (letters *c.*7 cm high). Seen only by Thulin.

[---]a·aufi[lio ?---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The praenomen may have been *[iun]a* or *[uol]ta*.

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:272 ⟨6*e*⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig I910:85-8 ⟨7⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8I73; Vetter 1953:296 ⟨274g⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:75-6 ⟨71,VII⟩; G. Giacomelli 1978:530-1 ⟨7,VII⟩.

54. Painted under a loculus (letters *c.*7 cm high). The part containg the letters *mio* had broken off (and disappeared?) when the inscription was seen by Thulin and Herbig.

puponio·fir mio

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Both Lignana's and Cozza & Pasqui's transcriptions (the former from an apograph by Fiorelli) give the *m* and the *n* as 𐌌 and 𐌍 respectively. According to Cozza & Pasqui, the space between *fir* and *mio* is due to the ancient writer avoiding a 'sfaldatura del tufo': it is unnecessary to read *fiạ....mio* (Deecke, Conway) or *firemio* (Thulin). Lignana's 'Pomponio filio' is impossible. *Puponius* appears to be a gentilicium used as a praenomen, see §7.7.1.*52*.

Bibliography: Lignana 1887:202 ⟨e⟩; Cozza & Pasqui 1887b:267 (*autopsy*); Deecke 1888:153 ⟨33⟩; Conway 1897:375 ⟨xl.23⟩; Thulin 1907:271 ⟨6*d*⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8171; Vetter 1953:296 ⟨274e⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:75-6 ⟨71,V⟩ (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1978:530-1 ⟨7,V⟩. ***Drawing:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.I.

[223] Note that Lignana had erroneously read *k* instead of *c* in MF **59**-**60**.

55. On a tile fragment from a tomb "a parte sinistra prope sepulcrum gentis Oufiliae" (Herbig).

c[---]

Sinistroverse (or dextroverse if held the other way up). Herbig's transcription, – – –), appears to imply that the *c* stood close to the edge of the tile.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8175.

56-57. The following inscriptions are both from Cozza & Pasqui's tomb X.

56. Painted in red on plaster on a tile fragment.

[1]uelzu[2][con]
[1]eo:fe[2][cupa]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *o* is ◊. It is unclear whether the ... preceding *uelzu* in Cozza & Pasqui's transcription indicate traces, vacant space, or a missing tile preceding the text. Herbig read *uelzu* as a praenomen *Volso*, which was adopted by all other editors. I would rather restore the text as *uel zu[con]leo : fe[cupa]*, or, assuming that more than one tile is missing at the end, as *uel zu[coneo ---]leo : fe[cupa ?---]*). The praenomen *uel* occurs e.g. in MF **82** (cf. also §7.7.1.*80*) and the gentilicium *zu[con]leo* in *zuconia* MF **271**: cf. also *larisa zuχus* Etr **XXXII** and §7.8.1.*148*. The use of the interpunct in Faliscan inscriptions is not so consistent that its absence after *uel* and *zu[---]* can constitute an argument against this. The hypercorrect spelling *fe* for *he(c)* occurs also in MLF **305**: see §3.5.2.

Bibliography: Cozza & Pasqui 1887b:272 (*autopsy*); Conway 1897:375 ⟨xl.25⟩; Herbig 1910:187 ⟨25⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8176; Vetter 1953:297 ⟨275a⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:76 ⟨72,II⟩. ***Transcription:*** Cozza & Pasqui 1 887b:272 (reproduced in *CIE* 8176).

57. Painted in red on plaster on a tile fragment.

calin[---]
rezo[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *r* appears to be Я rather than Я: see §11.2.4.2. Herbig restored the first line as *calin[ia*, with *rezo* as a genitive. I wonder whether the *ca* is not rather the frequent abbreviation *ca* = *Gauius*. As *z* is more common at the beginning of words (§11.2.4.3, §3.5.3), *rezo[---]* is probably to be divided as *[---]lre zo[---]. Zo[---]* could perhaps be *zo[coneo]* or *zo[conea]*, a further adaptation to Faliscan of the gentilicium *zuconia* MF **271** (and perhaps *zu[con]leo* in MF **56**), which is itself an adaptation of the Etruscan gentilicium *zuχu* in *larisa zuχus* Etr **XXXII**: see §7.8.1.*148*.

Bibliography: Cozza & Pasqui 1887b:272 (*autopsy*); Conway 1897:375 ⟨xl.26⟩; Herbig 1910:187 ⟨25⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8177; Vetter 1953:297 ⟨275b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:76 ⟨72,II⟩. ***Transcription:*** Cozza & Pasqui 1887b:272 (reproduced in *CIE* 8177).

58. Scratched in a small black-varnished cup (height 7.8 cm, ∅ rim 11.9 cm, ∅ foot 5.6 cm, letters 12-18 mm high), according to Schippa from tomb 10 of the La Penna necropolis. *c.*300.

fofiti

Faliscan alphabet. Schippa (1980:48) described the inscription as "con andamento destrorso", but his drawing shows the ductus as sinistroverse. The form is either a genitive or an abbreviated nominative (§8.8.1). Schippa compared the gentilicium *Fuficius*, but perhaps *f ofiti* could be read, with an abbreviated praenomen *f* (probably *Fertor*, see §7.7.1.*23*) as in *f aino* MLF **352** from the Grotta Porciosa site and *f · pacios* Cap **392** from Capena; a gentilicium *Aufitius* occurs in *CIL* VI.6945 from Rome.

Bibliography: Schippa 1980:48 ⟨50⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Schippa 1980 tav.LXI.

59-62. Tombs CXXVII and CXXVIII/86 were connected already in antiquity. From this double-tomb are the following inscriptions.

59-60. Painted around the central tondi of two almost identical late fourth-century kylikes, the name-pieces of the *Foied*-painter, cf. Beazley 1947:106-7.[224] Deecke (in Lignana 1887a:443, 1888:154-5) regarded the inscriptions as falsifications, which led others to suspect them too (Lignana 1887b:199, Duvau 1889:10, Pauli in Herbig *CIE*). The arguments on which this was based were rejected by Spinazzola.

foied·uino·pipafo·cra·carefo·

foied·uino·‹pi›pafo·cra·care[f]o·

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Lignana's and Gamurrini's transcripts erroneously give *k* instead of *c* (and of *f* (*koied* Lignana 1887a).[225]

Sittig and Belardi took the slight difference between the *r*'s in *carefo*, *care[f]o*, 𐌐, and those in *cra*, 𐌓, as an indication that the latter represented a not yet completely rhotacized /s/, i.e. [z]. Apart from the fact that both types of *r* occur in other inscriptions (§11.2.4.2), this is very improbable: phonetic differences are noted at all, this may be done by means of 'dead letters', the introduction of new signs being reserved rather for phonemic differences. Unfortunately, the idea has started to lead a life of its own since it was adopted by Bonfante (1966), who questioned the occurrence of rhotacism in Faliscan (§3.5.3).

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[224] A third example, without inscription, was published by Gabrici (1912a:73-4). The scene in the tondi is often described as 'Dionysus with Semele' (due to a similar scene on a mirror where the figures are labelled *φuφluns* and *semla*, cf. Gerhard 1843:1.87-8 with Taf.LXXXIII): others regard it as 'Dionysus with Ariadne' (thus first Gabrici 1912a:73-4).

[225] Conway (1897:372) notes that in MF **60** "the last word [...] seems to have been complete when Lignana sketched it", which is probably due to the inaccuracy of Lignana's drawings (or Conway's misinterpretations of them).

The earliest interpretations *koi (h)ed* 'qui hoc' (Lignana 1887a), *foied* 'favebit' (Lignana 1887b), 'foede' Gamurrini (in Lignana 1887b:198) are partly based on misreadings and can be discarded: Cozza & Pasqui's reading and interpretation has rightly been adopted by all editors. *Foied*, from a fossilized ablatival phrase /hō(d)+di̯ē(d)/: see §6.2.*34* (for hypercorrect *f-* instead of *h*, cf. §3.5.2).

Whether the variation *pipafo/pafo* is significant (reduplicated vs. non-reduplicated) is debated. Assuming that the painter had the intention of making two identical pieces, the form is an error at least from an epigraphical perspective, and I therefore regard *pafo* as an error for *‹pi›pafo*. Pisani (and R. Giacomelli) took *carefo* to mean 'mancherò, sarò morto': used in this sense, however, *careo* always has a complement like *uita*, *sensu*, *die*, *luce*, etc., showing that by itself the word could not carry this meaning (*TLL* 3 450.19-52). Friedrich regarded the phrase as a Saturnian, an idea adopted by Vetter and elaborated by Morelli and Poccetti. As Friedrich noted, it is interesting to find the Saturnian used in poetry of a less serious nature.

From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia (inv. 1674-1675). ***Bibliography:*** Lignana 1887a; Gamurrini 1887b; Helbig 1887; Lignana 1887b:196-9; Cozza & Pasqui 1887b:273; Kroker 1888:514-5; Deecke 1888:154-5 ⟨34⟩; Brizio 1889:440; †Dennis 1890:16-7; Spinazzola 1891; Conway 1897:372 ⟨312*a-b*⟩; Von Planta 1897:588 ⟨318.1-2⟩; Tambroni 1898:3; †Savignoni 1904:77; Jacobsohn 1910:4 ⟨16-17⟩; Jacobsohn 1911:466; Herbig *CIE* 8179-80; Weege in Helbig 1913:370-1; Buonamici 1913:50-3 ⟨2-3⟩; Friedrich 1917:143-4; Della Seta 1918:74 (*autopsy*); Ribezzo 1918; Ducati 1927:512; Sittig 1932; Vetter 1942:221; Beazley 1947:7, 106-7; Vetter 1953:287-8 ⟨244a-b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:49-50 ⟨5,1-11⟩; †Belardi 1964; Pisani 1964:346-7 ⟨150*a-b*⟩; [Zosel in Helbig/Speier 1969:686-7 ⟨2776⟩]; Morelli 1974; G. Giacomelli 1978:529-30 ⟨5,1-II⟩; R. Giacomelli 1978:73-4 ⟨1⟩; *FI* II.2 p.148; Morandi 1982:58 ⟨10.A-B⟩; Poccetti 2007:251-3. ***Photographs:*** Herbig *CIE* 8179-80; Ribezzo 1918:245 fig.1; Beazley 1947 pl.XXV.4; G. Giacomelli 1963 tav.VI; Moretti 196X:173 fig.136; Morandi 1982 tav.IX,1. ***Drawings:*** Cozza & Pasqui 1887b:273; Spinazzola 1891:14; Morandi 1982:58.

Fig.13.3. Herbig's tracing of MF/Etr 61.

(From *CIE* 8178.)

61. Scratched inside a small plate (∅ 13.3 mm, let. 3-6 mm high) within a graffito of what appears to be a phallus with legs (thus Gamurrini 1887c:602)[226] is an illegible

[226] Cozza & Pasqui rather curiously described it as "rappresentante forse un animale quadrupede, di cui si espressero soltanto due gambe" (1888b:272). Danielsson (in Herbig *CIE*) compared a winged phallus in *IG* 13.1658 *add.*

sinistroverse graffito (see fig.13.3). Gamurrini read *udori.bonues* (with a cursive *e*) 'odorari bonum est' (1887c). Helbig (in Gamurrini 1887c:602) took *udori* as an ablative; Danielsson (in Herbig *CIE* 8178) compared Umbrian *utur TI* IIb.15. The text defies any attempt at interpretation: if the alphabet is Faliscan at all (which Herbig doubted), the drawings seem to show ***u**al*onu*(*)s***, which may be an Etruscan genitive *...al ...s*.

Bibliography: Gamurrini 1887b:151 (*autopsy*); Gamurrini 1887c:602; Cozza & Pasqui 1887b:272 (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.6707,6; Herbig *CIE* 8178 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:294; G. Giacomelli 1963:263 ⟨IX⟩; *FI* II.2 p.148 (*autopsy*). ***Drawings:*** Cozza & Pasqui 1887b:272 (reproduced in *CIL* XI.6707,6, *CIE* 8178); Herbig *CIE* 8178.

62. Painted in the upper border of a scene on a stamnos[227] (letters 3mm high) above the figures represented in the scene, the name-piece of the Diespiter-painter (Beazley 1947:73, Adembri 1990). *c.*380-370 (Colonna).[228]

canumede [die]s pater cupi‹d›o menerua

Dextroverse, but apparently in Faliscan alphabet. *M* is Μ, *r* is Ρ, the *t* is Τ. The first and second *a* have rounded tops, the third is Α. Degrassi's *canumede[s* (considered also by Wachter) is impossible, for the distance between the *e* and the edge of the lacuna is too great. The next name is usually restored as *[die]s pater*, but *[ioui]s pater* (Lommatzsch) or *[iouo]s pater* are possible, *pace* Degrassi: according to Wachter (1987:150-3), however, the usual form of the nominative in the fourth century appears to have been *Diespater*. The third name is *cupico*, where the second *c* (Ϲ) is clearly an error for *d*: the text is *cupi‹d›o*, not Girard's *Cupigo*.

Although often regarded as Latin, the inscription is in fact Faliscan (as may be expected in the case of a local product). Wachter points to the co-occurrence of Μ and Ρ, which is normal in the Faliscan, but not in the Latin alphabet. The omission of *-s* in *canumede* is also more frequent in the ager Faliscus, although not after a long vowel (§3.5.7*c*). The *a* in *[die]s pater* cannot be regarded as an attestation of the Faliscan absence of vowel-raising in word-internal syllables, however, as *Diespater* may well have been regarded as separate words (§3.6.6.2). *Canumede* reflects Greek Γανυμήδης, not Etruscan *Catmite* or Latin *Catamitus* (§6.4.*3*).

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 1599). ***Bibliography:*** Gamurrini 1887d:231-2 (*autopsy*); Cozza & Pasqui 1887a:175; Brizio 1889:439-40; †Dennis 1890; Bormann *CIL* XI.6708,13; Weege in Helbig 1913:370-1; Della Seta 1918:73; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.454; Ducati 1927:512; Diehl 1930:80 ⟨778⟩; Beazley 1947:73; Vetter 1953:288; Safarewicz 1955:186 ⟨2⟩; Degrassi *ILLRP* 1228; G. Giacomelli 1963:263 ⟨XI⟩; Torelli *RMR* pp.55-6 (*autopsy*); Colonna 1980a:46; *FI* II.2 p.154 (*autopsy*); Wachter 1987:367-9; Girard 1989:167; [Adembri 1990]. ***Photograph:*** Ducati 1927 vol.II tav.252, no.615. ***Drawing:*** Gamurrini 1887d tav.X.

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[227] Diehl and Vetter erroneously describe it as a 'Schale'.

[228] Safarewicz erroneously dated the vase to the third or second century.

63-64. Scratched inside a red-varnished saucer (∅ 17.5 mm, letters *c.*12 mm high in **63**, and *c.*5-10 mm high in **64**).

anni

ulties

63 is written dextroverse in uneven and straggling letters, apparently in the Latin alphabet: note the double *n* (§11.2.4.3); **64** is written sinistroverse in smaller and neater letters, with a Faliscan *t* (𐌕). The *e* in **64** is 𐌄: a similar *e* occurs in MF **258** and MLF **285**. Herbig connected both words as 'Ultius Anni (servus)', but both the difference in writing and the relative position of the words make this very unlikely. G. Giacomelli rightly takes the words as *Besitzerinschriften* written by successive owners (like EF **6** and EF **7**). *Ulties* may stand for *u(e)lties* or *u(o)lties* (cf. Schulze 1904:252).

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 1650). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig 1910:199-200 ⟨39⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8181; Vetter 1953:293-4; G. Giacomelli 1963:50 ⟨6*a-b*⟩; Rix *ET* Fa 2.20a-b. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8181.

65. Scratched on a patera. Known only through Nogara's copy of the apograph in the Museo di Villa Giulia inventory.

apolo

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. According to Nogara's transcript, the *a* is 𐌀. Vetter, apparently reluctant to assume a dedication in a tomb, proposed to take the form as an abbreviated slave-name *Apollo...*, but *apolo* is rather the name of the deity (cf. *apolonos* EF **10**), in the nominative, as if it were a 'divine *Besitzerinschrift*' (cf. §8.11.1). For the cult of Apollo in the ager Faliscus, cf. §2.3.4.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8182; Taylor 1923:78; Vetter 1953:289 ⟨246⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:50 ⟨7⟩; Wachter 1987:134. ***Transcription:*** Nogara in Herbig *CIE* 8182.

13.6. The necropolis of Ponte Lepre

Two inscriptions (MF/Etr **66-67**) were found in tombs at a locality known as Ponte Lepre, excavated in 1904 and 1906 by Feroldi di Rosa (cf. Herbig *CIE* p.111). Ponte Lepre was located to the west of Civita Castellana beyond the Valsiarosa necropolis, to the north of the modern road to Nepi. Also from the Ponte Lepre tombs are is the dolium with *ud* EF **8** and *tele*[1-2?] med fifiked* EF **9**, and probably also MF **68** and MF **69-72**, which came to the Villa Giulia Museum from the Collezione Feroldi.

66. Scratched inside a saucer (height 4.5 cm, ∅ 13 cm, letters 25-30 mm high) from tomb I, dated between the sixth and the fourth century.

namureṭua

Sinistroverse. The *r* is the Etruscan ◖; the *ṯ* is + (*x*?). Rix reads *namureška*, with the + interpreted as *š* and the *u* of Herbig's drawing, ᛊ, as *k*, but the original shows that *u* is the correct reading. Editors generally regard the inscription as Etruscan because of the *r*, but no satisfactory interpretation has been proposed.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 18102). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8567 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:294; G. Giacomelli 1963:53-4 ⟨14,I⟩; Rix *ET* Fa 2.26. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8567.

Fig. 13.4. Nogara's drawing of MF/Etr 66.

(From *CIE* 8577.)

67. Scratched on the bottom of a red-varnished saucer (height 6 cm, ∅ 17 cm, letters *c*.15 mm high) is an inscription which Herbig hesitatingly read as *ạcrẹẓ cat* (dextroverse, with reversed *e* and *z*), comparing *statia catino CIL* I^2.480. G. Giacomelli adopted this reading, but interpreted the text as 'Acrius Cat(ineius)', comparing *catinei* MLF **469***, but there are no Faliscan parallels for a praenomen written in full followed by an abbreviated gentilicium. Nogara's drawing seems rather to show a sinistroverse text (***ta*ec*a***?).

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8577 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:294; G. Giacomelli 1963:53-4 ⟨14,II⟩. ***Drawing:*** Nogara in Herbig *CIE* 8577.

68-72. The following inscriptions, on plates originally from the Collezione Feroldi, were added to the inscriptions from Ponte Lepre by Herbig.

68. Scratched under the foot of a *catillus* (height 1.5 cm, ∅ 11 cm, letters 20 mm high).

ce

Dextroverse.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8569. ***Drawing:*** Herbig 8569.

69. Scratched on the rim of a small red-varnished plate (letters 6-10 mm high) and on the rim of a saucer of red clay (letters 5-10 mm high).

tiroi·colanioi

tiroi·colanioi

Sinistroverse. Presumably Faliscan alphabet. For interpretation and bibliography, see below under **71-72**.

71-72. Scratched on a saucer of red clay, **71** on the rim (letters 4-6 mm high), **72** on the inside (letters *c.* 8-12 cm high).

tiroi·colanioi

tulom

Sinistroverse, presumably Faliscan alphabet. *Tiroi · colanioi* is regarded as dative by all editors except Pisani (1964:343), who, probably rightly, regarded these forms as genitive: see §4.4.4. More problematic is *tulom*. The arrangement of the words and the difference in writing show that it is a separate text. Herbig (1914:238 n.1) interpreted it as */(te)tul-o-m/, a first singular perfect from PIE */tel-/ (perhaps rather */telh$_2$-/) with the aorist ending as in the Oscan perfect *manafum* Cp 37,6 *man]afum* Cp 37,1. This interpretation was adopted by G. Giacomelli, but cannot be maintained: assuming an aorist ending in a Middle Faliscan first singular perfect would at least require an explanation in view of the Early Faliscan first singular perfect *pe:para[i* 'peperi', the accepted reading of *pe:para[* in EF **1** (which was proposed by Herbig himself). It would also be quite unexpected for a language or dialect belonging to the Latin branch of the Italic family, even if there is a parallel in Oscan. Herbig's alternative, taking *tulom* as a noun 'donum', is equally problematic: at least in Latin the expected result of a PIE */tlom/ or */tl̥h$_2$om/ would be */tolom/ or */talom/ respectively. It is more likely that *tulom* is a name (cf. *tulo* in MF **151**) as was suggested by Lejeune, who proposed *tulo m* 'Tullus M(arci f.)', and by Peruzzi, who proposed *tulom* 'Tullum = Tullorum'. The latter interpretation is now supported by the genitive plural *[fel]ịcinatiu* LF **384** and *açiuaiom esú* Cap **465**. The issue is made even more problematic by the possibility of a relation between *tulom* and *tulate tulas* EF/Etr **385**.

Bibliography: Herbig 1914a:237-9 ⟨1-2, 3a-b⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig 1923:231; Lejeune 1952b:125; Vetter 1953:291 ⟨258, 259a-b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:52 ⟨12,I-IIIa-b⟩ (*autopsy*); Peruzzi 1964a:167-9; Olzscha 1965:123-4.

73-78. The following inscriptions occur on plates originally from the Collezione Feroldi.

73. Scratched inside the rim of a small plate.

iuna

Sinistroverse, alphabet not indicated.

Bibliography: G. Giacomelli 1963:52-3 ⟨13,II⟩ (*autopsy*).

74. Scratched inside the rim of a small plate.

iunai

Sinistroverse, alphabet not indicated.

Bibliography: G. Giacomelli 1963:52-3 ⟨13,I⟩ (*autopsy*).

75. Scratched on the rim of a small plate.

latria

Sinistroverse, alphabet not indicated.
Bibliography: G. Giacomelli 1963:52-3 ⟨13,III⟩ (*autopsy*).

76. Scratched in a saucer.

sa

Dextroverse. G. Giacomelli compared the equally dextroverse *sa* 'sa(cra)' MF? **131**, although that is a dedication from a *stips*.
Bibliography: G. Giacomelli 1963:52-3 ⟨13,VI⟩ (*autopsy*).

77. Scratched in a saucer.

salθan

Sinistroverse, Faliscan or Etruscan alphabet. G. Giacomelli read *calθan*, hesitatingly comparing *calitenes* MLF **265**, but Colonna's drawing shows that his *salθan* is the correct reading: as an interpretation, he points to *śalθn* Co 3.1.
Bibliography: G. Giacomelli 1963:52-3 ⟨13,IV⟩ (*autopsy*); Colonna 1993 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Colonna 1993:298.

78. Scratched in a saucer.

ipa

Dextroverse. Cf. perhaps Etruscan *·i·pa·s· ·i·ka·m·* Etr **X**?
Bibliography: G. Giacomelli 1963:52-3 ⟨13,V⟩ (*autopsy*).

13.7. The tombs near the Ponte Terrano

Both the ancient and the modern road from Civita Castellana to S. Maria di Falleri and Fabbrica di Roma cross the gorge of the Rio Maggiore just to the west of the ancient town by means of the Ponte Terrano. This impressive bridge still conserves ancient masonry in its substructure (Dennis 1878:94-5) and may well go back to Faliscan times (Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:143-5). Across the bridge, the road swings westwards, following the ridge between the Rio Maggiore to the south and the Torrente Purgatorio to the north.

The area on the north side of the gorge, known as Terrano, is riddled with tombs, especially in the cliff-side to the left of the Ponte Terrano, and on the spit of land between the Ponte Terrano and the junction of the Rio Maggiore and the Torrente Purgatorio. Most of these easily visible tombs have been known (and converted for modern re-use) for a long time, and the inscriptions from this location, especially those cut in the rock were among the first to be rediscovered in the previous centuries: MF **79**

was in fact the first Faliscan inscription to be published (in 1726), although it was regarded as Etruscan for almost 150 years. Later epigraphical finds from these tombs are MF **88-89**, discovered by Mengarelli, and MF **87**, apparently found during the Second World War.

79.[229] Cut over and beside the right-hand corner of an arcisolium-like niche (letters "about a foot in height" according to Dennis (1878:94), but 16-20 cm high according to Herbig) in a tomb on the right-hand side of the road, immediately to the north of the Ponte Terrano. Ainsley (in Dennis 1845:139) reported traces of red paint in the letters (cf. MF **83-85**).

leiueliopạrtis
uolti[

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with reversed *s*. Lanzi erroneously gave the first word as *leiuilio*. The first letters of the second word are a (damaged) *p* followed by 𐌀 or 𐌀.[230] Garrucci took this as a *v* used for /u/ (*purtis* 1860, *SIL*; *pfrtis* 'Purte' 1864), in which he was followed by Bormann, Herbig and Jacobsohn. The likelihood both of a *v* in an inscription in Faliscan alphabet and of its being used for /u/ is very doubtful, however. *Pace* Herbig (*CIE*), Schneider's *pẹrtis*[231] (adopted by Deecke, Von Planta, and Conway) and Vetter's *pạrtis* (adopted by G. Giacomelli) are both possible and more attractive: a similar *a* appears in MF? **111**. The ending of *pạrtis* is surprising, both in the absence of *o* (§3.6.6.2) and in the presence of *-s* (§3.5.7*d*): it is perhaps an adaptation of an Etruscan name. The shape of the niche makes it unlikely that it was closed with tiles, and the inscription therefore probably ended with *uolti*, either an abbreviation of a patronymic adjective *uolti(o)*, or the genitive of the father's name (§7.5).

Bibliography: Buonarruoti 1726:35-6 (*autopsy*); Gori 1733:77-8; †Passeri 1740:444: Passeri 1767:130; Lanzi 1824:392 ⟨466⟩; Dennis 1845:139 (*autopsy*);[232] [Dennis 1848:124-5]; Orioli 1854:XXII; Garrucci 1860:269-70 (*autopsy*); Garrucci 1864:60; Fabretti *CII* 2441*bis,a*; Garrucci *SIL* 793; [Dennis 1878:94]; Zvetaieff *IIM* 52; Zvetaieff *III* 54; Schneider 1886:105 ⟨4⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.3160 I,6; Deecke 1888:128-30 ⟨1⟩; Von Planta 1897:588 ⟨317⟩; Conway 1897:374-5 ⟨xl.15⟩; Herbig 1910:190-1 ⟨30⟩ (*autopsy*); Jacobsohn 1910:3 ⟨7⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8205; Buonamici 1913:60 ⟨17⟩; Vetter 1953:299 ⟨279⟩; [Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:145 (*autopsy*)]; G. Giacomelli 1963:78-9 ⟨77⟩ (*autopsy*); *FI* II.1 pp.179, 236 (*autopsy*). ***Photograph** of squeeze:* Herbig *CIE* 8205. ***Drawings:*** Buonarruoti 1726 tab.LXXXII.1 (reproduced in Gori 1733 tab. III.1, *CII* tab. XLIII); Garrucci 1860 tav.G.3; Garrucci 1864 tav. III.4 (reproduced in *IIM* tab. VIII.6, Deecke 1888 Taf.I); Herbig *CIE* 8205; *FI* II.1 pp.179, 236.

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[229] This was the first Faliscan inscription to be published (in 1726), although it was not the first Faliscan inscription to be recorded: that honour was reserved (in 1676), for the group LtF **205**, MLF **206-207**, MLF/Etr **208-209**, and MLF **210**.

[230] Buonarruoti, Gori, Lanzi, and Orioli gave these letters in reversed order. Buonarruoti, Gori, and Lanzi also read *it* instead of *ti*.

[231] Schneider erroneously ascribed the same reading to Garrucci.

[232] Dennis erroneously treated the inscription as if yet unpublished.

80-81. The following inscriptions were discovered by Garrucci and seen only by him ("frustra quaesivi", Herbig *CIE* 8207-8208).

80. Painted in black on a plaster over a loculus in a tomb on the right-hand side of the road. Underneath the text runs a decorative border.

[ma]rco:pleina:marcio:man[o]mo:cauiacue
[u]eculia:uoltilia:uentarc[.....:hec:cupa]nt

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The size of the initial lacuna is nowhere indicated, but, judging from Garrucci's drawing, was probably no more than two letters in the first line and one in the second, assuming that the inscription started at the end of the loculus: Bormann's restoration *[mar]co* (adopted by all later editors except Deecke) is therefore preferable to Garrucci's *[uenta]rco* (adopted by all early editors). In Garrucci's drawing, the lacuna between *man* and *mo* is rather large for a single *o*, but the restoration can hardly be anything else, whether one reads *man[o]mo* with Garrucci or emends to *max[o]mo* (Schneider, Deecke, Vetter, Pisani). The emendation is unnecessary, as the cognomen *manomo* is attested in MF **149** (see §7.9). In the second line, *]eculia* was thought to be complete by the early editors (Garucci *SIL*, Schneider, Zvetaieff), but Bormann compared *]eculia* to *u[.....]a* MF **81** and read *[u]eculia*, which was adopted by all later editors.

The restoration of the last lacuna is problematic. The text apparently ended with *hec : cupa]nt*, but what preceded this is less clear, especially as it cannot be ascertained how precise Garrucci's drawing is with regard to the size of the lacuna. As the woman is already described with praenomen, gentilicium, and patronymic adjective, *uentarc[* can hardly be part of her name as well unless it is either a cognomen (Herbig) or a second gentilicium (G. Giacomelli); on the other hand, *uentarc[ia : hec : cupa]nt* is certainly too short for the lacuna. Some of the earlier editors, who adopted Garrucci's *[uent]arco* in the first line, restored *uentarc[i : uxor* (Garrucci 1864, Zvetaieff, Vetter) or just *uentarc[i* (Garrucci *SIL*, Zvetaieff, Schneider Bormann, *uentarc[oi* Deecke). Apart from the fact that adopting Bormann's *[mar]co* in the first line makes this virtually impossible, *uentarc[i : uxor : hec : cupa]nt* is probably be too long for the lacuna, whereas *uentarc[i : hec : cupa]nt* is certainly too short. *Uentarc[* was probably the name of a third person: perhaps it should be read as *uen tarc[*, with an abbreviated praenomen *uen* = *Ven(el)*, followed by a gentilicium *Tarc[.....*, e.g. *tarc[oneo, tarc[uineo*, or *tarc[onteo* (cf. *Tarcontius* in *CIL* XI.3370 from Tarquinii).[233] The careful writing, the decoration, and the complete onomastic formula make this one of the most elaborate Faliscan sepulchral inscriptions.

[233] Pisani's *cauiacue / [u]eculia : uoltilia : uentarc[...* 'Gaviaque Veculia Voltilia Ventarci f.' is unconvincing. In *m · tito · tulio · uoltilio · hescuna* MLF **346**, the patronym *precedes* the second gentilicium, so 'Gavia Veculia Ventarcia *vel sim.*, daughter of Voltius' might not be impossible.

Bibliography: Garrucci 1864:60 (*autopsy*); Fabretti *CII* 2441*bis,e*; Garrucci *SIL* 796; Zvetaieff *IIM* 53; Zvetaieff *III* 55; Schneider 1886:105 ⟨7⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.3160 II.1; Deecke 1888:135-9 ⟨7⟩; Conway 1897:372 ⟨314⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8207; Buonamici 1913:61 ⟨18⟩; Vetter 1953:299 ⟨281a⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:79-80 ⟨79,1⟩; Pisani 1964:340. ***Drawing:*** Garrucci 1864 tav.III.6 (reproduced in *CII* tab.XLIII, *IIM* tab.VIII.7, Deecke 1888 Taf.I, *CIE* 8207).

81. Painted in red on plaster over a loculus.

ca:u[eculi]a
ca:e[c]ṇata:θania

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *c* of the first *ca* is dextroverse, indicating a woman's name (§11.2.4.3). The *e* is cursive. The gentilicium has been restored as *u[eculi]a* (Herbig *CIE*, Vetter, G. Giacomelli) from comparison with MF **80**. The restoration *e[c]nata* was proposed already by Garrucci (1864), but taken up again only by Herbig. Deecke's *l̥a[u]t[n]ata* 'liberta' is impossible. The second letter of *θania* is ⋈, a correction of *n* to *a* (Garrucci; Zvetaieff Vetter, G. Giacomelli), rather than a ligature *an* (Bormann, Deecke, Conway, Herbig), which would give a geminated spelling *θannia* that is very rare in Middle Faliscan (§11.2.4.3). Garrucci took the inscription as pertaining to two women, interpreting *θania* as a matronym. Other editors took *ca* in the second line as a man's praenomen, since, contrary to the *ca* in the first line, the *c* is not reversed here. Herbig thus took the inscription as pertaining to *one* woman, but his explanation of *ca : e[c]ṇata* as 'Gai nata' and of *θannia* (as he read it) as a cognomen are unconvincing. Vetter's interpretation of the second line as containing the names of three slaves of Gavia Veculia, i.e., Gavius, Egnata, and Thannia, is certainly preferable to this, and was in fact adopted by G. Giacomelli. This is giving too much importance to the fact that the *c* in *ca* in the second line is not reversed. The use of the reversed initial to indicate a woman's name is very rare and inconsistent (§11.2.4.3): apart from that, the second line may have been written at a different time than the first. *Ca* in the second line may therefore be feminine and be taken together with *e[c]ṇata* (for a gentilicium *Egnatius*, see §7.8.1.*50*), followed by the name of a third woman.

Bibliography: Garrucci 1864:60-1 (*autopsy*); Fabretti *CII* 2441*bis,f*; Garrucci *SIL* 795; Zvetaieff *IIM* 54; Zvetaieff *III* 56; Schneider 1886:105 ⟨8⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.3160 II.2; Deecke 1888:139-40 ⟨8⟩; Conway 1897:372, 527 ⟨26*⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8208; Vetter 1953:299-300 ⟨281b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:79-80 ⟨79,II⟩. ***Drawing:*** Garrucci 1864 tav.III.7 (reproduced in *CII* tab.XLIII, *IIM* tab.VIII.8, Deecke 1888 Taf.I, *CIE* 8208).

82. Cut underneath a loculus in a tomb to the left of the Ponte Terrano.[234] Letters *c.*10 cm high.

[234] Garrucci described the location as "sulla rupe destra che domina il rio dell'acqua forte accanto al ponte Terrano" (1860:269, echoed in Deecke 1888:131) and as "nella rupe a sinistra del ponte Terrano" (1864:60, quoted in Zvetaieff 1884:46, 1886:22). The statements are not incompatible: leaving Civita Castellana and looking to the *left* from the Ponte Terrano, the tombs are on the *right* side of the gorge.

uel[·]uis ni·olna

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with reversed *s*. Garrucci's drawing shows an empty space between *uis* and *ni*, on which neither he nor any other editor remarks.

In view of **[.]pi : uesθi : cela* MF **83** and *cauі[:]ṭ**(*)[i]: cela* MF **84**, most editors take *olna* as a noun, with *uel* and *uisni* as genitives (in the case of *uel*, apparently an abbreviated genitive). *Olna* was explained by Garrucci as 'ulna' = 'loculus' ("misura corrispondente invero all'altezza dei loculi" 1860:269), which was apparently adopted by Zvetaieff and Schneider (as both print *olna* without a capital), by Deecke as 'olla', and by Vetter as 'ulna'='pulvinus' ("Übersetzung von etr. *hupni*", 1953:299), which was adopted by G. Giacomelli. I find none of the explanations of *olna* as a noun convincing: rather, it is a second gentilicium (as Schulze and Herbig suggested), perhaps marking the name of a freedman (cf. Rix 1965:376-8). For other instances of a double gentilicium from the area, e.g. *m · tito · tulio · uoltilio · hescuna* MLF **346**, see §7.6.

Bibliography: Garrucci 1860:269 (*autopsy*); Garrucci 1864:60; Fabretti *CII* 2441*bis,b*; Garrucci *SIL* 794; Zvetaieff *IIM* 51; Zvetaieff *III* 53; Schneider 1886:105 ⟨3⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.3160 I.5; Deecke 1888:131-2 ⟨2⟩; Conway 1897:375 ⟨xl.16⟩; Schulze 1904:73 n.3; Herbig 1910:105 (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8206; Vetter 1953:299 ⟨280⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:79 ⟨78⟩. ***Drawings:*** Garrucci 1860 tav.G.2; Garrucci 1864 tav.III.5 (reproduced in *CII* tab.XLIII, *IIM* tab.VIII.5, Deecke 1888 Taf.I, *CIE* 8206).

83. Cut over the entrance of a tomb (letters *c.*21 cm high) to the left of Ponte Terrano. "Rimae litterarum recentiore tempore gypsatae sunt" (Herbig *CIE* 8209): cf. MF **84** and **85**.

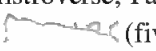
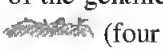
****[.]pi:uesθi:cela***

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with reversed *s*. Garrucci's drawing gives the praenomen as , Thulin's as , and Herbig's as . The first letter is usually read as *t*, but *t[i]pi* (Garrucci 1860, 1864, Fabretti, Zvetaieff, Schneider) or *t[e]pi* (Bormann Deecke, Conway) is not attested from the ager Faliscus or Capenas, while Herbig's *[trep]i* and Vetter's and G. Giacomelli's *[ui]pi* appear to be incompatible with the traces. The third letter of the gentilicium is the top half of a reversed *s* (Herbig): the earlier *uetθi* and *uezẓθi* (Deecke, Conway) can be disregarded. *Cela* is a noun 'cella', as in MF **12**, **84**, and MLF **285** (not, as Herbig had thought, a cognomen, cf. §7.9): cf. §8.10.3

Bibliography: Mommsen 1860:451; Garrucci 1860:270-1 (*autopsy*); Garrucci 1864:59; Fabretti *CII* 2441*bis,c*; Garrucci *SIL* 791; Zvetaieff *IIM* 48; Zvetaieff *III* 50; Schneider 1886:105 ⟨2⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.3160 1,2; Deecke 1888:133-4 ⟨4⟩; Conway 1897:375 ⟨xl.18⟩; Thulin 1907:275-6 ⟨10⟩; Herbig 1910:101 ⟨14⟩; Jacobsohn 1910:3 ⟨10⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8209; Vetter 1953:300 ⟨282⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:80 ⟨81⟩. ***Drawings:*** Garrucci 1860 tav.G.4; Garrucci 1864 tav.III.2 (reproduced in *CII* tab.XLIII, *IIM* tab.VIII.2, Deecke 1888 Taf.I); Thulin 1907:276 (reproduced in *CIE* 8209).

84. Cut over the entrance to a tomb to the left of the Ponte Terrano. Letters *c.*16 cm high: "sulci litterarum, olim rubro colore expicti, a recentioribus gypsatae sunt" (Herbig *CIE* 8210): cf. MF **83** and **85**.

cauiḷ:]ṭ**(*)[i]:cela

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The remains of the gentilicium are given by Garrucci as  (five letters), and by Herbig as  (four letters). It therefore started in *Tal-* or *Tri-* (Garrucci 1864): Garrucci's *t(i)..pi..* (1877) and Deecke's *ṭ[repi]* are impossible. Herbig, and after him Vetter and G. Giacomelli, read *taḷi*,[235] but this leaves some space after the *i*. The text consists of a name in the genitive followed by *cela* 'cella', as in MF **12**, **83**, and MLF **285**: cf. §8.10.3.

Bibliography: Mommsen 1860:451; Garrucci 1860:271 (*autopsy*); Garrucci 1864:59; Fabretti *CII* 2441*bis,d*; Garrucci *SIL* 790; Zvetaieff *IIM* 47; Zvetaieff *III* 49; Schneider 1886:105 ⟨1⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.3160 1,1; Deecke 1888:132-3 ⟨3⟩; Conway 1897:375 ⟨xl.17⟩; Herbig 1910:101 ⟨13⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8210; Vetter 1953:300 ⟨283⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:81 ⟨82⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawings:*** Garrucci 1860 tav.G.5; Garrucci 1864 tav.III.1 (reproduced in *CII* tab. XLIII, *IIM* tab.VIII.1, Deecke 1888 Taf.I); Herbig *CIE* 8210.

85. Cut to the left of the entrance of a tomb to the left of the Ponte Terrano. Dennis and Zvetaieff reported traces of red paint (cf. MF **83** and **84**), which were probably 'recent' addititions. Letters *c.*15 cm high.

tuconu

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Early editors misread the inscription in various ways (*ticonu* Garrucci 1864, *SIL*; *tucθnu* Dennis 1887; *hucome* Del Frate), but the text is certain, and, according to Herbig (from autopsy), complete. The form is usually interpreted as an Etruscan genitive in *-u(s)* (Garrucci, Deecke, Herbig, G. Giacomelli). Herbig's alternative, interpreting it as a Faliscan genitive plural *tuconu(m)* (*CIE*), is unattractive, since the expected form would be *tucono(m)*, unless the inscription is assumed to be Late Faliscan (cf. *[fel]ịcinatiu* LF **384**) Perhaps the text could be read as *t u(e)conu*, with a gentilicium as in *ueicọno* MF **88**.

Bibliography: Dennis 1845:139 (*autopsy*); Dennis 1848:124; Garrucci 1860:270 (*autopsy*); Garrucci 1864:59-60; Fabretti *CII* 2453; Garrucci *SIL* 792; Zvetaieff *IIM* 49 (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *III* 51; Schneider 1886:105 ⟨6⟩; Dennis 1878:94; Bormann *CIL* XI.3160 1.3; Deecke 1888:134-5 ⟨5⟩; Conway 1897:527 ⟨27*⟩; Del Frate 1898:77 (*autopsy*); Herbig 1910:186-7 ⟨24⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8211; Buonamici 1913:61-2 ⟨19⟩; Vetter 1953:300 ⟨284⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:81 ⟨83⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawings:*** Garrucci 1864 tav.III.3 (reproduced in *CII* tab.XLIII); Zvetaieff *IIM* tab.VIII.3 (reproduced in Deecke 1888 Taf.I); Herbig *CIE* 8211.

86. Cut over a loculus in a tomb close to the tomb of MF **85**.

uoll[---]

[235] G. Giacomelli erroneously has *cauiḷ[i]t(ali)* instead of *cauiḷ[:]t(ali)*.

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The last letters are 𐌋𐌋. Although this can be read as *ll*, cf. *uolḷia* MF **47**, a geminated spelling is very rare (§11.2.4.3), and editors have therefore read *uolṇ[---]* (Zvetaieff, Bormann, Deecke) or *uolụ[---]* (Herbig), or emended to *uolt[---]* (Vetter).

Bibliography: Zvetaieff *IIM* 50 (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *III* 52; Bormann *CIL* XI.3160 1.4; Deecke 1888:135 ⟨6⟩; Conway 1897:375 ⟨xl.14⟩; Del Frate 1898:77 (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8212; Vetter 1953:300 ⟨285⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:81 ⟨84⟩. ***Drawing:*** Zvetaieff *IIM* tab.VIII.4 (reproduced in Deecke 1888 Taf.I, *CIE* 8212).

87. Cut underneath a loculus (length 78 cm, letters 18 cm high). Third century (G. Giacomelli).

mar:eina

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Vetter's proposal *ma pleina* (in G. Giacomelli 1965:551) is apparently impossible.

Bibliography: G. Giacomelli 1961:321 ⟨1⟩ (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:80 ⟨80⟩; Olzscha 1965:123; G. Giacomelli 1965a:551. ***Photograph:*** G. Giacomelli 1963 tav.IX; G. Giacomelli 1965a tav.CXXXIV*b*. ***Drawing:*** G. Giacomelli 1961:321 fig.1.

88-89. The following inscriptions were painted within a coloured border around a loculus in a tomb "in *Terrano*" (Thulin 1907:268), **88** painted in red downwards along the left side of the loculus, and **89** downwards along the right side and under the same loculus. They are known only through Mengarelli's apographs.

[uo]ltio[:]ueiçṇo:lecet:ḥec

[4-5]ạhac*a:[?]ạ[?]ṃ:maximo***

Sinistroverse Faliscan alphabet. Although the *c* in *lecet* is 𐌂 and the *h* in *hec* 𐌇, the last two words of **88** are certainly to be read as *lecet:hec* (Thulin's and Herbig's *leset : leo* makes no sense): the form of the *c* may be due to the fact that the inscription was painted vertically, while a similar *h* occurs in MF **18**. For *lecet* instead of the usual *cupat*, cf. §5.3.1.*2-3*, §6.3.*13*: it is a form of the verbal root underlying the noun used to designate the loculus, *lectu* Lat **251**, *lete* MLF **285**, and perhaps *l[.....]* MF **17** and *let* MLF **360**. A Sabellic parallel, also occurring beside *qupat*, is South Picene *veialt* in *apaes : qupat [: e]smín : púpúnis : nlír : mefiín : veialt : vepetí* MC.1.

In the gentilicium, Mengarelli's drawing shows 𐌉𐌋 between *ue* and *no*. The word has therefore been read as *ueiscno* (Thulin, Herbig), *ueiṣṇo* (Herbig) and *uersno* (Vetter, G. Giacomelli). As the fourth letter is identical to the *c* in *lecet* (Thulin and Herbig in fact read both letters as *s*), and can hardly be taken together with the *i* as *r* (as does Vetter), *ueic* seems certain. The 𐌏, standing between *ueic* and *no*, can hardly be anything other than a vowel; it is probably an *o*, deformed, like the *c*'s, by the unusual way of writing.

In **89**, the first legible letter is , either an *x* (G. Giacomelli) or an *a* (Thulin, Herbig, Vetter). The traces of the next word are *hac****a*. The inscription then continues horizontally underneath the loculus with , that is, either *r* (Vetter) or *a* (Thulin), possibly preceded by one very small letter, and followed by an illegible trace and the upper part of an *m*. The last word is *:maximo*, with only the lowest part of the *i* preserved (Thulin's *mammo* is impossible). The interpretations by Thulin, who divides the inscription into two, reading *..ạ ha...a* and *.a..t : maṃmo*, and by Vetter, whose *------a haç---a : (-)ṛ--ṭ: maxịmo* '...a(m) ha(n)c ..am ...t Maximus' assumes a type of text that is completely without parallels in the Faliscan sepulchral inscriptions. The masculine cognomen *maximo* indicates that the preceding text consisted of a man's praenomen, gentilicium, and a filiation. Dividing *[4-5]ạ hac****a* or *[4-5]x hac****a* before the *h* seems the obvious thing to do even though an interpunct is absent. This gives a praenomen *[4-5]ạ* (*[uolt]ạ* or *[iun]ạ*) or *[se]x*, followed by a gentilicium *hac****a* (*[uolt]ạ haç***a:* Herbig). The filiation is almost illegible and is so short that it was probably abbreviated (*ạ[i]ṃ* 'Aem(ius)'?).

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:268-70 ⟨5*a-c*⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8213*a-b*; Vetter 1953:301 ⟨286A-B⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:81-2 ⟨85*a-b*⟩; Pisani 1964:340 ⟨144G⟩. ***Drawing:*** Mengarelli in Thulin 1907:269.

13.8. The tomb near Torrente Purgatorio

Torrente Purgatorio flows along the northern side of Terrano, joining the Rio Maggiore just west of the Ponte Clementino. In 1881, a fourth- or third-century tomb with nineteen loculi was discovered on its left bank. It had been plundered in antiquity, during which the tiles with the inscriptions had been smashed. According to Lucidi, the discoverer of the tomb and owner of the terrain, the tiles belonging to the principal loculus were stolen shortly after its discovery (Gamurrini 1883:165).[236] Most of the tiles pertain to a *gens Caelia* (MF **90-97**, **104**),[237] whose parentage was tentatively reconstructed by Peruzzi (1964d), and a *gens Raeclia* (MF **98-100**). The latter name was read by earlier authors only in MF **99** (*reiclio*), but I read the same name also in MF **98** (*reiç[lio]*) and in MF **100** (*reị[cli.]*).

90-91. The *titulus prior* (**90**) was painted in a dark colour on plaster across the back of two tiles (70×47 cm, letters *c*.9 cm high). This inscription was later washed over with plaster, on which was then painted the *titulus posterior* (**91**). As this second coat of plaster has crumbled away almost completely, **91** is in a far worse state than **90**.

[236] Gammurrini (whence Bormann, Deecke, and Conway) erroneously placed the Torrente Purgatorio on the *east* side of Civita Castellana. This error was corrected by Herbig (*CIE* 8214-8231 p.39).

[237] Vetter (1953:301-2), who read *[c]elio : cailio*, rendered the praenomen as 'Gellius'.

[1][leu][2]elio:cai[3]lio[:...]
*[1][max][2]om[o:]re[3]x[:..]***

Sinistroverse, Faliscn alphabet. The praenomen was restored as *leiu]elio* by Thulin, and the second line as *[max]om[o.* This was adopted by all later editors, except Vetter (and Peruzzi), who read the praenomen as *c]elio* 'Gellius', with *[max]lomo* at the end of the line. This is impossible, both because there is not enough room for a *c* to precede *]elio* on the same tile and because this restoration would leave no room for the filiation in the first line. The gentilicium is *cailio*; Deecke's *ceilio* (adopted by Conway) is a misreading. The gentilicium was probably followed by an abbreviated filiation, of which nothing is left. In the second line, Thulin read *omo:rex*, but in the other early autopsies the second *o* is invisible. The *x* of *rex* is now invisible, but was read in all early autopsies. This word, read with great uncertainty in **91**, is now attested also in *rẹ[x* in **249** and perhaps also in my reading of LtF **231**. Of the end of the line only some badly legible traces are preserved, which have been read as *...iri* (Gamurrini, whence Bormann), *..iai* (Conway, erroneously stating that the *r* and the *a* have the same form), *///riso* or *i̯spṛi̯so* (Thulin), ****ṛẹọ* (Herbig), and *[:m]ạrọ* (Vetter). None of this can be sustained from the traces that are now left.

Below, I present my reading of **91** alongside the readings of the early autopsies. The tiles are presented in the order in which they were placed in **90**, but the inscription is so damaged that it is impossible to say whether this is correct.

inv. 8154	*inv. 8172*	*Herbig*	*Thulin*	*Gamurrini*
***oc*[.]**	*[..]*[....]*	**içọ**	.....	*...eico.uoc...*
uaṭ[..]	*[.....]**	*uaṭr*	*uap/*	*...uatụ..eco...*
****xi[***	*[..]*[...]**	****x**	*.ṛex:*	*...ụ.exi.....*[238]
ma*[	*[...]*[...]ạ*	*.mạ**	*aịm*	*...pal....imr...*

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The reading is extremely uncertain. In the second line, the *a* may be followed by either a *t* or a *p*. In the third, the traces that precede the *x* could perhaps be an *e*, but Thulin's *ṛex* ("zwar [ist] nur die linke Hälfte des r erhalten", 1907:278) can no more be read; following the *x* is *i*, not Thulin's ∴. Gamurrini and Deecke saw traces on the second tile as well; although still visible, they are illegible, except for the last line, where an *r* or an *a* (*..ima..*? Deecke) can perhaps be recognized. The only attempt at interpretation is Peruzzi's,[239] who interpreted Gamurrini's and Deecke's readings as a *carmen epigraphicum*, reading *d]eico.uoc[e* 'dico uoce', *atr** (from Herbig) as a form of *ater*, *eco* 'ego', *exi[* as a form of *exire* or *exitus*, and *imr[* as

[238] Bormann erroneously rendered Gamurrini's reading as *//v.exci//////.*

[239] Earlier editors limited themselves to names (Deecke: praenomen e.g. *num]eico*, gentilicium e.g. u*oc[onio*; Thulin: *uap...* cf. *Vapusius*, *aima* fem. of *Aemus*; Herbig: gentilicium *u̯aṭr[io*).

a form of *imbrex* or *imber*. Not all of this is plausible (the reference to an *imbrex* or an *imber* is unclear, and the parallel quoted for *mr* = /m(b)r/, *umrie* Etr **XLIII**, is Etruscan rather than Faliscan) and the likelihood of such a *carmen* may be questioned in view of the function of Faliscan sepulchral inscriptions (§11.1.4.*1*).

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8154+8173). ***Bibliography:*** Gamurrini 1883:166 ⟨5⟩ (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.3162*c*,4a-b; Deecke 1888:145-6 ⟨14a-b⟩; Conway 1897:373-4 ⟨319a-b⟩; Thulin 1907:277-8 ⟨11*a-b*⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8214*a-b* (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:301-2 ⟨287a,A-B⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:82-4 ⟨86,Ia-b⟩; Peruzzi 1964d:310-1. ***Drawings:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.1 (reproduced in *CIE* 8214*a-b*); Thulin 1907:277, 278 (reproduced in *CIE* 8214*a-b*); Herbig *CIE* 8214*a-b*.

92. Painted in red on plaster along the length of a tile (60×47 cm, letters 10 cm high).

tan[---]
cail[ia ?---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Herbig's *tan* is preferable to the *pan* of the earlier editors. The *a* in the second line is very damaged, but can hardly be anything else than *cail[---]*. If the inscription occupied one tile, the first line was probably *tan[a* (Herbig) or *tan[ia*; otherwise, it can be read as e.g. *tan[acuil]* with *cail[ia : .. : fi]* in the second line. Vetter's *tan*|*cail* is meaningless, Pauli's *tan*|*cỵil* (in Herbig *CIE* 8216) impossible.

Bibliography: Gamurrini 1883:166 ⟨9⟩ (*autopsy*); Deecke 1888:147 ⟨18⟩; Conway 1897:374 ⟨xl.4⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8216 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:301-3 ⟨287c⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:82-4 ⟨86,III⟩; Peruzzi 1964d:310. ***Drawings:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.1; Herbig *CIE* 8216.

93. Painted in red on plaster on a tile.

la:ie[---]
cai[lia---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The first line seems to have contained a man's name with a gentilicium in *Ie-* (for suggestions with regard to this name, cf. §7.8.1.*75*), followed in the second line by a woman's name *cai[lia* (not Deecke's and Herbig's *cai* 'Gai'), either a praenomen or a gentilicium (thus Peruzzi).

Bibliography: Gamurrini 1883:166 ⟨15⟩ (*autopsy*); Deecke 1888:149 ⟨24⟩; Conway 1897:375 ⟨xl.10⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8217 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:301-3 ⟨287d⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:82-4 ⟨86,IV⟩; Peruzzi 1964d:311-2. ***Drawing:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.1 (reproduced in *CIE* 8217).

94. Painted in red on plaster across the back of a tile (67×46 cm, letters 10-15 cm high).

[1][---c]²ẹlio·cesi·fi
***[1][---]²:cauia* * ***
[1][---]²a

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *e* in *cesi* is cursive (II): the gentilicium can therefore be *c]ẹlio*, *ca]ilio* or *ce]ilio*. In the second line, Herbig's *cauia* (read erroneously as *icruir* by the earlier editors) is followed by two traces that may be the traces of

a *titulus prior* that were seen by Thulin (in Herbig *CIE* 8215). The last line, first read by Pauli (in *CIE*), is *[---]a* (Herbig), e.g. the formula *[he:cup]a* or the end of the woman's gentilicium or patronym. Peruzzi, restoring the first line as *ce.c]elio.cesi.fi*, regarded the text as a new epitaph for the deceased of MF **90**, made after the death of his wife *cauia*.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8180). I succeeded only in finding the fragment containing the letters *fi* and several traces of the second line. ***Bibliography:*** Gamurrini 1883:166 ⟨4⟩ (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.3162c,3; Deecke 1888:145 ⟨13⟩; Conway 1897:373 ⟨318*a*⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8215 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:302 ⟨287b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:82-4 ⟨86,II⟩; Peruzzi 1964d:310. ***Drawings:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.I; Herbig *CIE* 8215.

95. Painted in red on plaster along the length of the back of two damaged tiles (the first max. 30×45 cm, the second max. 30×45 cm; letters 13-15 cm high).

[1][---]²celio³[---]
[1][---]²:hec:c³upa[t?]*

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The earliest editors treated the tiles as separate inscriptions *celio* (or *celioi*) *utpos* and *...upa*. Thulin, however, rightly read *hec:c* instead of *utpos* (cf. Herbig's drawings) and joined it to the tile with *upa*.[240] The lost first line on the second tile probably contained the man's filiation. At the beginning of the second line, Thulin read a trace , probably part of *a*, on a shard that I was unable to find. At the beginning of the text, one tile is missing, which contained the man's praenomen in the first line, and in the second line perhaps a woman's name (*---]ạ*). *Cupa[t?]* is therefore perhaps plural rather than singular.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8162+8174). I did not succeed in finding the shard of the first tile with the trace at the beginning of the second line. ***Bibliography:*** Gamurrini 1883:166 ⟨3+8⟩ (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.3162*c*,5; Deecke 1888:146-7 ⟨15+17⟩; Conway 1897:374 ⟨xl.1⟩; Thulin 1907:279 ⟨12⟩ (*autopsy*); Jacobsohn 1910:4 ⟨21⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8218 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:302 ⟨287e⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:82-4 ⟨86,V⟩; Peruzzi 1964d:311. ***Drawings:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.I; Thulin 1907:279 (reproduced in *CIE* 8218); Herbig *CIE* 8218.

96. Painted in red on plaster along the length of the back of a tile (68×43 cm, letters *c.* 15 cm high in the first line, the second line slightly smaller).

[1]iuna:ce[2][lio---]
[1]arutielia[2][?---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The gentilicium can be read as *ce[lio* or *ce[ilio* (Herbig; *ce[ilio* Jacobsohn, *ce[lio* Vetter, G. Giacomelli). In the second line, the *u* appears to have been corrected from a *t*, whose sidestroke, apparently obliterated on purpose, is still vaguely visible. *Arutiela* was first proposed by Pauli (in Herbig *CIE* 8221). A second tile will have contained, in the first line the remainder of the gentilicium and the man's filiation, and in the second perhaps the woman's filiation or *-cue*.

[240] Thulin's drawing gives a false impression of a great difference in size between the two tiles: in my measurements, the sizes come to 45 and 43 cm respectively.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8176). ***Bibliography:*** Gamurrini 1883:166 ⟨1⟩ (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.3162*c*,2; Deecke 1888:142-3 ⟨10⟩; Conway 1897:373 ⟨316⟩; Jacobsohn 1910:4 ⟨22⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8221 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:302 ⟨287g⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:82-4 ⟨86,VIII⟩. ***Drawing:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.I; Herbig *CIE* 8221.

97. Painted in red on plaster on a tile fragment.[241] Letters 11 cm high.

[---c]elio[---]
[---]r*i[....]*

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The (cursive) *e*, ||, was seen only by Gamurrini (*c]elio* Deecke, *...elio* Conway; *ce]lio* Herbig, G. Giacomelli). He read the second line as *rpi a* (e.g. *tu]rpi[li]a* Deecke), but the letter following the *r*, which is ⅂Я in Deecke jr.'s drawing and ИЯ in Herbig's, has also been read as a *z* (*nobo]rzi[ni]a* Deecke, *he]rzi[ni]a* Thulin in Herbig *CIE* 8220, *no]rzi[ni]a* Herbig). Gamurrini's *a* was not seen by Deecke jr.; Herbig's drawing shows an (illegible) letter. Gamurrini and Pauli (in Herbig *CIE*) joined this tile to the one of **99**, which is impossible.

Bibliography: Gamurrini 1883:166 ⟨3⟩ (*autopsy*); Deecke 1888:144 ⟨12⟩; Conway 1897:373 ⟨318b⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8220 (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:82-4 ⟨86,VII⟩. ***Drawings:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.I; Herbig *CIE* 8220.

98. Painted in red along the length of the back of a damaged tile (41.5* × 49 cm, letters of the first line 12-13 cm high, those of the second line *c.*10 cm high).

[1][---]²reiç[lio]
[1][---]²maxom[o]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The first line has been read as *reio* by all editors (*ma]reio* Deecke), but as only the right half of the *c* is left, it is also possible to read *reic [lio* (cf. *reiclio* in MF **99**). In the second line, the first letter was virtually obliterated by the mortar used to keep the tile in place. The second letter is *a*, not *r* (Gamurrini, Conway); of the last legible letter, only one vertical shaft is left. Thulin read *saxoi*, Herbig *saxola* (adopted by Vetter and G. Giacomelli), but Deecke's *m]axom[o* is certainly not impossible: as there is not enough place for a (complete) *m* on this tile, it will have been partly written on the tile missing at the beginning of the text. This tile will have contained the man's praenomen in the first line and his filiation in the second. The missing letters of *reiç[lio]* and *maxom[o]* were written on the missing part of the tile; it is not necessary to assume that another tile is missing at the end.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8223). ***Bibliography:*** Gamurrini 1883:165-7 ⟨7⟩ (*autopsy*); Deecke 1888:147 ⟨16⟩; Conway 1897:374 ⟨xl.2⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8226 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:303 ⟨287l⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:82-4 ⟨86,XIII⟩. ***Drawings:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.I; Herbig *CIE* 8226.

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[241] Herbig (from Pauli) gives the size of this fragment as "m. 0,45 a. x 0,695 l.", which corresponds to the size of a *complete* tile (§11.1.4.*1c*).

99. Painted in red on plaster along the length of the back of a damaged tile (max. 46×42 cm, letters 10-14 cm high).

[1][---]²reiclio[?]
[1][---]²:cẹsiḷi[a]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The text is largely that of Herbig (earlier editors read *seicliolicasilio*). What remains of the second letter of the second line is and may be a damaged *e*, which would give *cẹsili[a]*, rather than the damaged *a* ( ) of the earlier editors: cf. the *e* or *a* in MF **109**. The last letter of the second line, , was read as *n* by Herbig and Thulin (in Herbig *CIE* 8222), but is perhaps rather *li* (Pauli in Herbig *CIE* 8222). The last letter of *cesiḷi[a* will have stood on the missing part of the tile; it is not necessary to assume that another tile followed the text. A tile missing at the beginning will have contained the praenomen of the man in the first line and his filiation in the second. Torelli proposed to read *(p)reiclio* (cf. *Praecilia Setoriana* in *CIL* XI.3181 from near Fabbrica di Roma (?), but the fact that in MF **100** the gentilicium stands at the beginning of the line pleads against this. Gamurrini and Pauli (in Herbig *CIE* 8222) joined this tile to the one of MF **96**, but that appears to be impossible.

Bibliography: Gamurrini 1883:166 ⟨2⟩ (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.3162*c*,1; Deecke 1888:143-4 ⟨11⟩; Conway 1897:373 ⟨317⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8222 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:302 ⟨287h⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:82-4 ⟨86,IX⟩; Torelli 1967:536. ***Drawings:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.I; Herbig *CIE* 8222.

100. Painted in red on plaster across the back of a damaged tile (max. 48×19 cm, letters *c*.8 cm high).

[.....]
reị[cli.]
m*[....]
cus[....]
ma[....]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. A trace of the first line was seen by Thulin (in Herbig *CIE* 8224) and Herbig. The second line is read as *re[* by all editors, but part of a shaft is visible after the *e*, and in view of *reiclio* in MF **99** and *reiç[lio* in MF **98**, it is possible to read *reị[clio]* or *reị[clia]*. Of the last letter of the third line only a shaft is preserved. In the fourth line, the last letter (first read by Herbig) is certainly an *s*: it is impossible to read *cup[at*. The last line is *ma[---]* (Deecke) rather than *mr*... (Gamurrini) or *mọ[---]* (Thulin in Herbig *CIE* 8224). The fact that the inscription (uniquely) consists of five lines implies that it probably occupied only one tile, e.g. *[marco]* | *reị[clio]* | *ma[rcio]*, followed by a woman's name *cus[....]* | *ma[: uxo]*: alternatively, it would have been part of a very long text indeed.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8216). ***Bibliography:*** Gamurrini 1883:166 ⟨13⟩ (*autopsy*); Deecke 1888:149 ⟨22⟩; Conway 1897:374 ⟨xl.8⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8224 (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:83-4 ⟨86,XI⟩. ***Drawings:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.I; Herbig *CIE* 8224.

101. Painted in red on plaster along the length of the back of a tile (68.5 × 47 cm, let. 7-13 cm).

tanacu[il]
anelia·
uxor·ia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The first *a* is Ꞑ, the cross-over form between Ꞑ and Ꞑ found also in MF **59-60**, the second and third *a* are Ꞑ; the fourth and fifth *a* and the *r* are both Ꞑ, an instance of the confusion of Ꞑ (*a*) and Ꞑ (*r*): see §11.2.4.2. Of the first letter, part of the top is missing, but Deecke's *tanacu[il]* is certainly right (*panacu* Thulin). The two interpuncts at the end of the second line are unique. The third line was first seen by Thulin, who read *uxor·ia/*, which was adopted by G. Giacomelli. Herbig (whence Jacobsohn and Vetter) read *uxor·iṛ*, but an abbreviation *ia* of a man's name occurs also in MLF **302** and LtF **341**.

Bibliography: Gamurrini 1883:166 ⟨12⟩ (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.3162*c*,6; Deecke 1888:148-9 ⟨21⟩; Conway 1897:374 ⟨xl.7⟩; Thulin 1907:280-1 ⟨14⟩ (*autopsy*); Jacobsohn 1910:4 ⟨23⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8223 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:302 ⟨287i⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:82-4 ⟨86,X⟩. ***Drawings:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.I; Thulin 1907:280 (reproduced in *CIE* 8223); Herbig *CIE* 8223.

102. Painted in red on plaster across the back of a tile (57 × 45 cm, let. 9-11 cm).

[1][---]²iena:u̯[3][---]
[1][---]²ono:ux[3][or]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *u* in the first line could also be a tilted *l*. Deecke took *[---]iena* as an Etruscan gentilicium, *u̯[---]* as the beginning of the father's name in the genitive (or of a patronym) and *[---]ono* as a cognomen, followed by *ux[orcue*. This reading was adopted by Herbig and G. Giacomelli. There are no parallels in the Faliscan inscriptions for a woman to be designated by just the word *uxor*, instead of a name. Vetter's interpretation, to take the whole inscription as referring to a woman, with *[---]ono* as the ending of genitive of the husband's name (e.g. *petr]ono*), is more attractive. In both interpretations it is assumed that the inscription occupied three tiles.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8145). ***Bibliography:*** Gamurrini 1883:166 ⟨11⟩ (*autopsy*); Deecke 1888:148 ⟨20⟩; Conway 1897:374 ⟨xl.6⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8227 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:303 ⟨287m⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:83-4 ⟨86,XIV⟩. ***Drawings:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.I; Herbig *CIE* 8227.

103. Painted in red on plaster across the upper part of the back of a damaged tile (71×max. 41 cm, letters *c.*11 cm high).

[1]nut*[2][---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan (?) alphabet. The letters start close to the edge of the tile: it is unclear if another tile preceded it. The last letter has been read as *r* (Gamurrini) and as *a* (Deecke jr., Pauli and Thulin in Herbig *CIE* 8225): at present, little more than a vertical

shaft is left (*ṇut** Herbig). If the tile was of standard width, no more than two letters can have followed on the same tile. Herbig and Vetter considered interpreting the word as 'nutrix'. G. Giacomelli rightly rejected this, as the Middle Faliscan equivalent of Latin *nutrix*, older *noutrix* in *CIL* I^2.45, would have been *notrix* (§3.7.2). Peruzzi defended Herbig's interpretation, regarding *nutrix* as a Roman *Luxuslehnwort*. It is not certain, however, if even in contemporary Roman Latin /oṵ/ had already developed so far towards /ō/ as to be written *u* (Wachter (1987:313-3) thinks it was possible).[242] Furthermore, it would be the only Faliscan sepulchral inscription where an occupation is mentioned. I think it is safer to read *nut*[* as a name, perhaps as *nu t*[---]* (cf. *nu* in MLF **309** and perhaps also in MF? **202**).

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8164). ***Bibliography:*** Gamurrini 1883:165-7 ⟨10⟩ (*autopsy*); Deecke 1888:148 ⟨19⟩; Conway 1897:374 ⟨xl.5⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8225 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:302 ⟨287k⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:82-4 ⟨86,XII⟩; Peruzzi 1964d:312. ***Drawings:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.I; Herbig *CIE* 8225.

104. Painted in red on plaster on a tile fragment.

[---]ila[---]
[---]ic[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan (?) alphabet. For the first line, Deecke proposed a connection with Etruscan *Veila*; Herbig considered dividing *---i la---*. The second line could be *ra]ic[li-*, *re]ic[li-*, or perhaps *r]e c[li-*, if the shaft is half of a cursive *e* (ll).

Bibliography: Gamurrini 1883:166 ⟨14⟩ (*autopsy*); Deecke 1888:149 ⟨23⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8228; G. Giacomelli 1963:83-4 ⟨86,XV⟩. ***Drawing:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.1 (reproduced in *CIE* 8228).

105-108. Four more fragmentary tiles were seen in 1887 by Deecke jr. in the Museo di Villa Giulia. Only two (MF **105** and **107**) were later seen by others. It is not recorded on what grounds they were ascribed to the Torrente Purgatorio tomb, or why they did not appear in Gamurrini's description: MF **105** is well legible even today, and if its state is representative of the whole group, Gamurrini could hardly have overlooked these fragments if they had been discovered together with those published by him in 1883.

105. Painted in red on plaster on a two fragments of a tile (total size 56 × 26 cm; letters *c.*10 cm high).

[---]celio[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan (?) alphabet.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8219, *olim* 8199). ***Bibliography:*** Deecke 1888:150 ⟨25⟩; Conway 1897:374 ⟨320⟩; Thulin 1907:279 ⟨13⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8219 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:301-3 ⟨287f⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:83-4 ⟨86,VI⟩. ***Drawings:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.I; Thulin 1907:279 (reproduced in *CIE* 8219); Herbig *CIE* 8219.

[242] Note, however, that shortly after 241, a T. Furius, perhaps an Latin immigrant craftsman at Falerii Novi, still spelled his name as *fourios* (Lat **215**).

106. On a tile fragment (presumably painted in red on plaster).

[---]cisi[---]
[---]ipo[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with reversed *s*: the sign for this letter is given as Ƽ, which is used for *t* in MLF **347**, **350**, and probably **351**. Deecke compared Etruscan *Cisie*; Herbig considered dividing the second line as *---i po---*. Perhaps *cisi* is an error (by the painter or by Deecke jr.) for *c‹e›si* with cursive *e*, Ⅱ.

Bibliography: Deecke 1888:150 ⟨26⟩; Conway 1897:375 ⟨xl.11⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8229; G. Giacomelli 1963:83-4 ⟨86,XVI⟩. ***Drawing:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.I (reproduced in *CIE* 8229).

107. Painted in red on plaster on a damaged tile (max. 50-38×47 cm).

[---]ɔ́fli[---]
[---]ą́fc[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet: the *ą́* is Λ. Deecke proposed to read 'G(ai) f(ilius)' in the first line and 'A(uli) f(ilius)' in the second. Pauli (in Herbig *CIE* 8230) read *ą́[n]ę́lióli? apç*, comparing *anelia* in MF **98**, but it is impossible to see how this reading can be derived from his drawing, which appears to suggest that the reading is *[---]*[.]ę́ui*[-- ---]i[.]apç[---]*.

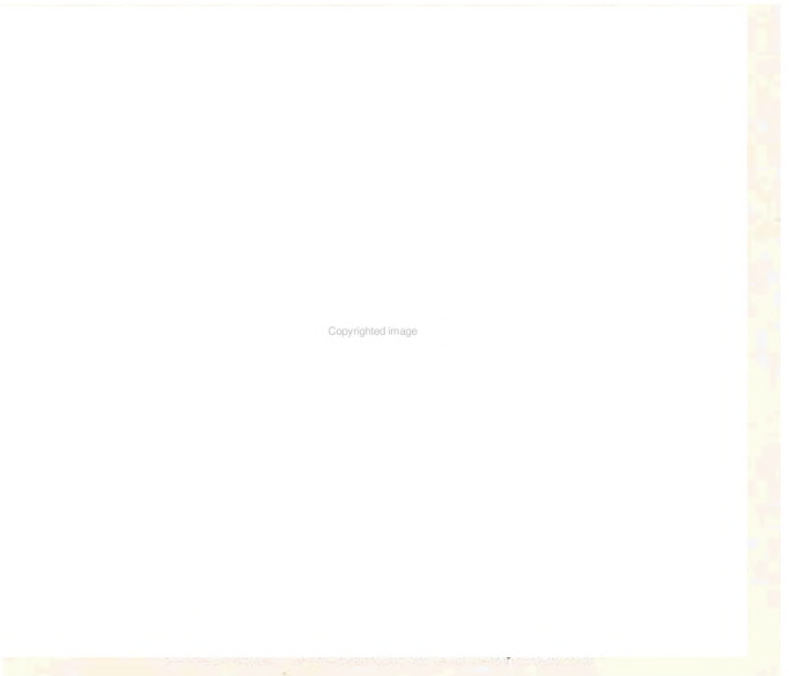
Bibliography: Deecke 1888:150 ⟨27⟩; Conway 1897:375 ⟨xl.12⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8230; G. Giacomelli 1963:83-4 ⟨86,XVII⟩. ***Drawing:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.I (reproduced in *CIE* 8230); Pauli in Herbig *CIE* 8230.

108. On three tile fragments (presumably painted in red on plaster: an autoptic description is lacking).

[---]a[---]
[---]iac[---]
[---]cal[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan (?) alphabet. Herbig's suggestions *[---]iac[ue* '...ia-que' and *cal[inia* 'Calinia' are possible, but hardly more than guesses.

Bibliography: Deecke 1888:150 ⟨28⟩; Conway 1897:375 ⟨xl.13⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8231; G. Giacomelli 1963:83-4 ⟨86,XVIII⟩. ***Drawings:*** Deecke jr. in Deecke 1888 Taf.I (reproduced in *CIE* 8231); Pauli in Herbig *CIE* 8231.



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Chapter 14

The inscriptions from Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres) II

14.1. The inscriptions from the temples

14.1.1. The dedications. The inscriptions from the temples of Civita Castellana stand apart from the other Faliscan inscriptions, which are virtually all sepulchral. Some can be identified as dedications (*apolonos* EF **10** (§13.3), the Titus Mercus-dedications MF **113-126**, and perhaps also MF **109**); dedicatory, too, is *sacra* MF **127** and *anae lauvcies* Etr **XXIX** (§19.3). Others are *Besitzerinschriften* rather than dedications (MF **110**, **112**, MF? **128-131**, and **133-134**): apart from their provenance, there are no indications that these objects were dedications. Unfortunately illegible is MF **132**, from the frieze of the temple of Contrada Celle.

14.1.2. The temples of Colle di Vignale. Colle di Vignale lies to the north-east of the site of Civita Castellana. Like the latter, it is part of the tuff plateau surrounded by the gorges of the Treia to the south and the Rio Maggiore to the north-west, the north, and the east. Vignale is the site of the earliest settlement at Civita Castellana, which goes back to the archaic period. Two temples, known as the Tempio Maggiore and Tempio Minore, were built here in the sixth century. Although the habitation was abandoned in the third century, probably as a result of the war of 241, a few second-century votives indicate that the temples remained in use for some time afterwards (Moscati 1983:79). The site was excavated in 1895-1896 under the auspices of Pasqui and Mengarelli. The results of these excavations remain largely unpublished except for discussions by Moscati (1983, 1990) and Carlucci (1995); see also *FI* II.1 p.381 with fig.121 p.191. At least some of the epigraphical material belongs to the finds from the Tempio Maggiore, as appears from a manuscript *Catalogo degli oggetti scavati nello scavo di un tempio sull'altura di Vignale, nella proprietà del nobile Sig. Cav. Rocco Trocchi* (1896?) quoted by Moscati (1983:81-7), which mentions EF **10** (§12.4), MF **109** and **110** (below), and Etr **XXIX** (§19.3).

109. Painted in red on the fragmentary bottom of a patera (letters 14-17 mm high).

[---]ạltai̯[

Sinistroverse. The quadruple interpunct may point to an early date. Of the first letter, only two downward-slanting sidebars remain, but it is doubtlessly the same sign as the

fourth letter. This is 𐌀, probably an *a* of the cursive type described in §11.2.4.2, although some editors regard is a a carelessly written 𐌄: Thulin (in Herbig *CIE* 8031) read *uļęltęi*, comparing the curious *e*'s in MF **146**, 𐌇 (§11.2.4.2); Herbig read *ỿltvi*. Colonna and Rix both regarded the inscription as Etruscan, reading *venļęltvi* and *?ļęltvi* respectively. If the inscription is a Faliscan votive inscription, the form may be a first-declension dative singular of a deity's name or epithet.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8031 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:292 ⟨261⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:59 ⟨32⟩; Moscati 1985:87; Comella 1986:172-3 ⟨33⟩ (*autopsy*); Colonna 1993:299; Rix *ET* Fa 2.19. ***Photograph:*** Comella 1986 tav.70c. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8031.

110. Scratched under a brown-varnished patera (∅ 9.5 cm, letters 7-8 mm high).

aie*

Sinistroverse. The last letter can be an *a* (*aieą* Herbig) or a squarish *o*, but Nogara's apograph (in *CIE* 8032) shows 𐌀𐌄𐌉𐌀: an *aieą* or *aieǫ* could (with some difficulty) be interpreted as a name (cf. Stolte 1928:289, Hirata 1967:32-3). Colonna's photograph and Pandolfini's drawing point rather to a *v*: Colonna, Pandolfini, and Rix in fact read *acev* and place the text among the alphabetaries. The second letter is an *i* rather than a *c*, however, and an *a* or *o* not unlike the last letter occurs in Cap **375** and **388**.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8032 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:292 ⟨263⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:60 ⟨34⟩; Moscati 1985:87; Comella 1986:172 ⟨32⟩ (*autopsy*); Colonna 1990:136 (*autopsy*); Pandolfini & Prosdocimi 1990:94 ⟨III.35⟩; Rix *ET* Fa 9.3. ***Photograph:*** Colonna 1990 tav.Ib. ***Drawings:*** Herbig *CIE* 8032; Comella 1986 tav.78,R89; Pandolfini & Prosdocimi 1990:94.

111. Stamped inside a small black-varnished saucer (∅ 6 cm, letters 7 mm high).

ac

Sinistroverse. The *a* is 𐌀, a rounded variant of 𐌀 (see §11.2.4.2): a similar *a* appears in MF **79**. The name is stamped, and is probably the name of the potter.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8033 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:292; G. Giacomelli 1963:60 ⟨35⟩; Comella 1986:172 ⟨31⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Photograph:*** Comella 1986 tav.66c. ***Drawings:*** Herbig *CIE* 8033; Comella 1986 tav.77,R76.

112. Scratched on a small vase (letters 8-13 mm high). Third to first century (Herbig).

iunai

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *a* has the form 𐌉, which is normally used for *r*, but in several later inscriptions also for *a* (§11.2.4.2). Either genitive (Pisani) or dative, see §4.2.3 and §8.8.1. As *iuna* is a man's name, not a god's, both interpretations are incompatible with a dedicatory inscription.[243]

[243] Andrén (1940:87), erroneously assuming that *iunai* could "represent the name of Iuno", uses the inscription to substruct his theory that the Tempio Maggiore was the famous Faliscan temple of Iuno. This theory is adopted by Riis (1981:55), without reference to this inscription.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8548; Vetter 1953:292 ⟨262⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:59-60 ⟨33⟩; Pisani 1964:344 ⟨146Gd⟩; Moscati 1985:66; Comella 1986:172 ⟨30⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Photograph:*** Comella 1986 tav.67b. ***Drawings:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8548; Comella 1986 tav.77,R76.

14.1.3. The temple ruins 'ai Sassi Caduti'. The temple ruins 'ai Sassi Caduti' lie at the bottom of the gorge of the Rio Maggiore, between Contrada Le Colonette to the west and the Colle di Vignale to the east. A private excavation conducted between August 1901 and February 1902 yielded a large quantity of architectural terracottas as well as a number of votives, including several inscribed vessels. Although few of the excavation results have been published (cf. Mengarelli 1911, Della Seta 1917:166-77, Andrén 1940:104-21), the finds indicate that the temple went back to the fifth century and remained in use until the Roman period, surviving, like other temples at Civita Castellana, the war of 241. The theonym *Titus Mercus* in the votive inscriptions from the *stips* and the discovery of part of a terracotta statue of a wing-footed youth[244] have led to the conclusion that the temple was dedicated to Mercury or a similar deity.

113-126 (the '*Titus Mercus*-dedications'). The following inscriptions are attributed to a third-century *stips* by Mengarelli (in Thulin 1907:297). This date has been adopted by all later editors except Dohrn, who dated the inscriptions to the fourth century. Most of these inscriptions, MF **113-124**, are executed in a uniform style, painted in identical black-varnished Etrusco-Campanian cups (height *c.*12 cm), as *titoi* | *mercui* | *efiles* (MF **113-117**), *titoi : mercui* (MF **118-122**), or *mercui* (MF **123-124**). They may have been produced in series as ready-made ex-votos to be sold to visitors to the temple, or perhaps even as dedications imposed by the aediles as a sanction (see below). The different shapes of the *s*, ⋚ in MF **113** and **115**, but ⋛ in MF **118**, suggest that at least two people were employed in their production.

113. Painted in yellow on the bottom of a black-varnished 'Etrusco-Campanian' cup.

] titoi [
] mercui [
] efiles [

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *s* is ⋚.

From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 12544). ***Photographs:*** Torelli 1981:224 fig.97; Morandi 1982 tav.IX.2; Comella 1986 tav.66d. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907 between pp.298-9 ⟨36⟩ (reproduced in *CIE* 8036); Morandi 1982:59; Comella 1986 tav.77,R77.

[244] The statue is not the cult-statue, but may well have occupied a prominent position, possibly as the central acroterion (see Mengarelli in Thulin 1907:297, 1911:66, Herbig 1914a:241-2, Della Seta 1918:166, Andrén 1940:116-7 with pl.44 nr.143, and Melis in *Sant* p.113).

114. Painted in yellow on the bottom of a black-varnished 'Etrusco-Campanian' cup.

] tito [
] mercui [
] efile [

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The space after *tito* is too large for Jacobsohn's *tito[i]*. The occurrence of *tito* side by side with *titoi* has been interpreted as an attestation of a change towards a dative in *-o* (Thulin 1907:303), but it may be no more than a graphical error (§4.3.3). *Efile* shows a very rare omission of *-s* after a long vowel, which may likewise be an error (§3.5.7*d*).

From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 12545). ***Photograph:*** Comella 1986 tav.68d. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907 between pp.298-9 ⟨40⟩ (reproduced in *CIE* 8037); Comella 1986 tav.79,R96.

115. Painted in yellow on the bottom of a black-varnished 'Etrusco-Campanian' cup.

[t]ito[i]
]mẹrcu[i]
]efiles[

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Only the left shaft of the *m* is preserved. The *s* is ⸗.

From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 12548). ***Photograph:*** Comella 1986 tav.68b. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907 between pp.298-9 ⟨37⟩ (reproduced in CIE 8038); Comella 1986 tav.79,R94.

116. Painted in yellow on the bottom of a black-varnished 'Etrusco-Campanian' cup.

] titoi [
] mercụ[i]
]efi[les]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Of the *u*, only the top left-hand corner remains.

From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 12546). ***Photograph:*** Comella 1986 tav.67a. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907 between pp.298-9 ⟨38⟩ (reproduced in *CIE* 8039); Comella 1986 tav.77,R78.

117. Painted in yellow a fragment of a black-varnished 'Etrusco-Campanian' cup.

[titoi]
[mercui]
[efil]es [

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with reversed *s*. Thulin took this shard and **123** together as *[titoi]* | *merc[ui* | *efil]es*, but they have rightly been separated by all later editors.

Drawings: Thulin 1907 between pp.298-9 ⟨39⟩ (reproduced in *CIE* 8047); Comella 1986 tav.79,R105.

118. Painted in yellow on the bottom of a black-varnished 'Etrusco-Campanian' cup.

]titoi:mercụ[i]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Of the *u*, only the top half remains.

From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 12547). ***Photograph:*** Comella 1986 tav.68a. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907 between pp.298-9 ⟨41⟩ (reproduced in *CIE* 8040); Comella 1986 tav.79,R93.

119. Painted in yellow on the bottom of a black-varnished 'Etrusco-Campanian' cup.

[t]itoi:mercu[i]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet.
From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 12549). ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907 between pp.298-9 ⟨44⟩ (reproduced in *CIE* 8041); Comella 1986 tav.79,R97.

120. Painted in yellow on the bottom of a black-varnished 'Etrusco-Campanian' cup.

[ti]toi:mercu[i]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet.
From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 12550). ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907 between pp.298-9 ⟨44⟩ (reproduced in *CIE* 8042); Comella 1986 tav.79,R98.

121. Painted in yellow on the bottom of a black-varnished 'Etrusco-Campanian' cup.

[ti]toi:mercui [

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet.
From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 12551+12553). ***Photograph:*** Comella 1986 tav.67c. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907 between pp.298-9 ⟨44⟩ (reproduced in *CIE* 8043); Comella 1986 tav.78,R90.

122. Painted in yellow on the bottom of a black-varnished 'Etrusco-Campanian' cup.

]titoi:m[e]rcui [

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Of the *m*, only the top left-hand corner remains.
From autopsy, one part in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv.12552), the other in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 12554). ***Photograph:*** Comella 1986 tav.66a. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907 between pp.298-9 ⟨45⟩ (reproduced in *CIE* 8044); Comella 1986 tav.76,R62.

123. Painted in yellow on the bottom of a black-varnished 'Etrusco-Campanian' cup.

[---?]merc[ui]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. There is a small space between the *c* and the edge of the lacuna (*merc* Herbig and Vetter), but in view of the standardized form of these inscriptions, *merc[ui* or *[titoi:]merc[ui* is not impossible. The space under the line is empty: it is impossible to read *[titoi]* | *merc[ui* | *efil]es* (Thulin, adding **117**).
From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 12555). I saw only the second shard, with the letters *erc*. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907 between pp.298-9 ⟨39⟩ (reproduced in CIE 8046); Comella 1986 tav.77,R70.

124. Painted in yellow on the bottom of a black-varnished 'Etrusco-Campanian' cup.

[m]ercui [

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Of the *e*, only the top right corner remains.
From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 12556). ***Photograph:*** Comella 1986 tav.67d. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907 between pp.298-9 ⟨46⟩ (reproduced in CIE 8045); Comella 1986 tav.78,R91.

125. Scratched (not painted) on a fragment of a black-varnished cup.

]mercui [

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Of the *m*, only part of the left shaft remains.
From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 12561). ***Photograph:*** Comella 1986 tav.69c. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907:299 (reproduced in *CIE* 8048).

126. Scratched on the handle of a vessel.

meṛ[cui]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. On the edge of the lacuna a vertical shaft is just visible, and *meṛ[cui]* is therefore preferable to Herbig's *me[rcui* (which has been adopted by all later editors).
From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 12566). ***Photograph:*** Comella 1986 tav.69b. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907:299 (reproduced in *CIE* 8049).

Thulin proposed to take *titoi mercui* as a dative of a deity. *Efiles*, at first regarded as the name of the dedicant (thus still Buonamici) was equated by Erman with Latin *aedilis* (§6.2.*1*), and the interpretation, adopted by most authors, has since become 'the aediles, to Titus Mercus'. The word *efiles* has been regarded as a calque on Latin *aediles* by G. Giacomelli and later authors, but I doubt if this is necessary. If the functions of the Faliscan *aediles* were similar to those of their Roman counterparts, Vetter and Combet Farnoux (1980:137-142) may be right in taking the inscribed vessels as dedications by trespassers of aedile regulations or as by the aediles themselves *aere multatico*. This would explain the connection with Mercus or Mercury, the fact that the names of the aediles are not mentioned, and that the majority of the vessels were apparently produced as a series of ready-made dedications. The interpretation is not without problems, however. Although *mercui* can be the name of a god connected, like *Mercurius*, to Latin *merx* etc. and to Oscan *mirikui* Cm 12, *amirikum* Cm 13, and *amiricatud TB* 22, the human praenomen of the god is surprising.[245] Most editors therefore tried to infer the existence of a god *Titus* from the *sodales Titii* (and the *aues titiae* from which Varro (*L* 5.85) derived their name), or connected *Titus* with *Mutinus Titinus*. Solmsen took *Titos Mercus* as the Italic equivalent of ithyphallic Hermes. A discussion of the various theories is given by Combet Farnoux, who himself plausibly posits an adjective */tito-/ 'propitious, prosperous', which could be used both as a human praenomen and as an epithet of Mercury. G. Giacomelli suggested that the dedications were made by the aediles on behalf of a member of their college who was called *Titus Mercu*.

A second problem is that interpreting *mercui* as a fourth-declension dative involves quite large morphophonological problems, for which see §4.6.2. It is especially this second problem that has lead to the proposal of alternative interpretations.

[245] The *Aius* in *Aius Locutius* adduced by Vetter is not convincing as a human name. The evidence for a *Titus Sanquus* (Radke 1965b:215, 280) is dubious (Prosdocimi 1965:586).

Herbig, who doubted Thulin's interpretation already in the *CIE*, took *titoi mercui* as an Etruscan feminine 'Tita Merconia', with *efiles* first (1914) as the genitive of the husband's name, and later (1923), following Erman, as 'aedilis'. This was not adopted afterwards, especially on account of the occurrence of a *female* aedile. Others interpret *mercui* as a form of a *Mercuuius*. As there are no Faliscan attestations of /uu̯/ being written as *u*, or of a drop of intervocalic /u̯/, this is difficult, although not impossible. Jacobsohn interpreted *titoi mercui* as an abbreviated nominative, but neither 'Titoius Mercuvius. Epillius' nor 'Titoius. Mercuvius Epillius' (name of the god + name of the dedicant, both in the nominative) is convincing.

Mercui has also been taken as a genitive of **Mercuuius*. In that case, if *titoi* is a dative, it can only be a common noun, as Altheim interpreted it ('to the **titos* of Mercuvius'): Jacobsohn's 'to Titus of Mercuuius' is probably impossible, as such a syntagma would require an adjective, not a genitive (cf. e.g. names like *Picus Martius*). Although Altheim's interpretation of **titos* as 'phallus' was adopted by Koch, Kroll, Vahlert, and Andrén, his further expansion of the meaning to 'Genius' has been doubted by many and has been rejected at some length by Combet Farnoux (1980:118-133). New evidence in support of his interpretation seems to be provided by the use of */tito-/ in the South Picene inscriptions, *titúli* AP.1, *titúí* TE.5 (also *titiúí* CH.2, and perhaps *titienom* TE.3?). If *titos* or *titios* could have a meaning like 'genius', this need not necessarily be derived from an original meaning 'phallus', however: Combet Farnoux's */tito-/ 'propitious, prosperous' might well constitute a better basis (cf. the Latin *(di) manes* : *manis* or *manus* = *bonus*).

Titoi and *mercui* have also both been taken as genitives. The first to do so was Jacobsohn, who interpreted 'Titoii Mercu(v)i' as the name of the god in the genitive (followed by the dedicant in the nominative, which, as he himself admits, is awkward). Pisani interpreted also *efile(s)* as a genitive, interpreting 'Titi Mercuvi aedilis'. Although I agree that a genitive *titoi* for the o-stem /tito-/ is not impossible (§4.4.4), the side-by-side occurrence of an ending *-oi* for the o-stem genitive *titoi* and an ending *-i* for the io-stem genitive *mercui* is implausible. (It would be even more remarkable in Pisani's view, where *-oi* and *-i* are different stages of a phonological development of one and the same morpheme.).

In my view, none of these interpretations offers an attractive alternative for taking *mercui* as a dative, problematic though the morphology may be. *Efile(s)* is then probably a nominative plural rather than singular; an indication for this is the fact that the omission of word-final *-s*, which is almost universal after short vowels but virtually absent after long vowels, is attested here only once, in **114**, which probably contains an error also in *tito*.

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:296-303 ⟨36-48⟩ (*autopsy*); Nogara 1907:156 n.1; Bartholomae 1910:9 n.1; Jacobsohn 1910:3 ⟨4-5⟩; Jacobsohn 1911:464-5; Mengarelli 1911 (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8036-49 (*autopsy*); Solmsen 1912:9-10; Buonamici 1913:55-6 ⟨7⟩; Herbig 1914a:240-6; Erman 1918; Della Seta

1918:176-7 (*autopsy*); Herbig 1923:234; Stolte 1926:51, 53; Altheim 1930:44-71; Kroll 1931:975-82; Pisani 1933:624 n.1; Vahlert 1933:982; Koch 1934:429-30; Andrén 1940:104-5; Lejeune 1952b:125; Vetter 1953:292-3 ⟨264a-m, 265a-b⟩; Pisani 1955:322; Camporeale 1956:#; Campanile 1961:7; G. Giacomelli 1963:54-5 ⟨15,I-XII, 16,I-II⟩ (*autopsy*); Pisani 1964:343 ⟨146F,a-c⟩; Radke 1965b:213; Dohrn in Helbig/Speier 1969:726-7 ⟨2820⟩ (*autopsy*); Devine 1970:17-8; G. Giacomelli 1978:530 ⟨6,I-XII⟩; G. Giacomelli 1978:75-8 ⟨4,I-XII⟩; Combet Farnoux 1980:113-69; Morandi 1982:59 ⟨12⟩; Moscati *Sant* p.113; Comella 1986:165-9 ⟨1-14⟩ (*autopsy*).

127-131. The following inscribed vessels were also found in the temple precinct. Some may also have belonged to the *stips*, as was suggested by Thulin (1907:303).

127. Scratched on the bottom of a black-varnished cup (letters 5 mm high).

] sacra [

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. G. Giacomelli suggested that the name of the god may have stood in the lacuna, but *sacra* is followed by a space of at least one letter. (In Thulin's drawing the space is smaller than it is in reality.) In a text like this, placed in a temple precinct, it would of course be clear which god was meant, and its name could therefore be omitted.

From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 12562). ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:303 ⟨49⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8050 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:293 ⟨266a⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:55 ⟨17⟩; Comella 1986:169 ⟨15⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Photograph:*** Comella 1986 tav.66b. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907:303 (reproduced in *CIE* 8050); Comella 1986 tav.77,R68.

128. Scratched inside a black-varnished cup (letters 17-19 mm high) is

] sta[?---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Thulin interpreted this inscription, together with *sta* MF **28** and *statuo* MF **29** as instances of *stare* used in a sacral sense, 'to stand (as a dedication)'. This interpretation was adopted by Vetter, who compared Volscian *statom* VM 2, and by G. Giacomelli. The only valid parallel for Thulin's interpretation is Umbrian *sacre · stahu* Um 10, however, where the 'sacral sense' depends not on *stahu*, but on *sacre*. *Sta* is rather the abbreviation of *Statius* (cf. Vetter on MF **28-29**).

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 12565). ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:304 ⟨52⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8052; Vetter 1953:293 ⟨266c⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:56 ⟨19⟩; Comella 1986:196 ⟨17⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawings:*** Herbig *CIE* 8052; Comella 1986 tav.78,R83.

129. Scratched inside a black-varnished cup (letters 5 mm high).

[---]*[5-7]: cua [

Dextroverse, but the spelling *cu* rather than *qu* points to the Faliscan rather than the Latin alphabet. The traces consist of the lower halves of three shafts placed close together, perhaps an *m*. *Cua* is apparently an abbreviation, perhaps, as Thulin, thought, of a name like *Quaelius* or *Quartus*. The latter possibility is considered also by Herbig. G. Giacomelli rejected these proposals, but apparently for no other reason than that she thought that they were proposed, not as solutions of an abbreviation, but as restorations

(which is certainly impossible). It should be noted that names derived from the numerals 1-4 were very rare at this time, and that the letters *cua* do not stand in the position where a praenomen might be expected.

From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 12564). ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:305 ⟨53⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8053 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:293 ⟨267⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:56 ⟨20a-b⟩ (*autopsy*); Comella 1986:169-70 ⟨18⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Photograph:*** Comella 1986 tav.69a. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907:305 (reproduced in *CIE* 8053); Comella 1986 tav.79,R104.

130. Scratched inside a black-varnished cup (letters 8-10 mm high).

] poe[?---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet? *O* and *e* are written as a ligature . A similar ligature *oe* has been read in LtF/Lat **171.** The form is apparently an abbreviation of a name.

From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 12563). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8054 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:293 ⟨268⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:56 ⟨21⟩ (*autopsy*); Comella 1986:170 ⟨19⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Photograph:*** Comella 1986 tav.69d. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8054.

131. Painted on the bottom of a black-varnished cup (letters 18-25 mm high).

] sa [

Dextroverse. The dextroverse ductus may indicate that the inscription belongs to the dedications from the period after 241. The form is clearly an abbreviation, either of *sa(cra)* (cf. *sacra* MF **128**), or of the name of a dedicant.

From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 12559). ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:303 ⟨50⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8051 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:293 ⟨266b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:55 ⟨18⟩ (*autopsy*); Comella 1986:169 ⟨16⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Photograph:*** Comella 1986 tav.68c; ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907:303 (reproduced in *CIE* 8051); Comella 1986 tav.79,R95.

14.1.4. The temple in Contrada Celle. The temple of Contrada Celle, the ruins of which are visible even today, may have been the famous Faliscan temple of Juno described by Ovid (*Am.* 3.13, where he describes a visit to the deity's festival and the procession): see Le Bonniec 1980. For literature on the temple complex and its excavations, see the literature named in the bibliography to **132**.

132. From the cella of the temple of Celle are three shards[246] of a terracotta decorative revetment, perhaps a frieze circling the cella. The shards show a boy's or a woman's head, above which, in a bare strip, the inscription is painted in red paint.

[---]·l*[---]

Sinistroverse. Only the lower half of the *l* remains. It is impossible to make any conjecture as to the contents of the inscription; it may have been the name of the figure, or it may have been part of a much larger (dedicatory?) inscription.

[246] Andrén's drawing contains a fourth fragment showing more of the hair.

From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 3790). ***Bibliography:*** [Pasqui 1887:95-6 (*autopsy*)]; [Weege in Helbig 1913:346 ⟨1785,k⟩ (*autopsy*)]; [Della Seta 1918:205 (*autopsy*)]; [Andrén 1940:91 ⟨II.8⟩ (*autopsy*)]; [(Sprenger &) Bartoloni 1977:72]; [Corsini in *PrItal* pp.193-4 ⟨123⟩ (*autopsy*)]; Fortunati in *Sant.* p.112 (*autopsy*); [De Lucia Brolli 1991a:37]. ***Photograph:*** *PrItal* p.193 fig.123 = *Sant* p.112 fig.5.2B,1 = De Lucia Brolli 1991a:38 fig.26. ***Drawing:*** Andrén 1940:91 fig.24.

14.1.5. The temple of Lo Scasato. The temple ruins of Lo Scasato may date to the Late Faliscan period: unfortunately, they have yielded only a few inscriptions.

133. Scratched on one of the sides of a 10 cm high pyramid-shaped loomweight

ca

Sinistroverse, but apparently with reversed *a* (Ⱶ).
Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8564. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8564.

134. Scratched on an "oggetto a forma cilindrica di tubo, di uso incerto, con molti fori nelle pareti, forse per sostegno di vasi mentre si dovevano cuocere" (Nogara in Herbig *CIE* 8565).

se

Sinistroverse, with reversed *s*.
Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8565. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8565.

14.2. Civita Castellana, origin unknown

A great number of inscriptions has been ascribed to Civita Castellana without further specification or identification of their site of origin. The majority of these inscriptions will probably have been found at or near Civita Castellana, either as chance finds or in clandestine or badly documented (semi)private excavations, but the possibility that inscriptions from other locations were later erroneously ascribed to Civita Castellana as the central site of the area cannot be excluded (cf. §1.4.5). This is of some importance for the dating of the material, for the criterion on which the inscriptions from Civita Castellana are dated to the Middle Faliscan period, namely the fact that this site was (largely) abandoned after 241, does not hold for other sites. Tiles from other locations (and perhaps from Civita Castellana itself, cf. §14.1) may therefore date from the Late rather than the Middle Faliscan period. Candidates for this are e.g. the inscriptions in Latin alphabet (LtF **171-174**).

The inscriptions that are ascribed to Civita Castellana but not to any specific location within or around the town fall into three groups. The most numerous are the sepulchral inscriptions on tiles, subdivided into: (1) tiles on which a gentilicium can be identified (§14.2.1, MF **135-139** and **141-157**, and LtF **140**), (2) tiles containing

comprehensible parts of text but without identifiable gentilicia (§14.2.2, MF **158-170**), with a subgroup of (3) tiles written in the Latin alphabet (§14.2.3, LtF **171-174**) and (4) the fragmentary texts (§14.2.4, MF **175-194**).[247] They are followed by other two groups, the detached loculus-inscriptions (§14.2.5, MF **195-198**) and the inscriptions on pottery (§14.2.6, MF/Etr **199** and MF **200-201**, MF? **202-204**).

14.2.1. Inscriptions on tiles containing identifiable gentilicia. The following tiles contain more or less identifiable gentilicia.

135 (*Cincius*). Colonna mentions an unpublished tile from Civita Castellana with the text ***cincia***. As far as I have been able to ascertain, this tile has remained unpublished to this day: neither can I say if *cincia* is the whole text, or only a part.
Bibliography: Colonna 1972a:446; Renzetti Marra 1974:351.

136-139 (*Fa(r)far-*). Two inscriptions containing a gentilicium in *Fafar-*, perhaps connected to the potamonym *Farfarus*, see §6.5.*1*.

136-137. The *titulus prior* is painted in red across the front of a damaged tile (max. 32×48 cm; letters 10-11 cm high).

poplia
fafarn̥

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The interpuncts before *poplia* read by Herbig and Pauli jr. (in Herbig *CIE* 8237*a-b*) but not by Thulin (in Herbig *CIE* 8237*a-b*) are invisible and may well never have existed. The second line ends in ⋮⊓, with the left shaft written against the inside of the tile's flange. This is read as *iu* written upside down in boustrophedon by Herbig (*fafarin̥ = fafari u(xor)* or *fafarin̥(s)*), Lejeune (*poplia fafariu*, with an Etruscan ending), Vetter (*...:poplia/iu/fafar* 'Publia, Iu(na), Farfarus'?), and G. Giacomelli. None of their interpretations is really attractive, however, and there seems to be no objection against taking it as *n* (⋮И), with the left shaft detached as it had to be painted 'around the corner'. This would give a gentilicium *Fa(r)farn...*, either comparable to Etruscan gentilicia of the type *Perperna* or connected with the potamonym *Farfarus* (§6.5.*1*). The inscription may have continued in a third line on the missing part of the tile.

[247] It could be argued that these should have been included among the inscriptions from the necropoles in chapter 13, but as there are no clear data on their provenance, there is a possibility is that they are in fact from other locations: MLF **347-355**, for instance, ascribed by Herbig (*CIE* 8196-8204) to the Valsiarosa necropolis at Civita Castellana, have since been shown to belong to the site at Grotta Porciosa.

The *titulus posterior* is painted on plaster across the back of the tile (letters 12-14 cm high).

[---]lio:*[?---]
[---]so*[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The contents of the first line, now badly legible, may consist of the end of a man's name. At the end of the second line there appear to be some traces (possibly a *u* or an *m*?).

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8208). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8237*a-b* (*autopsy*); Lejeune 1952b:120 n.1; Vetter 1953:304 ⟨293⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:86 ⟨94*a-b*⟩. ***Drawings:*** Herbig *CIE* 8237; Thulin in *CIE* 8237 (mirrored).

138-139. Known only from apographs by Pauli jr. The *titulus prior* is painted in red across the front of a tile fragment.

ucro[---]
*****[---]***

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The text starts at the edge of the tile, and a tile may be missing in front. The second line contains only three shafts (*i.u* --- Herbig). *Ucro* is regarded as a gentilicium by G. Giacomelli and Calzecchi-Onesti.

The *titulus posterior* is painted in black across the back of the tile fragment.

faf[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *f*'s are both damaged at the top and could be read as *t*'s. *Faf[---]* could be the beginning of the same gentilicium as in **137** (Herbig).

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8281*a-b*; Vetter 1953:307 ⟨311⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:92 ⟨115,I⟩; Calzecchi-Onesti 1981:181. ***Drawing:*** Pauli jr. in *CIE* 8281*a-b*.

140 (*Folcosius*). Painted in black across the front of a damaged tile (47×27-30 cm, letters 6-9 cm high). The letters are so slender that they give the impression of having been written with a reed-pen and look similar to those of MLF **337**, from the tomb of the *gens Folcosia* at Carbognano-Vallerano (whence MLF **329-337**).

cẹịṣ[i.]
holc[osi]
ar·p[...]

Sinistroverse, although the alphabet appears to be Latin, with H for *h*, and cursive *a* (Λ) and *e* (Ⅱ). The first line is ·ⅡↃ, probably *cẹ* (·ⅡↃ), followed by vague traces of vertical lines. The last letter of the third line is ↿· (*arp[ineo* Herbig, disregarding the interpunct), an ↑ (*ar.f*? Vetter) is impossible. The inscription apparently occupied only one tile, in which case there is not enough room to restore *holc[osio]* or *holc[osia]*: the gentilicium may have been abbreviated to *holc[osi]*, or the last letter may have been written underneath the line in what is now the missing part of the third line.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8171). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8256 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:306 ⟨309⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:91 ⟨112⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8256.

141-143 (*Graecius?*). The following tiles appear to contain the same gentilicium. The variation between *crạ[---]* **141** and *cre[---]* **142** would point to a name with an original diphthong /ai/ (*crạ[i---]*) → /ę̄/ (*cre[---]*), cf. §3.7.6. In that case, Thulin's *Graecius* is not impossible (cf. the praenomen *kreco* MF **147** and *lo : cr* MF **33**): see §7.8.1.*71* for this name.

141. Painted in red on plaster on a tile fragment (37×30 cm, letters 10-11 cm high).

[---]crạ[i---]
[iu?]nẹo

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. All that is left of the last letter of the first line is the shaft, which could be read as *a* or *e*. What remains of the penultimate letter of the second line are the upper halves of two shafts standing close together, probably a cursive *e* (*---eo* Herbig) rather than an *i* (*...io* Thulin).

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8213). ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:282 ⟨17⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8260 (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:91-2 ⟨113,1V⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8260.

142. Painted in red along the length of the back of a damaged tile (max. 45×45 cm, letters 8-10 cm high).

[---]io:cre[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Herbig read *cr*---, but Thulin's *cre*.. is beyond all doubt: the *e* is clearly visible.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8178). ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:283 ⟨19⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8261 (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:91-2 ⟨113,V⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8261.

143. Painted in red on white plaster along the length of the back of a tile fragment (max. 34×37 cm, letters *c.* 10 cm high).[248]

[---]o:cṛ[---]
[---]leo:c[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Of the *r*, only the bottom part of the shaft is visible. Of the first letter of the second line, a small oblique stroke remains that can only be the sidestroke of an *l*. The letters *]leo* are probably part of a patronym; *c[---]* may have contained the name of a second person.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8209). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8257 (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:91-2 ⟨113,l⟩. ***Drawing:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8257.

[248] Herbig erroneously describes the letters as painted on the *front* of the tile.

144-145 (*Lepuius?*). The *titulus prior* is painted in red across the front (letters 7-8 cm high) of a fragmentary tile (max. 30×44 cm).

Fig. 14.1. Various drawings of the first line of MF 144.

left: Thulin's drawing. (From Thulin 1907:287.)
middle: Nogara's drawing. (From Herbig *CIE* 8243*a*.)
right: Author's drawing (tracing from author's slides).

[.?]ạ*ịạ
lepuia
uoltilia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The main group of shards contains only the lowest parts of the letters of the first line, before which one letter may still be missing. The first two traces are almost certainly an *a*: the bottom part of the left-hand shaft is slightly curved, exactly like the *a* at the end of the second line (which is quite different from Thulin's drawing). The next three traces were restored by Thulin as *ta* from a small fragment containing the upper halves of these letters; the last trace he read, with great hesitation, as *i*, interpreting 'Lepuia Voltius' daughter (made this grave) for Ianta'. This was adopted by Vetter (*iạtaị*) and G. Giacomelli (*ịạtai*). Nogara (in Herbig *CIE* 8243*a-b*) noted that Thulin's fragment did not join onto the others and suspected that it did not belong to this inscription at all.[249] The last two letters, however, are certainly not *ai*. The very last trace shows the same slight curvature that characterizes the *a*, and together with the trace preceding it forms the bottom part of an *a*. The shaft preceding this *a*, which stands quite close to it, can be an *i* or a *t*. Of the preceding letter, only the bottom half of a shaft is preserved, separated from the traces that surround it by rather more space than is suggested by the drawings by Thulin and Nogara. Possible readings are at least *f*, *i*, *p*, and *t*, perhaps also *n*. None of these letters seems to make sense, however. Unfortunately, I was unable to find Thulin's fragment myself. I have tried to fit the fragment as it appears in the drawings in various positions above the first line, to see if it would fit with the last traces (giving *[?]ạ*ta*) or with the first (giving *ta*ịa*, cf.

[249] Herbig published this fragment again separately as *CIE* 8280, reading it as ---*ṭẹ*---.

θania MF **81**), but neither appears to be possible. The text probably consisted of a (now illegible) praenomen, followed by a gentilicium *lepuia* and a patronym *uoltilia*. The possibility that *lepuia* is to be read as *le*, an abbreviation of a man's praenomen in the genitive, followed by Etruscan *puia* 'wife' was rejected already by Herbig, but revived by Vetter: see §9.2.2.*3*. Not only would it be a case of Etruscan interference within a formulaic phrase HUSBAND$_{GEN}$ *WIFE* where *uxor* was the standard word (§7.4.2), it would also be the only case where this formula *precedes* FILIATION (apart from the exceptional and easily explained case *cauia · uxo · a · f* LF **242**).

The *titulus posterior* is painted in red on plaster across the back (letters *c.*13 cm high) of the tile fragments.

[u]ọlt[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Only a very small part of the *o* is visible. Possible restorations are *u]ọlt[a*, or any derivation of this name like *[u]ọlt[io*, *[u]ọlt[ilio*, etc.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8179). ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:287 ⟨25⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8243*a* (part of which=*CIE* 8280), 8243*b*; Vetter 1953:305 ⟨299A-B⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:87-8 ⟨100*a-b*⟩. ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:287 (reproduced in *CIE* 8243*a-b*); Nogara in *CIE* 8243*a*; Herbig *CIE* 8243*b* and 8280.

146-148 (*Laeuius*, *Laeuilius*). Three inscriptions contain gentilicia that can connected either to *leuia* LtF **328** and *leuieis* Lat **251** (probably *Laeuius*, §7.8.1.*81*) or to *leueli* MF **14** (probably *Laeuilius*, §87.8.1.*82*).

146. Painted in red on plaster across the backs of three tiles: the first 30×33 cm (apparently part of a tile of a different size, but without doubt belonging to this inscription), the second 46×60 cm, the third 43×43 cm ("Von dem dritten ist nur ein jetzt in Kalk eingefasstes Fragment des Bewurfs erhalten", Thulin 1907:283). The second tile seems to contain traces of an earlier inscription.

[1]ca[u][2]io:le[u[3]eli]o:cau[i]
[1]hil[2]eo:ian[3][ta:..]lni[a]
[1]hec:[2]cupat[3][:....]ta[

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *e* has the rare form (§11.2.4.*2*, occurring also in Lat **482**†), which can still be read clearly and is beyond any doubt; *h* has the likewise curious form . Herbig restored *le[ui]o* in the first line, but as this would leave no room for the restoration of a gentilicium in the second, Thulin's *le[ueli]o* has been adopted by all later editors. In view of the size of the letters this might just (but only just) be possible without assuming that a tile was missing between the second and the third: as it is, there is hardly any space left for the woman's gentilicium or patronym. (Thulin proposed *ci]lni[a*, and that is about as much as could be fitted into the lacuna.)

The third line may have contained the name of a third woman (e.g. a daughter *ian]ta* or a son *uol]ta*?). As the inscription gives every sign of being written all at one time, *cupat* must be read as a plural *cupa(n)t*.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8158). ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:283-4 ⟨21⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8240 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:62-3 ⟨20⟩; Vetter 1953:304 ⟨296⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:87 ⟨97⟩; Pisani 1964:340 n.1; Peruzzi 1965:276-8. ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:283 (reproduced in *CIE* 8240).

147. Painted in red along the length of the back of a tile (69×47 cm, letters 13-15 cm high).

kreco:[---]
iata:leue[lia]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The first letter is ⅃, which was read as *k* by Thulin and by Nogara (in Herbig *CIE* 8241), but Herbig and others after him, distrusting a *k* (not before *a*) in a Middle or Late Faliscan inscription, regarded it as a *c* corrected from a shaft. However, the Late Faliscan inscriptions from Pratoro (LF **242**, **243**, and **246**) now show that *k* could be used to represent */g/*, which is exactly the way in which it is used here: see §11.2.4.*2*. G. Giacomelli regarded *creco* as a cognomen and assumed that a tile was missing before the text, but *Graecus* can very well be a praenomen, as Peruzzi suggested: see §7.1.1.*26*. The second line probably contained the gentilicium *leue[lia* (§7.8.1.*82*) although it is also possible to read *leue[li:f* 'Laeuili f.' with the praenomen *Laeuilius* (§7.7.1.*33*) or perhaps even *leue[a* with the gentilicium *Laeuius* (§7.8.1.*32*). Peruzzi (1965:276-8) regarded *iata : leue[lia* as a daughter of *ca[u]io : leu[el]io* and *ian[ta : ..]lnia* of MF **146**, in which case *iata : leue[lia* would then apparently have been named after her mother.

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:282 ⟨16⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8241 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:304-5 ⟨297⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:87 ⟨98⟩; Peruzzi 1965:276-8. ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:282 (reproduced in *CIE* 8241); Herbig *CIE* 8241.

148. Painted in red along the length of the back of a damaged tile (65×max. 35 cm, letters 12-15 cm high).

i[un]ale[---]
mesio

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Thulin read *la[---]* in the first line and *masio* in the second, but the original supports rather the *le[---]* and *mesio* read by Nogara (in Herbig *CIE* 8249) and Herbig. The gentilicium may have been either *le[uio* or *le[uelio* (cf. §7.8.1.*81-82*); *mesio* is either a patronym or a second gentilicium (§7.7.1.*43*).

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8215). ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:291-2 ⟨30⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8249 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:306 ⟨305⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:89 ⟨106⟩. ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:292 (reproduced in *CIE* 8249); Nogara in *CIE* 8249.

149-151 (*Pupellius or Pupilius*). The following tiles contain a gentilicium *Pupellius* or *Pupilius*: see §7.8.1.*129*).

149. Painted in red on two or three fragmentary tiles (38 × *c.*115 cm, letters 8-9 cm high).

[1][u]ol[2]ṭa:pupelio
[1][m]an[2]o[m]o

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The fragment containing *ol* cannot be joined directly onto the others, but clearly belongs to the beginning of the first line where it was placed by Herbig. The *t* is nearly complete: almost the entire shaft is visible. An apparently unpublished fragment, numbered 8184 like the others, contains , i.e. an *a* followed by part of a shaft. Although it cannot be joined onto the other shards, both the colour and structure of the tile and the lettering make clear that it belongs to this inscription. If placed at the beginning of the second line, the cognomen is *[m]ano[m]o*, not *[max]o[m]o* as it is usually restored.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8184). The fragment with *lio* could not be found. ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:285 ⟨22⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8232 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:303 ⟨289⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:85 ⟨89⟩. ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:285 (reproduced in *CIE* 8232).

150. Painted in dark red on white plaster across the back of a damaged tile (40×48 cm, letters *c.*11 cm high).

[1][---p[2]u]pe[ḷ][3][i---]
[1][---[2].]ahe[c[3]upa(t)]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Of the *l*, only a very small trace of the lower half is preserved. The first *p* of *pu]pel[io* must have stood on a tile that is now missing. The rest of this tile probably contained an (abbreviated) praenomen in the first line. At the end of the text, another tile is missing, which contained the last letters of *he[cupa(t)*. The inscription can be read as pertaining either to a woman only, with the first line ending in the abbreviation of a father's praenomen followed in the second line by *file]a*, or to a man and a woman, in which case the first line ended in the man's affiliation and the beginning of the second line contained the name of the woman (*---]a*).

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8160). ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:285 ⟨23⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8233 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:303 ⟨290⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:85 ⟨90⟩. ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:285 (reproduced in *CIE* 8233).

151. Painted in red on the back of a fragmentary tile (tot. 63×36 cm, letters 11-12 cm high). Thulin mentioned six fragments that he assumed belonged to a second tile of the inscription: three of these can in fact be joined to the end of the first line.

Fig. 14.2. Thulin's and my own drawings of MF 151.

left: Thulin's drawing. (From Thulin 1907:291.)
right: Author's drawing from author's slides and drawings.

*[1]**tulo·pup**[2]**[elio ?---]***
*[1]**i̯uneo***

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. *Tulo* is followed by *·p*, as was proposed by Herbig, not by Thulin's *ti*: what Thulin read as a *t* is in fact an interpunct with slight drip-mark. The next letter is probably a large *u*: a trace of its top right corner is visible on the fragment that also contains the top of the *p*. This is followed by a letter of which only the middle part of a shaft is visible, perhaps *p* (cf. *pupelio* MF **149**) or *t* (cf. *putellio* MF **152**). After that, the text was continued on another tile (assuming the tile has the standard length of *c*.68 cm). Fragment 8227 may have belonged to this second tile, as Thulin proposed; fragment 8231 (*ai**), however, probably belonged to another inscription: as it consists of the upper right-hand corner of a tile, it could be placed only in the first line, but neither *pu̯pai**--- nor *pu̯tai**--- gives a plausible text.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8200+8202+8224+three fragments without numbers (+8227+8231?)). The fragment containing the letters *un* could not be found. ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:291 ⟨29a-b⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8250 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:306 ⟨306⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:89-90 ⟨107a-b⟩. ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:291 (reproduced in *CIE* 8250).

152 (*Putellius*?). Painted in red along the length of the front of a fragmentary tile (tot. 73× max. 42 cm, letters 7-8 cm high).

*[1]**uolti[o:]marc**[2]**[---]***
*[1]**putellio** [2]**[***

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. *Marc* is written against the edge of the tile: *pace* Vetter, it belongs to the same line as *uolti[o:]*. The text was probably continued on an second tile: G. Giacomelli's *marc[i* is impossible if the text is assumed to have occupied one tile only. In the second line, Thulin and Herbig read *pu̯iellio*, but Vetter's *putellio* is certain: part of the sidebar of the *t* is visible. *Putellio* provides a rare instance of geminated spelling (§11.2.4.*3*, §3.5.5.*3*). Vetter interpreted *putellio* as 'infans', related to Oscan *puklum* Cp 37 and Paelignian *puclois* Pg 5. Although adopted by G.

Giacomelli ('filiolus') and considered probable by Rix, I hesitate to adopt it: see §6.2.*62*. Vetter's idea that the main text began with *marc*, with *uolti[o]* | *puṭellio* as marginal addition is implausible: the text start at the edge of the tile, not half-way down its surface. *Uoltio* is rather a praenomen followed by a gentilicium *marc[---* (for which cf. §7.8.1.*97-98*.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8182+8187+8188+8189 +8991+8201+one fragment without number). ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:286 ⟨24⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8235 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:303-4 ⟨292⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:85 ⟨92⟩; Rix 1964:448. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907:286 (reproduced in *CIE* 8235); Nogara in *CIE* 8235.

153-154 (*Sacconius*). Two tiles containing a gentilicium *Sacconius*.

153. Painted in red on plaster across the back of a damaged tile (49×40 cm, letters 10-12 cm high).

[1][----]²:cais[io]
[1][----]²:zaconiọ

The first line was read as *çaṛ[co]* by Herbig, but the original has , i.e. *is*, not *r*. The *n* is written under the second line, the *i* vertically under the *n*, and the *o* to the right and lower than the *i*, indicating that this was the last tile of the inscription. The interpuncts imply that one or more tiles are missing at the beginning, although the text appears to be complete: perhaps it was an addition to an already existing inscription, like MF **41**.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8175). ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:294 ⟨32⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8253 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:306 ⟨308⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:90 ⟨110⟩. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907:294 (reproduced in *CIE* 8253); Herbig *CIE* 8253.

154. Painted in red on plaster along the length of the back of a tile (56×48 cm, letters 10 cm high).

[1][---]²zaconiai

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The line slopes downwards, and the final *i* is placed slightly lower down than the other letters. As Bonfante noted from a photograph by Torelli, the word is preceded by an interpunct that does not appear in Thulin's drawing. The interpuncts and the case, either a dative or a genitive (§8.10.2), make it probable that words are missing in front on other tiles.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8155). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8252 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:306 ⟨307⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:90 ⟨109⟩; Bonfante 1966:4. ***Drawing:*** Thulin in *CIE* 8252.

155 (*Tirrius*). Painted in red on plaster along the length of the back of a tile (70 × 48 cm, let. 15-18 cm).

[1]ṭi[·]ṭirialo[2][?---]
[1]l[e]a:cs:f [2][

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The reading of especially the beginning of both lines is very unclear: Herbig's drawing in particular shows little more than vague vertical traces there. Nevertheless, Thulin read the text as *ṭḥeịṛiạlolḷẹa:cs:f* and Herbig as *ṭị[.]ḷṭịṛiạlolḷ*(-)ạ:cs:f*. The latter isolated *lo* as *lo(ferta)*, as in *loferta* LF **221**: this is rejected by Vetter and G. Giacomelli, as the freedwoman would then be named before her mistress. It is impossible, however, *not* to read *lo* as an independent word unless one either reads *lo\l[e]a*, assuming that the inscription pertained to two women, or assumes that a second tile is missing at the end. The latter possibility appears to be contradicted by Herbig's drawing, where the end of the first line bends downwards slightly, indicating that this was the last tile of the inscription.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8248 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:306 ⟨304⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:89 ⟨105⟩. ***Drawing:*** Thulin in *CIE* 8248; Herbig *CIE* 8248.

156-157 (*-ronius*). Painted in red on the front of a damaged tile (59×45 cm).

[1][---]²ronio:uol³[t---]
*[1][---]²a*ome ³[*

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. A tile is certainly lost at the beginning, containing the praenomen and part of the gentilicium; if *uol* is not an abbreviation (as Colonna assumed), another tile is missing at the end, which contained the remains of the patronym (*uol[tio* or *uol[tilio*). The second letter of the second line is ✚, either an *x* or a *t* (*]a*ome* Renzetti Marra). Colonna reads it as a dative *m]axome*, interpreting '...ronius son of Volt... (made this grave) for ... Maxuma'. There are no certain Faliscan instances of monophthongization in the ending of the dative (§3.7.6.), nor of a woman with a cognomen (§7.9): Colonna ascribed these oddities to Latin influence. Another objection is the fact that his photograph shows a clear difference in colour between both lines, implying that they were not written at the same time. Perhaps *me* is an abbreviation of *Maesius* (cf. *mesio* MF **148**): the space before the *m* seems to be wider than those between the other letters of the second line. In that case, however, it would seem to be preceded by a man's name *[---]axo* or *[---]ato*.

The *titulus posterior* is painted in red across the back of the tile.

iu·uiụị[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The gentilicium was read as *uili* by Colonna, who interpreted it as genitive of a gentilicium *Vilius* which he somehow derived from *uelos* in EF **4**. The left-hand stroke of the letter he reads as *l*, however, is very long and touches the upper end of the *i*. The reading is probably rather *uiụị[---]* or perhaps *uiṇ[---]* with a reversed *n*: the latter could be the beginning of a gentilicium like *Vinucius*.

Bibliography: Colonna 1972:446-7 ⟨57-8⟩ (*autopsy*); Renzetti Marra 1974:351. ***Photograph:*** Colonna 1972 tab.LXXX nrs.57-8. ***Drawing:*** Colonna 1972:446-7.

14.2.2. Inscriptions on tiles containing identifiable parts of texts. The following tiles contain no identifiable gentilicia, but the general build-up of the text can in most cases be established.

158. Painted in red on plaster across the back of two tiles (67×47 cm and max. 34×43 cm respectively; letters 10-11 cm high).

*[1]uol[ta:][2]**[3][---]*
[1]iataç[2]ue.ṭ[3][---]
[1]hec:cu[2]paṭ[3][?---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. In the first line, only the lower parts of the letters has been preserved. The first word is *uol[ta:]* or perhaps *uol[tio:]*, followed by the lower halves of two shafts. In the second line, only a trace of the *c* is left; the last letter can be either *l* (Thulin) or *u* (Herbig). The traces of the last letters of the third line read by Thulin and Herbig have now disappeared. One or two missing tiles at the end contained the gentilicia and affiliations.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8173+ 8212+8224). ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:287-8 (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8242 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:305 ⟨298⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:87 ⟨99⟩. ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:287 (reproduced in *CIE* 8242); Nogara in *CIE* 8242.

159. Painted in red on two tile fragments (max. 37× 40 cm, let. 11 cm).

[leu]elio·[---]
[---]io·ca[---]
[he·c]up[at]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *a* is reversed (*r* Thulin). – Restoring *[---]elio* as a praenomen, *[---]io* as a gentilicium, and *ca[---]* either as *ca[ui·f]* or as *ca[uia]* results in an inscription of one tile; restoring *[---]elio* as a gentilicium (*pup]e(l)[io* G. Giacomelli) would make the text considerably longer.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8197 and 8219?). The right-hand shard (inv. 8219) does not resemble Thulin's drawing, but has traces of letters on both sides, those on the back (*o*?) painted on plaster, which fits Herbig's (but not Thulin's) description; the left-hand shard (inv. 8197) is easily recognizable, but here the letters on the back are painted directly on the tile, in accordance with Thulin's, but not with Herbig's description. ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:282 ⟨18⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8234 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:303 ⟨291⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:85 ⟨91⟩. ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:282 (reproduced in *CIE* 8234).

160. Painted in red on plaster on the back of a tile fragment (40 × 32 cm, letters *c.*7 cm high).

[p]o̩pli̩a

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Of the *o*, only the lower half remains, which could be read as a *u*. After this, the line bends downwards, showing that this was the last tile of

the inscription. Traces of paint are visible after the *i*, but it is not clear whether they were part of an *a* or of an *o*; being the last (or perhaps only) word of the text, *[p]ọpliạ* is perhaps more likely than *[p]ọpliọ*.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8238). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8238 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:304 ⟨294⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:86 ⟨95⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8238.

161. Painted in red on plaster across the back of a damaged tile (43×33 cm, letters *c.*8 cm high).

[po]plia[:---]
[hec]:cup[a]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Reading *cup[at]* instead of *cup[a]* assumes that the text ran over two tiles, in which case the second tile probably contained the woman's gentilicium or affiliation in the first line.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8170). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8239 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:304 ⟨295⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:87 ⟨96⟩. ***Drawing:*** Thulin in *CIE* 8239.

162. Painted in red on the back of a fragmentary tile (17×40 cm, letters 5-7 cm high).

[1][---ma]²xọmo‖huoltilio

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The traces of the first letters, , point to *xo* rather than to *no* (*man]ọmo* Herbig, who also considered *max]ọmo*) or *p* (Thulin). The vertical strokes after *ma]xọmo*, read by Thulin as *ii* or *e*, were interpreted by Herbig as interpuncts: this seems to be correct, a double stroke-interpunct is unique (§11.2.4.*3*). Of the *t*, only the shaft is preserved. The last three letters are written under the line in boustrophedon. A preceding tile will have contained the praenomen and the gentilicium.

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:290 ⟨27⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8244 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:305 ⟨300⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:88 ⟨101⟩. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907:290 (reproduced in *CIE* 8244); Nogara in *CIE* 8244.

163. Painted in red on plaster on a tile fragment (max. 43×43 cm, letters 12-13 cm).

[u]olṭ[.[2]--- [3?]---]
[u]olṭiḭ[2][i---[3?]---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Of the *t* in the first line, only a part of the shaft is left. Of the last letters of the second line, only the upper parts are preserved. The fragment is the upper right-hand corner of the tile and therefore gives the beginning of the text: the first letter of each line can be restored on the same fragment, where the plaster has crumbled away. The inscription occupied probably three tiles, containing part of the gentilicium in the first line.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8203+numberless fragment). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig CIE 8245 (autopsy); G. Giacomelli 1963:88 ⟨102⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig CIE 8245.

164. Painted in red along the length of the back of a damaged tile (max. 52×26 cm, letters 6-7 cm high).

[---u]oltio:
[---]o:

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The lines end in the interpuncts read by Thulin, not in the *i*'s read by Herbig. *[U]oltio* may be a praenomen or a patronym.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8218). ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:283 ⟨20⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8246 (*autopsy*); Herbig 1914:239 ⟨5⟩; Vetter 1953:305 ⟨301⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:88 ⟨103⟩. ***Drawings:*** Thulin in *CIE* 8246; Herbig *CIE* 8246.

165. Painted in red on the front of a tile of which three fragments are preserved (24×13 cm and 39×19 cm, with a loose fragment of 16×9 cm; letters 5-9 cm high).

[---]*i:u[o]ltiailo

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. A small trace seems to be visible before the first *i*. – Thulin read *u[o]ltiailo*, which he regarded as a hypercorrective form for *uoltielo*, but there is no parallel for *ai* used in this way; Herbig isolated *lo* as an abbreviation of *lo-ferta*. Reading *[---]*i* as *---ai*, which is far from certain, he arrived at three possible interpretations. The first, taking both forms in *-ai* as datives, with *uoltiai* as a patronym ('for ...a, daughter of Volta, freedwoman'), assumes that freedwomen could have a patronym.[250] The second, taking the forms as dative and genitive respectively ('for ...a, freedwoman of Voltia'), is certainly better: G. Giacomelli's objection that women are never designated by a patronym alone carries little weight in view of the possibility that *uoltia* is also a praenomen (§7.7.1.*86*). The third possibility is to take both forms in *-ai* as genitives ('of ...a, freedwoman of Voltia'): for the genitive in *-ai*, see §4.2.2.

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:290-1 ⟨28⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8247; Vetter 1953:305 ⟨302⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:88-9 ⟨104⟩. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907:290 (reproduced in *CIE* 8247); Nogara in *CIE* 8247.

166. Painted in red on plaster on a tile fragment (max. 23×30 cm, letters *c.*11 cm high).

[---]cẹla[---]
[---] iun[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Herbig read the first line as *cẹla*, which he interpreted as a cognomen, followed by a patronym *iụn[eo*. If the first line is indeed *cẹla*, this is rather a noun (*cela / iun( )* 'cella Iunae' G. Giacomelli); note, however, that *cela* always refers to the tomb, not to the loculus (§6.3.*8*). In any case, *cẹla* cannot be considered certain. The two strokes that Herbig read as e are thinner than those of the

[250] G. Giacomelli dismisses this as absurd, but her alternative, taking *uoltiai* as an adjectively used gentilicium ('a Voltian freedwoman'?) is at least equally unattractive.

other letters and very close together. They could well be a badly painted *i*. Apart from that, the text is fragmentary, and several letters may be missing before *cẹla*.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8181). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8251 (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:90 ⟨108⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8251.

167-168. Painted in red (letters 10 cm high) on a tile fragment (max. 30×32 cm).

[---]io:uolti[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Herbig read *---]iọ uolọ[---*, but the original shows an interpunct, and *ti* where Herbig read *ọ*. The second word is therefore in all probability a patronym *uolti[o* or *uolti[lio*.

Painted in red (letters 10 cm high) on the other side of the fragment (30×32 cm).

[---]*ṛ[---]
[---]ạrp[---]
[---]**[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *r* in the first line can also be read as *a*; the second line may also be read as *[---]ṛạp[---]*. Of the third line, only vague traces are preserved.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8163). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8258*a-b* (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:91-2 ⟨113,IIa-b⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8258.

169. Painted in red on plaster along the length of the back of a damaged tile (max. 37×32 cm, letters 10 cm high).

[---ar]utor[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The interpunct read by Herbig between the *o* and the *r* is not visible. The restoration is Vetter's. Another possibility may be *s]uto r[* or *s]utor[* (cf. *suto* Lat **250**).

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8204). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8267 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:306 ⟨310⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:91-2 ⟨113,VIII⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8267.

170. Painted in red on plaster along the length of the back of a damaged tile (max. 41×41 cm, letters 8-10 cm high).

*[1]**[---]²****
*[1]**[---]²ocuẹ***
*[1]**[---]²iọ***

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The traces of the first line seen by Thulin and Herbig cannot be read any more. The second line was read as *...ocua...* by Thulin, with a name in *Cua-* as he had read also in MF **129**. Herbig read *---]ocue*, assuming a coordination of two names by *–cue*, but this would be the only instance in which the second name

would also be a man's. The third line was read as *i* by Herbig, but the traces to point to two letters (*[---]i̯o* or *[---]i̯a*).

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8166). ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:296 ⟨35⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8268; G. Giacomelli 1963:91-2 ⟨113,IX⟩. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907:296 (reproduced in *CIE* 8268); Herbig *CIE* 8268.

14.2.3. Tiles inscribed in the Latin alphabet. The following tiles are inscribed in the Latin alphabet. It is unclear whether this points to a date after *c.*240. Another tile that may be inscribed in the Latin rather than the Faliscan alphabet is MF **140**.

171. Painted in red on the back of a damaged tile (40×47 cm, letters 13 cm high).[251]

[---]²o̯ce⁴f

Sinistroverse, but Latin alphabet. The interpunct consists of a small vertical line (§11.2.4.*3*). The first three letters are 𐌃𐌏. Herbig, comparing *poe[?---]* MF **130**, written in a similar way, read this as an abbreviated name *poe* (adopted by Vetter and G. Giacomelli). The second and third letter, however, are rather *ce* (Thulin, Pauli in Herbig *CIE* 8236), which makes a preceding *[---]p* difficult, as this can hardly be the end of a gentilicium or praenomen. It seems better to read the first letter with Pauli as *[---]o*; a similar *o* occurs in MF **88** (where it was probably due to the fact that the painter was writing a vertically placed line).

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8222/8168). ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:290 (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8236 (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:86 ⟨93⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8236.

172. Painted in red along the length of the back of a tile (58.5×44 cm; letters 10-15 cm high).

[1][---]²cꟻmo[3][---]
[1][---]²mosot[3][---]

The first line is written dextroverse in Latin alphabet. The second line was read by Thulin as *mosox* (sinistroverse), which he considered restoring also in the first line (*mo[sox*), assuming a Latin-Faliscan bilingue. Nogara (in Herbig *CIE* 8266) and Herbig read the second line upside down as *---losom* (sinistroverse). G. Giacomelli's *mosot* (sinistroverse) is probably correct, but unclear: is *sot* the same as *zot* 'sunt' MLF **285**? The difference between both lines is due to ancient re-use of the tile (§11.1.4.*1c*).

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:295-6 ⟨34⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8266 (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:92 ⟨114⟩. ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:295 (reproduced in *CIE* 8266).

[251] "In calce superiniecta, sed ubique detrita et deleta alterius inscriptionis item rubro colore pictae incertissima vestigia aegre cernuntur" (Herbig *CIE* 8236). Nothing now remains of these traces, or indeed of the plaster on which they were painted.

173. Painted in red on plaster[252] along the length of the back of a tile (69×46 cm, letters *c.*15 cm high).

[1]mino·s[2][---]
[1]c·muru[2][?---]

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. Thulin's drawing shows a rounded *u* followed by a vague *s* at the end of the second line (*mino.sa* | *c.muru.(s)*), but Herbig's drawing shows only two vague vertical lines, which he read as *u*. *Mino* is clearly *mino(r)*, perhaps a woman's name: see also §3.5.7*b* for the spelling *Mino(r)*. A tile is probably missing at the end: Pauli and Thulin assumed that this was LtF **174**.

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:292-4 ⟨31⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8254; Bormann *CIL* XI.7517; Vetter 1953:307 ⟨312a⟩ (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:91 ⟨111*a*⟩. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907:292 (reproduced in *CIE* 8254); Herbig *CIE* 8254.

174. Painted in red on plaster along the length of the back of a tile (69×46 cm, letters *c.*15 cm high).

] decon[
]a.f [

Dextroverse in Latin alphabet with cursive *e* (ll) and *a* (Λ). The text is doubtlessly incomplete; the extant letters could perhaps be read as *D. Econ[...]* or *Dec. On[...]*, or possibly *De. con[iunx]*, followed in the second line by a less doubtful *A(uli) f(ilius)*. The tile was joined to LtF **173** by Pauli (in Herbig *CIE* 8254-8255), Thulin, and Bormann. I doubt whether this is possible, but it does not in any case yield a better text. Thulin, the only editor of those who joined the tiles to give an interpretation, read *mino.sa decon* | *c.muru.(s)a.f.*, an epitaph of two brothers Mino Deconius and C. Murronius, sons of Sa- *mino*, however, is a woman's name.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8157). ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:292-4 ⟨31⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8255 (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.7517; Vetter 1953:307 ⟨312a⟩ (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:90-1 ⟨111*b*⟩. ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:292 (reproduced in *CIE* 8255); Herbig *CIE* 8255.

14.2.4. Tiles containing only fragments of texts. The following tiles are clearly inscribed, but the preserved fragments of the texts are too short to establish either their contents or the structure of the text.

175. Apparently unpublished is the inscription on a tile without number in the depot of the Museo Archeologico dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana. The tile, damaged at the

[252] Thulin (1907:292) described both this inscription and MF **174** as "unmittelbar auf der rauhen Aussenseite aufgemalt": according to Herbig and Vetter both were painted on plaster, which is certainly wrong in the case of MF **174**.

upper end and in the lower left-hand corner, measures 47 cm (length, incomplete) by 45 cm (width). Painted in red on plaster across the back is:

[1][---][2] *[*
[1][---][2] *[*
[1][---][2]*ro: [*

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The height of the *r* is 9 cm, that of the *o* 7 cm. There are no traces of lines preceding this (although there is room for two lines), nor of any letters following the text, so that at least one tile is missing at the beginning. Cf. *[---]ro : [---]* MF **178**.

176-194. The following fragments were first published by in the *CIE*. Except in the last four cases, I republish them from autopsy, and I have been able to improve upon the readings of Herbig and Nogara here and there.

176. Painted in red on plaster along the length of the back of a damaged tile (max. 31×46 cm, letters *c.*10 cm high).

[1?][---][2?]*la[---]*
[1?][---][2?]*mạ[---]*

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The first letter of the first line, of which the bottom part has been preserved, is certainly an *l*, not the *c* read by Herbig; the second letter of the second line is in all probability an *a*. The text starts near the edge of the tile, and another tile may be missing in front.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8161). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8259 (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:91-2 ⟨113,III⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8259.

177. Painted in red on plaster on a tile fragment (20×23 cm, letters 11 cm high).

[---]:[---]*

Sinistroverse. Only the right half of the letter is preserved: it can be read as either *ọ[---]* or *ç[---]*. If the fragment is held the other way up, the reading is *[---]o:[---]*.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8198). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8262 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8262.

178. Painted in red on plaster on the back of a tile fragment (16-22×34 cm, letters 10-12 cm high).

[..]ro:ç[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The letters are squarish, with a diamond-shaped *o* (◊). Of the *c*, only the right half is preserved: it could also be read as *o*.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8220). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8263 (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:91-2 ⟨113,VI⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8263.

179. Painted in red on plaster along the length of the back of a tile (60×45 cm; letters 9 cm high).

[---]el[---]

Sinistroverse. Herbig read *vl*, but this is doubtful. The letters are on the lower right-hand corner of the tile, and other lines as well as another tile may have preceded the text.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8151). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8263[a]. ***Drawing:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8263[a].

180. Painted in red on plaster on the back of a tile fragment (33×37 cm, letters *c.*10 cm high).

[---]ia ụe[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The letters *[---]ia* are part of a woman's name, and *ụe[---]* (the *u* can no more be read) a gentilicium, a patronym, or the genitive of a man's name followed by *filia* or *uxor*.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8214). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8264 (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:91-2 ⟨113,VII⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8264.

181. Painted in red on plaster on a damaged tile (max. 35×40 cm, letters *c.*9 cm high).

[---]io:o[---]

Sinistroverse. Herbig found only one fragment of this tile, which he read as *---o.o---*, but a second (inv. 8230), containing part of a shaft, can be joined to this on the right-hand side.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8230+8211). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8265 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8265.

182. Painted in red on plaster on a damaged tile (max. 47×47 cm, letters *c.*10 cm high).

[---]o[---]
[---]ups[---]

It is not possible to read *c]upa[t* in the second line.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8169). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8269 (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:91-2 ⟨113,X⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8269.

183. Painted in red on plaster across the back of a tile fragment (max. 61×39 cm, letters *c.*17 cm high)[253].

[---]**o[---]
[---]nia[?---]

Sinistroverse. The first line, read by Herbig, has now disappeared. The second line may contain the end of a woman's name.

[253] Herbig described it as "a dextra parte fracta" (*CIE* 8270), but the damage is on the *left* side.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8177). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8270 (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:91-2 ⟨113,XI⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8270.

184. Painted in red on a tile fragment (max. 28×20 cm, letters *c.*7 cm high).

[---]lio[?---]

Sinistroverse.
From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8226). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8271 (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:91-2 ⟨113,XII⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8271.

185. Painted in red on plaster on a tile fragment (max. 25×22 cm, letters 7 cm high).

[---]io[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *i*, read by Herbig, has largely disappeared.
From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8206). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8272 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8272.

186. Painted in red on plaster on a tile fragment (max. 29×28 cm, letters 13 cm high)

[---]a[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet.
From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8210). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8273 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8273.

187. Painted in red on plaster across the front of a tile fragment (max. 39×15-25 cm, letters 12 cm high).

[---]i*[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The trace stands noticeably lower than the *i*.
From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8234). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8274 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8274.

188. Painted in red on plaster across the back of a tile fragment (max. 33×12-28 cm, letters 8 cm high) is

[---]ạ*[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Herbig read *ṛụ*, but the first letter, , might also be an *a* or an *n*. The second letter is now illegible.
From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8217). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8277 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8277.

189. Painted in red on plaster on a tile fragment (max. 11×19 cm, letters 8 cm high)

[---]n[---]

Sinistroverse.
From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8221). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8278 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8278.

190. Painted in red on plaster on the back of a tile fragment (max. 47×16 cm, letters 12 cm high).

[---]p[---]

Sinistroverse.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8225). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8279 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8279.

191. Painted in red on a tile fragment.

[1][ue?]lsu[co[2?]neo
[1][---]*i̯a [

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Herbig hesitatingly restored the first line as a praenomen *ue]lsu*, comparing his *uelzu* in MF **56**: I would rather restore *ue]l su[coneo* as in MF **56**, where I would read *uel zu[con]leo*. The second line is given as ᛋᛁ in Pauli's drawing.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8282; G. Giacomelli 1963:92 ⟨115,II⟩. ***Drawing:*** Pauli jr. in Herbig *CIE* 8282.

192. Painted in red on a tile fragment.

[---]i[---]
[---]ia[---]

Sinistroverse.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8283; G. Giacomelli 1963:92 ⟨115,III⟩. ***Drawing:*** Pauli jr. in Herbig *CIE* 8283.

193. Painted in red on plaster on the back of a tile (65×43 cm, letters *c.*11 cm high).

[---] oc[---] or ***[---]so [***

Sinistroverse. The tile can also be held the other way up, in which case the text can be read as ***[---]so***.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8275 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Nogara in Herbig *CIE* 8275.

194. Painted on plaster on the back of a tile fragment (max. 26×41 cm).

o̯*e̯

Sinistroverse. The reading is Herbig's.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8276 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8276.

14.2.5. Loculus-inscriptions. The following inscriptions were originally cut in the ledges between the loculi, like e.g. MF **40**, **47**, **79**, **82**, and **86**: see also §11.1.4.*1b*. These ledges were detached and moved to the Museo di Villa Giulia (probably somewhere during the 1880s or 1890s) where they were seen by Nogara in 1903.

195. Cut in a strip of tuff (102×22 cm, letters 10-12 cm high).

cauio:arutlo

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. For the unusual syncope in *arutlo*, see §3.6.6.2, but cf. also Etruscan *arutleσa* AS 1.227.

Bibliography: Herbig 1910:183-4 ⟨20⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8285; Buonamici 1913:63 ⟨21⟩; Vetter 1953:307 ⟨313⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:92 ⟨116⟩. ***Drawing:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8285.

196. Cut in a strip of tuff (17×78 cm, letters 12 cm high).

uoltaia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The usual reading is *uoltaia* 'Voltaea' (cf. Lejeune 1952b:118-9), but *uolta ia* 'Volta Ia(nti f.)' is not impossible. For the spelling *ai* before a vowel, as in *latinaio* MLF **210** and perhaps in *frenaios* MF **471***, see §3.7.6.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8287; Vetter 1953:307 ⟨315⟩; G. Giacomelli 1962; G. Giacomelli 1963:93 ⟨118,I⟩. ***Drawing:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8287.

197. Cut in a strip of tuff (54×12 cm, letters 10 cm high).

cauioṣ*[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Nogara's drawing showes a shaft after the *o*, on the edge of the lacuna. Herbig suggested *cauioṣi[o*, but a Middle Faliscan genitive in *-osio* is implausible (cf. §4.4.2): the letters after *cauio* are rather the beginning of a gentilicium.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8286; Vetter 1953:307 ⟨314⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:93 ⟨117⟩. ***Drawing:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8286.

198. Cut in a strip of tuff (20?×47 cm, letters 12-13 cm high).[254]

iuna

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8288; Vetter 1953:307 ⟨316⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:93 ⟨118,II⟩. ***Drawing:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8288.

14.2.6. Inscriptions on pottery. The following inscriptions were stamped or scratched under various pieces of pottery: beside their attribution to Civita Castellana, no information is given with regard to their discovery.

[254] Herbig (*CIE* 8288) gives the size of the block as as "m. 0,10 a. x 0,47 l." and that of the letters as "m. 0,12-0,13 a.": either one of these statements must be an error. His drawing, from a squeeze by Nogara, shows the proportion of height : length of the block as *c.* 1 : 2.5; if the height of the block is assumed to be 20 cm, this would fit both the height : length proportion and the size of the letters as given by Herbig.

199. Stamped on the bottom of a black-varnished saucer (∅ 15 cm, letters 3 mm high).

pleina

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *n* is reversed. As the name is stamped, it is perhaps the name of the potter rather than of the owner.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8289; Vetter 1953:326 ⟨353a⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:60 ⟨36,I⟩. ***Drawing:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8289.

200. Stamped on the bottom of a black-varnished saucer (∅ 11.5 cm, letters 4 mm high).

ccutri

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The first *c* is shown as ⟩. The text gives the name of the potter, either as an abbreviated nominative or as a a genitive (§8.9.1).

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8290; Vetter 1953:326 ⟨353b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:60 ⟨36,II⟩. ***Drawing:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8290.

201. Scratched vertically downwards on the neck of an amphora (height 17 cm, ∅ rim 7.5 cm). Known only through an apograph by Della Seta.

titias

Dextroverse. Della Seta's apograph as published by Herbig (*CIE* 8585) reads TITIΦΣ: if correct, the co-occurrence of Σ with dextroverse ductus might point to an early date. *Titias* is a clearly a genitive. Herbig curiously stated: "Titulus graeci quandam speciem praebet, sed heros Τιτίας, Τιτίης [...] hic nihil habet, quod agat" (*CIE* 8585).

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8585; Vetter 1953:326 ⟨354⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:61 ⟨39⟩; Pisani 1964:344 ⟨146Ga⟩; Rix *ET* Fa 2.27. ***Transcription:*** Della Seta in *CIE* 8585.

202. Scratched under the foot of a red-figure amphora (height 36 cm, letters 13-16 mm high) is

nuikuę

Dextroverse. The last letter, II, is either a cursive *e* (thus G. Giacomelli) or *ii*. The occurrence of *k* is unexpected, especially before *u*; assuming that it represents /g/ (§11.2.4.*3*) does not make the text any clearer. Herbig regarded the letters as non-Faliscan, and doubted whether they might not in fact be numerals.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8291; G. Giacomelli 1963:60-1 ⟨37⟩. ***Drawing:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8291.

203. Scratched on the bottom of a saucer (∅ 11.2 cm, letters 16-22 mm high) is

iun

The *u* is Y.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8292*a*; G. Giacomelli 1963:61 ⟨38,I*a*,II⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8292*a*.

204. Scratched on the bottom of a small plate (∅ 18 cm, letters 6-7 mm high).

cs

Sinistroverse, with reversed *s*.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8295; G. Giacomelli 1963:61 ⟨38,Ia,II⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8295.

14.3. Inscriptions from the surroundings of Civita Castellana

205-210.[255] The following texts were cut in the sides of an ancient hollow road descending towards the Rio Calello just above where it flows into the Rio Maggiore, to the west of Civita Castellana (see Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:141-2, G. Giacomelli 1961:321-5 with map p.322, Quilici 1990:197-208 with map fig.2 between pp.200-1).

The early editions (Deecke 1888:156, Herbig *CIE* 8333, and Vetter 1953:310) were all based on an incomprehensible apograph in a letter by Suarez of 16.IV.1676 in the MS Vaticanus Latinus 9140 f.328^{r} (reproduced in *CIE* 8333 and G. Giacomelli 1965b:155).[256] The interpretations given by these earlier scholars are not discussed here: for a discussion, see Di Stefano Manzella 1995:219-21. The inscriptions were rediscovered in the 1950s during the survey of the British School and subsequently republished by G. Giacomelli (1961, 1963:69-71), who also devoted an article to the apograph (G. Giacomelli 1965b). Hollow roads such as these were constantly recut, deepened, or widened (cf. Quilici 1990), and **206**, **207**, and **209** in all probability contain the names of magistrates that had such reconstructions carried out. Other instances of such inscriptions are MLF/Etr **289**, LtF **290**, and Lat **291**: §11.1.4.5.

205. Deeply cut in the rock on the left side of the road, *c.*2 m above the level of the original road (length 4.26 m, letters 28-36 cm high). "Nel 1987 la scritta è stata malamente rubricata di bianco da un amatore, assieme alla terza oltre ricordata [= **206**]" (Quilici 1990:205 n.19).

furc·t·p·c·ef·i·uei·

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. Di Stefano Manzella, the only author to propose an interpretation, suggests 'Furc(ulam) T(itos) P(---) c(ensor) ef(fodi) i(ussit) ve⟨h⟩i(culis)'

[255] These were the first Faliscan inscriptions to be recorded (in 1676), although they were not the first to appear in print: that honour was reserved for MF **79** (in 1726).

[256] Deecke (1888:156), Herbig (*CIE* 8333), Vetter (1953:310), and G. Giacomelli (1963:69) ascribed the apograph to Suarez. Bormann (*CIL* XI p.477, p.1323) described it as 'ignota manu', noting that another apograph in the codex ('f.76=92') was made by Ciampino. G. Giacomelli later ascribed the apograph to Dell'Arena (1965b, 1978:534), noting that it was not in Suarez' hand.

or 'Fur(culae) T(itos) P(---) coiravit ef(fodiendum)/ ef(ficiendum) i(ter) ve⟨h⟩i(culis)', elaborating Cristofani's suggestion that *furc* is a noun and *ef* a verb, probably *effodio*. Although possible, this depends on whether or not *furca* or *furcula* can mean 'gola', 'passaggio', which in turn depends on the exact meaning of the toponym *Furcae Caudinae*. A major point is why the text should have been abbreviated: although abbreviating the more formulaic elements of building-inscriptions is of course commonplace, it is unexpected in what is apparently a unique phrase. Here, even the names are irrecognizably abbreviated, which is strange: although Di Stefano Manzella (1995:224) rejects G. Giacomelli's suggestion that these inscriptions were electoral propaganda, being named in a building-inscription may well have had an added propaganda value for the magistrate in question, as Cristofani noted. The alternative is that the inscription consists of names: cf. e.g. *Furcilia* in *CIL* XI.3855 from Saxa Rubra, and *Veianius* in *CIL* XI.3805 from Veii, and the "fratres Veianii ex agro Falisco" (Varro *R* 3.16.10). G. Giacomelli compared *ef* to the *efiles* in MF **113** etc.

Bibliography: Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:141 (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:69-71 ⟨62,I⟩ (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1965b; G. Giacomelli 1978:533-4 ⟨11,I⟩; †Moscati 1985a:128-9 (*autopsy*); Cristofani 1988:20; †Gasperini 1989:69-71; Quilici 1990:205-7 (*autopsy*); Di Stefano Manzella 1996. ***Photographs:*** Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957 pl.XL1*b*; †Moscati 1985a; Quilici 1990 tav.IIc. ***Drawing:*** G. Giacomelli 1965b:155; Quilici 1990:199 fig.1,D.

206. Cut in the rock on the left-hand side of the road, *c.*40 m past **205**, at *c.*1.5 m above the original road-level (length 3.54 m, letters 28 cm high). In 1987 the letters were painted in (see **205**).

a[.]osenauẹnarionio

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The photographs show that letters could be missing at the beginning of the text (*[l]a* or *[m]a*?) and appear to show that the ninth letter is *o* rather than *e*. If *ue* is correct, this is an abbreviation (perhaps of the praenomen *Venel*) rather than *Vel* with (unparallelled) omission of *-l*. Ward Perkins & Frederiksen's provisory reading *...mac ena u[.]nerionio* can be disregarded, as can Pallottino's ... *macenavenerionio* (in Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:141-2, based on their photographs). Di Stefano Manzella reads ++ *Nosena*.

Bibliography: Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:141-2 (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:69-71 ⟨62,II⟩ (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1965b; G. Giacomelli 1978:533-4 ⟨11,II⟩; †Moscati 1985:# (*autopsy*); Cristofani 1988:20 (*autopsy*); Quilici 1990:205-7; Di Stefano Manzella 1995:224. ***Photographs:*** Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957 pl.XL1*a*; †Moscati 1985:#; Quilici 1990 tav.IIa. ***Drawings:*** Reynolds & Meiggs in Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:142; G. Giacomelli 1965b:155; Quilici 1990:199 fig.1,G.

207. Cut in the rock, 70 cm from **206**, at 120-150 cm above the actual road-level (length 86 cm, letters 6-10 cm high).

cauio lulḷio

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. There seem to be traces in the space between the two words. Of the third *l*, only the left-hand shaft is preserved. The spelling with a double consonant is very rare (#): Di Stefano Manzella proposes to read *lulio* or *iulio*.

Bibliography: G. Giacomelli 1961:323 ⟨2⟩ (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:69-71 ⟨62,III⟩; Olzscha 1965:123; G. Giacomelli 1965b; G. Giacomelli 1978:533-4 ⟨11,III⟩; Quilici 1990:205-7 (*autopsy*); Di Stefano Manzella 1995:224. ***Drawing:*** G. Giacomelli 1961:323 fig.2; G. Giacomelli 1965b:155.

208-209. Cut in the rock on the right side of the road near **206-207**, but higher above the actual road-level (length. 43 cm, letters 8-13 cm high).

puiatu

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. G. Giacomelli (1963) and Olzscha compared Etruscan names like *Puina*.

Cut in the rock, 40 cm from **208** (length 28 cm, letters 7-10 cm high).

n*

Sinistroverse, with reversed *n*. The second letter is illegible. Di Stefano Manzella, apparently reading *ptu*, regards it as a contracted form *p(uia)tu*.

Bibliography: G. Giacomelli 1961:323-4 ⟨3*a-b*⟩ (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:69-71 ⟨62,IV-V⟩; Olzscha 1965:123; G. Giacomelli 1965b; G. Giacomelli 1978:533-4 ⟨11,IV-V⟩; Di Stefano Manzella 1995:224. ***Drawings:*** G. Giacomelli 1961:323 fig. 3*a*, 324 fig.3*b*; G. Giacomelli 1965b:155; Quilici 1990:199 fig.1,G.

210. Cut in the rock, 54 m past **208-209**, at *c.*5 m above the actual road-level.

cauio latinaio

For the preservation of /ai̯/ before a vowel, see §3.7.6.

Bibliography: G. Giacomelli 1961:324-5 ⟨4⟩ (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1962 :363-367; G. Giacomelli 1963:69-71 ⟨63⟩; Quilici 1990:205-7 (*autopsy*); Di Stefano Manzella 1995:224. ***Photograph:*** Quilici 1990 tav.V*a*. ***Drawings:*** G. Giacomelli 1961:324 fig.4; Quilici 1990:199 fig.1,C.

211. Painted ("painted on plaster", Conway 1897:373) over two tiles found in situ in a tomb 3 km outside Civita Castellana in the direction of S. Maria di Falleri, presumably along the ancient road connecting both sites. Known only through an apograph by Mariani, the discoverer of the tomb.

cmecio:a[---]
cesilia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *a* in the first line is the beginning of a longer word, not an abbreviation (as Vetter and G. Giacomelli took it): Garrucci, the only editor to have seen the apograph, calls the inscription a "monca leggenda" (1864:62) and read *C Mecio . A... Cesilia*.

Bibliography: Garrucci 1864:62; Fabretti *CII* 2441*bis*,g; Garrucci *SIL* 797; Zvetaieff *IIM* 55; Zvetaieff *III* 57; Schneider 1886:105 ⟨5⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.3162a; Deecke 1888:140-2 ⟨9⟩; Conway 1897:373

⟨315⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8332; Vetter 1953:309-10 ⟨321⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:93 ⟨119⟩. ***Drawing:*** Mariani in Garrucci 1864 tav.IV.2 (reproduced in *CII* tab.XLIII, *III* tab.VIII.9, Deecke 1888 Taf.I, *CIE* 8332).

212. An inscription, presumably on a tile, from the Piani di Castello near Castel S. Elia, lying on the ancient road between Civita Castellana and Nepi (cf. Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:136-40). Known only through an apograph by Manzielli.

[---]nθia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *θ* is shown as O in Manzielli's apograph: it may have been ⊙ in the original, or this may be one of few instances from the ager Faliscus where the central point was omitted (§11.2.4.*2*). In any case, Deecke's *noia* can be disregarded: cf. *iata : senθia* MFL **362**. For the use of *θ*, see §11.2.4 and §3.5.4. There is no reason to read *[ar]nθia[l]*, as does Rix.

Bibliography: Deecke 1888:156 ⟨35⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8428; G. Giacomelli 1963:271 ⟨LII⟩; Rix *ET* Fa 0.9.
Drawing: Manzielli in Deecke 1888 Taf.II (reproduced in *CIE* 8428).

Chapter 15

The inscriptions from S. Maria di Falleri (Falerii Novi)

15.1. Falerii Novi

After the war of 241 BC, a new Falerii, probably a Roman colony (cf. §2.6.2), was build in the open tableland *c.*3 miles to the west of Civita Castellana, where the buildings of the medieval abbey of S. Maria di Falleri and the hamlet of Faleri still preserve the ancient name. The new town was fortified with heavy walls that to a large extent are still standing today. Part of the area was excavated in the nineteenth century by the proprietor of the terrain, Sebastiani. See Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:155-62 with map p.156 fig.26 and aerial photograph pl. XXVI, De Lucia Brolli 1991a:48-63 with map p.49 fig.35, and especially Di Stefano Manzella 1979.

As the founding of Falerii Novi can be dated to the period shortly after 241 BC, perhaps the decade 230-220 BC (§2.6.2-3), the Faliscan inscriptions from the town and its surroundings are all classed as Late Faliscan or Latino-Faliscan, and there are indeed indications that immigrants from Latium may have settled at the new town. The town itself has yielded one Late Faliscan inscription (LF **213**), one Latino-Faliscan inscription (LtF **215**), four Latin ones (Lat **216-219**), as well as LF/Lat **214**, which appears to be a Latin inscription in the Faliscan alphabet: with the exception of Lat **216**, these are all official inscriptions. The tombs from the neighbourhood of the town provide a number of Late Faliscan, Latino-Faliscan, and Latin sepulcral inscriptions (**220-251**). Two inscriptions of unknown origin, *caui : tertinei :* | *posticnu* MLF/Cap **474*** and *l · quinti* Lat **477***, may also be from Falerii Novi: see §18.2.

15.2. Inscriptions from the town

213. In a mosaic across the entrance of a small building "litteris fere palmaribus" (Garrucci 1877:199). The inscription was discovered shortly before 1870 but apparently destroyed soon afterwards (cf. Garrucci 1870:33, *SIL* 808).

[..] hirmio m[·f·]ce tertineo c f pret[ores ?---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *[·f·]* may have disappeared during an ancient repair ("post praenomen patris nullum indicium apparuit litterae deperditae, nisi quod tessellae ibi erant temere positae", Garrucci *SIL* 808). Of the *t* in *pret[*, only the upper

part was preserved. *Pretſ* has been read as an abbreviation (Garrucci *SIL*, Deecke, Jacobsohn), but may well be restored to *pretſores* (Bormann, Vetter, G. Giacomelli). The language of this text shows Faliscan features in the omission of word-final *-s* in *hirmeo* and *tertineo* and in the monophthongization of /aiˇ/ to /ę̄/ in *ce* and *pretſores*, and the antevocalic *e* in *hirmeo*: see §3.6.2. (The antevocalic *e* in *tertineo* probably represents /ę̄/ ← /ěiˇ/, cf. the genitive *tertinei* MLF/Cap **474***.)

Bibliography: Garrucci 1870:33 (*autopsy*); Garrucci *SIL* 808; Zvetaieff *IIM* 67; Zvetaieff *III* 69; Schneider 1886:106 ⟨24ª⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.3156a; Deecke 1888:162-3 ⟨38⟩; Conway 1897:377 ⟨323⟩; Jacobsohn 1910:4 ⟨24⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8343; Vetter 1953:307 ⟨317⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:69 ⟨61⟩. ***Drawing:*** Garrucci 1870 tav. nr.6 (reproduced in *IIM* tab.VII.3 (whence *CIE* 8343), Deecke 1888 Taf.II).[257]

214. Engraved on a bronze tablet (52×18 cm, letters 2 cm high), originally fastened with rivets, from which it would appear to have been torn or broken. The right half was found in 1860 near the Porta Cimina. Garrucci, in whose possession it came, showed it to Henzen, from whose notes it was then published by Mommsen without Garrucci's consent. The other half was found in 1870, reputedly together with **215** and **217-218**, after which the inscription was published in its entirety by Garrucci. Date: *c.*150.

menerua· sacru
la·cotena·la f·pretod· de
zenatuo·sententiad·uootum
dedet· cuando·datu·rected
cuncaptum

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The space between *menerua·* and *sacru* is intentional. The *l* in *la·cotena* and the *r* in *pretod* are damaged but certain. Bréal (whence Dessau) read the second *la* as *lr*, but this cannot be justified.

Menerua is dative, the usual construction with *sacer* in both Latin and Sabellic, not a genitive *menerua(s)* (thus Deecke, Herbig 1910, and G. Giacomelli). These datives in *-a* seem to have spread from Latium and the Latin-speaking colonies (see Villar 1986). If in these forms the *-a* represents /-ę̄/, as has been proposed (see §3.7.6), their spread is not due to morphophonological interference, but only to the spread of a different and specific spelling. The *-d* in *pretod* has been regarded as an erroneous use of the Etruscan *r* (Bréal, Schneider, Bormann, Dessau, Buonamici, R.Bloch, Ernout, Degrassi, De Rosalia) and as a *saṇdhi* with the following *d-* (Deecke, Herbig *CIE*, Lommatzsch, Warmington, Vetter, G. Giacomelli, Pisani), but the new attestations of the same spelling in *cuestod · pi · pretod · pis* LF **242** show that it may rather represent a weakened /-r/, probably a weak alveolar flap [ɾ] (Peruzzi 1997), although M. Mancini suggests it may be an attempt to render the Latin realization or /r#/: see §3.5.7*b*. The formula *de* | *zenatuo · sententiad* may well be Latin.

[257] G. Giacomelli erroneously ascribes the apograph to Zvetaieff.

The interpretation of *cuando · datu · rected* | *cuncaptum* is debated. Many editors (e.g. Deecke 1888, Herbig *CIE*, Buonamici, Warmington, and G. Giacomelli) have followed Bréal in assuming that *datu* has the sense of *uotum* ("quand il a été fait, il a été correctement conçu", 1881:492). *Cuncaptum* is usually taken in a similar sense as in the expression *concipere uerba* 'to phrase a vow' (see Norden 1939:92-6). The phrase as a whole has been compared to Liv. 36.2.3 (first Dessau), where M' Atilius, vowing to institute the *ludi magni*, is represented as saying "quisquis magistratus eos ludos quando ubique faxit, hi ludi recte facti, donaque data recte sunto". Wachter discussed the text in the light of this passage. First, he rightly dismissed Vetter's *datu(r)*, for if the phrase from Livy indeed constitutes a parallel, the only possibility with *datu(r)* would be *quando datur, recte conceptum esto*, with a future sense that is impossible in the light of *uootum dedet* in the previous sentence. According to Wachter, *cuncaptum* refers not only to the phrasing of the vow but also to the actual dedication of what was vowed (as in *sacrum* and *sacrificium concipere*): the phrase would then mean 'es ist aufgrund eines seinerzeit gebilligten Gelübdes dargebracht worden' as well as 'es ist richtig und mit den richtigen Worten dargebracht worden'. Together, this would be more or less 'es ist unter in jeder Hinsicht richtigen Voraussetzungen dargebracht worden'. I find this strained: if *cuncaptum* can refer to the dedication itself, I do not see any reason to assume that it refers to the phrasing of the vow at the same time.

This is apparently the youngest inscription in the Faliscan alphabet, and the main subject of discussion is in how far the inscription was, in fact, still Faliscan. This is all the more interesting as it is a public dedication, and therefore apparently reflects the language used by local magistrates. The inscription cannot be much older than *c.*150 BCE, as is shown both by the double *oo* in *uootum* and by the *u*'s in *sacru*, *uootu*, *datu*, and *cuncaptum* also point to the second century. Orthographically, it is almost entirely Faliscan: note the alphabet, the ductus, and the use of *z-* in *zenatuo* (cf. §11.2.5.2, §3.5.3):[258] the only non-Faliscan features are the double *o* in *uootum*, and perhaps the *-a* for */-ę̄/* in *menerua*. Linguistically, the matter is more difficult.

The following linguistic features could potentially be regarded as Faliscan (arranged in decreasing order of likelihood):

(1) the *-d* in *pretod*, cf *cuestod · pi · pretod · pis* LF **242**, although there is a Latin parallel in *opeinod deuincam · ted CIL* I^2.547: related to this are the cases where *-r* was omitted in Faliscan and in Latin (as Peruzzi (1997:63) rightly notes);

(2) the omission of *-s* in *zenatuo*, which is in accordance with Faliscan custom of omitting *-s* after a short vowel virtually without exception, although there are of course abundant parallels for this in Latin inscriptions (see §3.5.7*d*);

[258] The use of *cu* rather than *qu* cannot be regarded as a *separate* Faliscan feature (as does Freeman 2002:252), as the Faliscan alphabet did not have a *q*: the use of *cu* is therefore a corollary of the use of the Faliscan alphabet.

(3) the monophthongization of /ai̯/ in *pretod*, which is regular in Faliscan, although there are instances of this in contemporary Latin inscriptions (see §3.7.6);

(4) the omission of *-m* in *sacru* and *datu*, which occurs in Faliscan, but of course in Latin as well (§3.5.7*a*);

(5) the fourth-declension genitive ending *-uo(s)* in *zenatuo*, which is attested only from Latin, but may have existed in Faliscan, where the consonant-stem genitive ending was *-os* (§4.5.2);

(6) the *u* in *sacru*, *uootum*, *datu*, and *cuncaptum* appears to be Latin, but could conceivably be second-century Faliscan (§3.6.6.*1*): note *[fel]icinatiu* MLF **384**;

(7) the lack of vowel raising in *cuncaptum* (see §3.6.6.*1*), although *cuncaptum* is rather a re-analysis of *conceptum* after the simple verb (perhaps intended as an archaism);

(8) the *-d* in *sententiad* and *rected* is unexpected at this date both in Faliscan (cf. *ifra* MF **40**) and Latin, and may be an archaism (§3.5.7*c*): as the *-d* occurred originally in Faliscan as well as in Latin, it could be an archaism in either.

As is clear from this list, most of these features occur in Latin as well, and could without problems be regarded as dialect Latin. The only exception seems to be the *-d* in *pretod*, although here too, the Faliscan parallels are limited to one inscription. (Adams (2007:106-7) also points to *cuando* used in a temporal sense as a lexical regionalism.) How can it be decided what the language of this inscription actually *is*?

In many cases, this discussion has been obscured by too much attention being given to the fact that the inscription is written in the Faliscan alphabet. As Adams rightly notes in the case of this inscription, one cannot argue for the language of a text on the basis of the alphabet it was written in. Yet the fact that the inscription was written in the Faliscan alphabet reflects a choice made by those who had it engraved, a choice to *present* the text as Faliscan or rather, in a Faliscan *context*, whether this choice was made out of local patriotism or, as I suspect, out of a sense of tradition. It could even be regarded as an expression of ethnic identity, in which case, as noted, it is very interesting to find this in an official inscription.[259]

The question can therefore be posed differently: if the inscription was *not* written in Faliscan alphabet and the origin was not known, would it have been regarded as Faliscan? I greatly doubt this: if the inscription were even ascribed to Etruria, this would probably be on account of the name *cotena* rather than on the basis of its linguistic features. It is possible, however, that in this inscription the influence from Latin is relatively great due to its being an official text of a type that is unattested for Faliscan and may be Latin in origin (§9.4.1-2).

[259] I wonder if the inscription was perhaps intended to replace an older Faliscan inscription, the replacement being drafted in more contemporary language, as in the case of the Umbrian *Tabulae Iguuinae*.

In my view, the difficulty underlying the recent discussions on the language of this inscription is at least partly due to the fact that the difference between Faliscan and Latin was *gradual*, especially in this later period, when the language that was spoken in the ager Faliscus was a mixture of a more general 'rural Latin' and features derived from Faliscan. Any text from this period is not *either* Latin *or* Faliscan, but *both* Faliscan *and* Latin *to a certain degree*. Calling this text Faliscan (as do Peruzzi, Mancini, and Freeman) or Latin (as do Wachter, Vine (?), and Adams) means nothing more than to give more relative weight to either 'side' of the text. If anything, this inscription shows that the language of local public inscriptions in the ager Faliscus was becoming more and more indistinguishable from a more general 'rural Latin'.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 24425). ***Bibliography:*** **(I)** Mommsen 1860:452-3; Garrucci 1860:266-9 ⟨1⟩ (*autopsy*); Detlefsen 1861a:199; Garrucci 1864:61-2 ⟨1⟩; Fabretti *CII* 2441. ***Drawing:*** Garrucci 1860 tav.F.1 (reproduced in Garrucci 1864 tav.IV.1, Fabretti *CII* tab.XLIII). – **(II)** Garrucci 1870:25 (*autopsy*); Fabretti *CII Suppl. I* 2441 *add.*; Garrucci *SIL* 559; Bréal 1881 (*autopsy*); Deecke 1881:237; Zvetaieff *IIM* 68 (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *III* 70; Schneider 1886:106 ⟨17⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.3081; Deecke 1888:156-61 ⟨36⟩; Conway 1897:376 ⟨321⟩; Dessau *ILS* 3124; Herbig 1910:185 (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8340; Buonamici 1913:81-4 ⟨53⟩; Lommatzsch CIL I^2.365; Ribezzo 1920:79; [Taylor 1923:74]; Warmington 1940:80-1 ⟨71⟩; Bloch 1952:181-2; Vetter 1953:308-9 ⟨320⟩; Safarewicz 1955:185 ⟨1⟩; Ernout 1957:37-8 ⟨63⟩; Degrassi *ILLRP* 238; G. Giacomelli 1963:68-9 ⟨59⟩; Pisani 1964:352-3 ⟨154⟩; Peruzzi 1966a:126; G. Giacomelli 1978:532-3 ⟨10⟩; De Rosalia 1978:39, 91-2 ⟨17⟩; Villar 1986:48; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.365 *add.*; Wachter 1987:448-53; Vine 1993: 108-9; Peruzzi 1997; Freeman 2002; Mancini 2002:33-42; Adams 2007:100-7; Clackson & Horrocks 2007:119-20. ***Photograph:*** Peruzzi 1966a tav.I between pp.128-9 [reproduced in Peruzzi 1995:62]. ***Drawings:*** Garrucci 1870 tav. no.1; Zvetaieff *IIM* tab.VII.4 (reproduced in Deecke 1888 Taf.II, *CIE* 8340, *CIL* I^2.365).

215. Engraved on a strip of bronze from S. Maria di Falleri, reputedly found together with LF/Lat **214** and Lat **217-218**.

[---]ilio·c[·f ?---]

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. Cf. *m · spurilius · c · f* | *bis · q[·]duo·uir* Lat **238** from a tomb near the town. The absence of word-final *-s* may be a Faliscan feature.

Bibliography: Garrucci *SIL* 810 (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *IIM* 69; Zvetaieff *III* 71; Bormann *CIL* XI under 3081; Deecke 1888:161 ⟨37⟩; Conway 1897:377 ⟨322⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8342; Vetter 1953:308 ⟨318⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:69 ⟨60⟩. ***Drawing:*** Garrucci *SIL* 810.

216. Scratched before firing on the back of the right half of a mold for a woman's head of terracotta.[260] *C.*240-220 (Di Stefano Manzella).

t·fourios·*[·]f

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. Only the bottom parts of the last letters remain; the father's name may either *t* or *p* (*II* Safarewicz; the shafts are omitted by G. Giacomelli). The

[260] Deecke erroneously describes it as a 'Thonschale mit Junokopf'. It is unclear whether the woman represents Juno (as was surmised by Garrucci, Fabretti, Zvetaieff, and Deecke).

presence of *-s* and *ou* are Latin rather than Faliscan (cf. Latin *med · loucilios · feced* Lat **268** from Corchiano): T. Furius may have been a recent immigrant from Latium (Di Stefano Manzella).

Bibliography: Garrucci 1864:69 (*autopsy*); Fabretti *CII* 2440*bis*; Garrucci *SIL* 512; Zvetaieff *IIM sub* 70; Zvetaieff *III sub* 72; Bormann *CIL* XI.6708,26; Deecke 1888:217 ⟨101⟩; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.473; Safarewicz 1955:186 ⟨3⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:263 ⟨XII⟩; Di Stefano Manzella 1979:72. Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.473 *add.* ***Drawings:*** Garrucci 1864 tav.VII.1*a-c* (reproduced in *CII* tab. XLIII, Di Stefano Manzella 1979:72 fig. 27).

217-218. Engraved on a bronze table (28×9 cm), reputedly found together with **214-215** (letters 9-12 mm high). Minasi[261] suggested that **217** was part of an inscription that was originally larger but was recut when the bronze was reused for **218**. There seems to be no reason to assume this: both inscriptions appears to be complete. Courtney, too, argued for re-use, noting that the table must have been fastened against a wall, so that it would never have been possible to read both sides at once.

gonlegium·quod·est·aciptum·aetatei·aged[ai]
opiparum·ad·uiitam·quolunda·festosque·dies
quei·soueis·aastuties·opidque·uolgani
gondecorant·saip[i]sume·comuiuia·loidosque
ququei·huc·dederun[t·i]nperat·oribus·summeis
utei·sesed·lubent[is·be]neiouent·optantis

On the other side is engraved **218** (letters 9 mm high).

[di]ouei·iunonei·mineruai
falesce·quei·in·sardinia·sunt
donum·dederunt·magistreis
l·latrius·k·f·c·salu[e]na·uoltai·f
coiraueront

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. My text follows Wachter, who in **217** read *uiitam* where all other editors have read *ueitam* (except Minasi (from autopsy) and recent editors like Vine, Courtney, and Kruschwitz), and who in **218** restored *[di]ouei* rather than *[i]ouei*. The *nt* of *sunt* are written as a ligature ⋀, and in **218**, the *n[t* of *dederun[t* are assumed to be a similar ligature. Noteworthy is the odd use of *g* in *gonlegium* and *gondecorant* (but *c* in *comuiuia* and *q* in *quolundam* and *ququei*), and *uolgani*. Girard ascribes this to an uncertainty of the Faliscans, when using the Latin alphabet, where to use *g*, which was absent from their own alphabet, but this is implausible, especially during the Late Faliscan period, the Faliscans seem,on occasion to have used *k* to render /g/: see §11.2.4.2.

[261] For Minasi's publication, I have had to rely on the ample quotations in Peruzzi 1966a.

I discuss these texts only briefly, as the language is Latin without specifically Faliscan dialect features: for detailed discussions, see Kruschwitz 2002:127-38, Wachter 1987:441-8 and Peruzzi 1966a. Both inscriptions can be dated to the second half or even the last quarter of the second century. Wachter names the following orthographical criteria for this: *(1)* the double-spelling in *uiitam* and *aastutitieis*, first attested *c.*140; *(2)* the use of *q* before *u* in *ququei*, first attested (apart from the archaic inscriptions) *c.*125; *(3)* the use of ligatures in *sunt* and *dederun[t*, first attested *c.*150. Except for a few features that can easily be explained as archaisms (e.g. *oi* in *coiraueront* and *loidosque*, *-d* in *opidque* and *sesed*), the linguistic features of the inscriptions are compatible with this: note e.g. *u* in closed word-final syllables and *ae* in *aetatei*; see also Peruzzi 1966a:135-50. Arguments for the relative dating of the two inscriptions are derived from the fact that one of the rivet-holes was placed lower in order to avoid *mineruai*, suggesting that **217** was written before **218** (see also Wachter 1987:441-2).

A debated question is the identity of the *falesce · quei · in · sardinia · sunt*, and, if the inscriptions are (more or less) contemporaneous, whether they were identical with the *ququei*. Peruzzi (1966a:127-8, 160) rightly compared the dedication by the *ququei* to the dedications of other 'guilds' from Praeneste, where in fact we find a dedication by the *coques atriensis* (*CIL* I^2.1447); on the other hand, he compared the *falesce · quei · in · sardinia · sunt* to the *Italici qui Deli negotiantur* in the Latin inscriptions from Delos (*CIL* I^2.2232-2259). In spite of these parallels, the identity of both our groups remains obscure. Peruzzi (1966a:161-2) hesitatingly suggests that these Faliscans may have been inhabitants of a Sardinian colony founded under the Gracchi. Wachter (1987:443) suggests that a group of cooks, forced by (Greek?) competition to emigrate to Sardinia (why?), made the first dedication to invoke the gods' blessing on their enterprise, and the second when they had succeeded in building up new and prosperous existences a few months (why?) later. As some had been forced to find other employment, by that time they no longer referred to themselves as the *ququei*, but as the *falesce · quei · in · sardinia · sunt*. Girard suggests that these *falesce* were clients of the Sp. Carvilius Maximus who campaigned Sardinia in 234 and who may have been a son or a grandson of the Sp. Carvilius Ruga who subdued Falerii in 293. Although this is based more on facts than Wachter's implausible suggestions, it would appear to be impossible in view of the date of the inscriptions. From the point of view of ethnic identity, it is worth noting that this is the only certain instance of the use of the ethnonym *Faliscus* by Faliscans, and that it occurs in the context where this would be expected, namely a group of Faliscans outside their own territory (§2.2.2).

Further points of interest in this inscription are, in **217**, the possible use of Saturnians, although these seem to be so freely used that a metrical interpretation is difficult (Massaro in fact called the metrical liberties 'anarchic'), the elevated poetic language (see Peruzzi 1966a:128-35), and the identity of the *inperat·oribus · summeis*, who may be the same as the Capitoline triad in **218** (see Peruzzi 1966a:124-5).

Bibliography: Garrucci 1864 (*autopsy*); Garrucci 1871b:259; Garrucci *SIL* 557-558; Zvetaieff *IIM* 70*a-b*; Zvetaieff *III* 72a-b; Schneider 1886:107 ⟨30-31⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.3078*a-b*; Deecke 1888:193-6 ⟨62⟩; Conway 1897:380 ⟨335⟩; †Minasi 1894:221 (*autopsy*); Lindsay 1897:67-9 ⟨XXXVIII⟩; Dessau *ILS* 3083; Herbig *CIE* 8341 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:85-9 ⟨55⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.3078 *add.*; Bücheler 1921:2-3 ⟨2⟩; Taylor 1923:79-80; Bormann *CIL* XI.7483*a-b*; Marx 1928:123; Zmigryder-Konopka & Rozenberg 1936; Warmington 1940:124-5 ⟨151*a-b*⟩; Vetter 1953:309; Safarewicz 1955:186; Bassi 1957:69-70; Degrassi *ILLRP* 192; Linderski 1958:47-50; G. Giacomelli 1963:264-5 ⟨XIV*a-b*⟩; Peruzzi 1966a; Till 1976:24-27, 313; Pulgram 1978:205-7; De Rosalia 1978:39, 88-91 ⟨16⟩; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.364 *add.*; Wachter 1987:441-8; Girard 1989:167-9; Vine 1993:271; Zucca 1994:1488; Courtney 1995:34-5, 204-7; Kruschwitz 2002:127-38; Massaro 2007:128-9. ***Photographs:*** Herbig *CIE* 8341 (reproduced in *CIL* I^2.364, *CIL* XI.7483*a-b*); Bassi 1957 tav.XXXII.89a-b; Degrassi *ILLRP* tab. 93a-b; Peruzzi 1966*a* tav.II-III; Kruschwitz 2002:129-130 Abb.8-11. ***Drawing:*** Garrucci 1870 tav. no.1 (reproduced in Deecke 1888 Taf. III).

219. Incised on a travertin base (25×34.5 (incomplete)× 6 cm; letters 4.5 cm high), recut on the left, probably as a result of ancient reuse. The first editions were based on the apographs made in 1822 by Amati, and in 1865 by Mommsen: only in 1979 was the text published with a photograph, by Di Stefano Manzella. *c.*120-50.

[.·u]mpricius·c·f
[ ]aburcus·q·
[ap]olinei·dat

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. As Deecke suggested, it is not necessary to restore *aburcus* (*[c]aburcus* Bormann, Conway, Lommatzsch, Degrassi, G. Giacomelli). The *p* in *[u]mpricius* may be a reminiscence of the Faliscan spelling. For the gentilicium, cf. *upreciano* in MLF **363** and MLF **364**, and *umrie* Etr **XLIII,** all from the same tomb near Rignano Flaminio, and a *P. Umbricius Rufus* in *CIL* XI.3254 from Sutri.

Bibliography: (**I**) Mommsen & Henzen *CIL* I.1543*a*; Garrucci 1864:74. ***Transcription:*** Mommsen & Henzen *CIL* I.1543*a*. – (**II**) Mommsen 1865:313 (*autopsy*); Garrucci *SIL* 1879; Bormann *CIL* XI.3037; Deecke 1888:214 ⟨83⟩; Conway 1897:371 n.1; Dessau *ILS* 3217; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.1991; [Taylor 1923:78]; Safarewicz 1955:186; Degrassi *ILLRP* 47; G. Giacomelli 1963:263 ⟨X⟩. ***Drawing:*** Mommsen 1865 tav.R.3; – (**III**) Di Stefano Manzella 1979:81-4 ⟨25⟩; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.1991 *add.* ***Photograph:*** Di Stefano Manzella 1979:82 fig.34.

15.3. Inscriptions from tombs near the town

220-233 (the 'tombe Guidi'). The following inscriptions were discovered *in situ* in 1851 in two tombs near Falerii Novi, by Guidi, who copied them and then removed them to ransack the graves, leaving the tiles in the tomb. From his apographs the inscriptions were published by Orioli, the first Faliscan inscriptions to be published as such.[262] The tomb was visited in 1856 by Garrucci, who salvaged what was left and

[262] An unpublished apograph of **205**-**210** had already been made in or shortly before 1676; MF **79** had already been published in 1726, but as Etruscan.

republished the inscriptions from autopsy (1860); only later did he discover the *tituli priores* and published these as well (1864). After his death the tiles disappeared until 1912, when they were found by Nogara "in horreis musei Vaticani *di Scultura*" (Herbig *CIE* 8344-8353 *add.*) and relocated to the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Profano.

220. Painted in red on white stucco over three tiles, the third of which is known only through Guidi's apograph[263] (the remaining tiles measure 58×41 cm and 65×45 cm; letters 10-13 cm high). The loculus was reopened for the burial of Gavia Aconia: afterwards, the letters on the juncture of the tiles were repainted, and the fourth line added. Having been painted on dry plaster, these additions have largely disappeared.

[1]uo[2]ltio·uec[3]ineo
[1]ma[2]xomo [3]
[1]iun[2]eo·he:cu[3]pat
[1]caṛ[2]conia [3]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. *Pace* Garrucci (1864:65, *SIL* 800), Orioli's *ca aconia* and Detlefsen's (1861b:205) *ca·aconia* deserve the benefit of the doubt over Garrucci's *carconia* 'Gargonia' (adopted by all editors after him) even if there is no interpunct between the words. The gentilicum *Aconius*, attested from Latin inscriptions from the ager Faliscus may also be read in **(*)coṇẹo* LtF **290**, *aco[n]ẹo* LtF **327** and *aco[]nio* LtF **341**: see §7.8.1.*5*. The placing of the patronymic adjective after the cognomen is exceptional, and probably due to the fact that the cognomen was not yet a fixed element in the onomastic formula: see §7.9.

From autopsy in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Profano, Città del Vaticano (inv. 20814+ 20816); the tiles, expecially the second, are now much damaged, and parts are missing. ***Bibliography:*** **(I)** Orioli 1854:XXII ⟨10⟩. – **(II)** Garrucci 1860:273 ⟨7⟩ (*autopsy*); Detlefsen 1861a; Detlefsen 1861b (*autopsy*); Garrucci 1864:65; Fabretti *CII* 2451; Garrucci *SIL* 800; Zvetaieff *IIM* 58 (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *III* 60; Schneider 1886:106 ⟨20⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.3159,8; Deecke 1888:170-1 ⟨42⟩; Conway 1897:378 ⟨327⟩; Jacobsohn 1910:5 ⟨29⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8347; Nogara in Herbig *CIE* 8347 *add.* (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:65 ⟨25⟩; Vetter 1953:311 ⟨322d⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:94-6 ⟨121,IV⟩; Peruzzi 1963b:440-1, 445; Pisani 1964:339 ⟨144D⟩; G. Giacomelli 1978:534-5 ⟨12,IV⟩. ***Drawings:*** Garrucci 1860 tav. G.7; Garrucci 1864 tav. V.3 (reproduced in *CII* tab.XLIII, *IIM* tab. IX.2a, Deecke 1888 Taf.II, *CIE* 8347); Zvetaieff *IIM* tab.IX.2 (reproduced in *CIE* 8347).

221. Painted in red on plaster along the back of part of a tile and two complete tiles. Nogara, in 1912, found only fragments of the first and second tiles, which was indeed all I could find (max. 34×25 cm, max. 28-37×20-26 cm; letters *c.*10 cm high).

[1]uip[2]iazertene[3]a:loferta
[1]ma[2]rci:acar[3]celini
[1]ma[2]te:he:cupa [3]

[263] "Extant adhuc omnes tegulae (m. 0,64 a.); secunda in quinque partes diffracta est" (Nogara in Herbig CIE 8347 *add.*). This apparently refers to the *two* tiles salvaged by Garrucci rather than to the *three* tiles of the original inscription.

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Schulze, Vetter, and Knobloch maintained that *zertenea* is an adjective with *loferta*, 'a Sertinian freedwoman', but I doubt very much whether at this date the gentilicium could still be used in this way: cf. §4.4.11. The normal word-order in both Faliscan and Latin is noun - adjective (§8.5.1.), and in Latin this order is maintained when the gentilicium is used adjectivally, as in *uia Appia* or *pons Aemilius*. An instance of adjective - noun would be *noutrix paperia CIL* I^2.45, if interpreted as 'a nurse of the *gens Papiria*'. *Zertenea* is either Vibia's original gentilicium, or the gentilicium of the *gens* where she was a slave and which she adopted as a freedwoman.

From autopsy in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Profano, Città del Vaticano (inv. 20818+20819). ***Bibliography:*** **(I)** Orioli 1854:XXII ⟨11⟩. – **(II)** Garrucci 1860:272-3 ⟨6⟩ (*autopsy*); Mommsen 1860:451-6; Detlefsen 1861a; Garrucci 1864:66; Fabretti *CII* 2452; Garrucci *SIL* 802; Zvetaieff *IIM* 60 (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *III* 62; Schneider 1886:106 ⟨22⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.3159,5; Deecke 1888:164-7 ⟨39⟩; Conway 1897:377 ⟨324⟩; Von Planta 1897:588 ⟨319⟩; [Schulze 1904:513]; Jacobsohn 1910:5 ⟨25⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8344; Nogara in Herbig *CIE* 8344 *add.* (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:63-4 ⟨22⟩; Vetter 1953:310-1 ⟨322a⟩; Knobloch 1954:36-7; G. Giacomelli 1963:94-6 ⟨121,I⟩; Pisani 1964:338 ⟨143H⟩; Peruzzi 1963b:442-3; G. Giacomelli 1978:534-5 ⟨12,I⟩; Mancini 1981. ***Drawing:*** Garrucci 1860 tav.G.6 (reproduced in Garrucci 1864 tav.VI.1, *CII* tab.XLIII, *IIM* tab.IX.4, Deecke 1888 Taf.II, *CIE* 8344).

222-223. The *titulus prior* was painted in red on plaster across the backs of four tiles. I was able to find only the first tile (67×47.5 cm; letters *c.*10 cm high): Nogara, in 1912, still found all four, although apparently in a severely damaged condition. All that I could read on the tile was *ca*, the first letters of **222**.

[1]cau[i[2]a·]luecin[e][3]a·uotili[4]ạ
[1]mac[2]i:acace[3]lini:u[4]xo [4]

The *titulus prior* was later washed over and repainted with the *titulus posterior*, inside a crude decorative border.

[1]mar[2]cio:ac[3]arceli[4]nio
[1]cau[2]ia:u[3]ecine[4]a
[1]hẹ[2]ccupat [3] [4]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The third line is written small. Early editors read *hiu*; others conjectured *hi[c]* (Fabretti), *ḥẹ* (Zvetaieff, Conway, Pisani), *hẹç* (Herbig, Vetter), or *hec* (G. Giacomelli). The word is now illegible. Gavia Vicinia died first, and a new inscription was made when her husband was interred: *cupat* is a plural, *cupa(n)t*.

From autopsy in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Profano, Città del Vaticano (inv. 20800). ***Bibliography:*** **(I)** Orioli 1854:XXI ⟨5⟩. – **(II)** Garrucci 1860:274-5 ⟨11⟩ (*autopsy*); Detlefsen 1861a. ***Drawing:*** Garrucci 1860 tav.H.11. – **(III)** Garrucci 1864:66 (*autopsy*); Fabretti *CII* 2446; Garrucci *SIL* 803a-b; Zvetaieff *IIM* 61 (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *III* 63; Schneider 1886:106-7 ⟨23a-b⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.3159,2a-b; Deecke 1888:167-8 ⟨40⟩; Conway 1897:377-8 ⟨325a-b⟩; Jacobsohn 1910:5 ⟨26-27⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8345*a-b*; Nogara in Herbig *CIE* 8345*a-b add.* (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:64 ⟨23⟩; Vetter 1953:311 ⟨322b,A-B⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:94-6 ⟨121,IIa-b⟩; Peruzzi 1963b:435-40; Pisani 1964:338-9 ⟨144A,a-b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1978:534-5 ⟨12,IIa-b⟩; Mancini 1981. ***Drawing:*** Garrucci 1864 tav.VI.2 (reproduced in *CII* tab.XLIII, *IIM* tab.IX.5a, Deecke 1888 Taf.II, *CIE* 8345*a-b*); Zvetaieff 1885 tab.IX.5 (reproduced in *CIE* 8345*a-b*).

224-225. The *titulus prior* was painted in red on plaster (letters *c.*8-10 cm high) across the backs of three tiles (69×48 cm, 47×66 cm, and 49×68.5 cm). The tiles were then washed over and repainted with the *titulus posterior* (letters 9-12 cm high). In the process, the tiles were rearranged and what was originally the third tile placed in front, so that the *titulus prior*, when discovered, appeared as *uolti·ca·uecineo* | *ania he·cupatma* (cf. Garrucci 1864).[264] Why the inscription was repainted is unclear, as both inscriptions appear to refer to the same persons. The *titulus prior* is

[1]ca·u[2]ecineo[3][·]uoltio
[1]he·cu[2]pat[·]m{e}[3]ania

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. At the end of the first line a trace is clearly visible after *uolti*, as the drawing by Garrucci (1964) shows, and several scholars have therefore read *uolti·* (Garrucci 1864, Fabretti, Zvetaieff, Deecke, Bormann, Jacobsohn, Herbig). The tile shows ‘ ’, however, and reading *uoltio* is justified. In the second line, there is a letter on the edge of the second tile after the *m*: editors have read *miania* (Orioli) or *meania* (Garrucci 1864 and all later editors). The letter does not appear to be part of the repainted inscription (as in MF **220**), and is probably an error.

The *titulus posterior* is:

[1]ca·uec[2]ineo
[1]ca·ma[2]nia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with cursive *e* (ⅱ). The *c* of *ca · mania* is reversed, indicating a woman's name (§11.2.5.9).

From autopsy in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Profano, Città del Vaticano (inv. 20793+20789+ 26794). ***Bibliography:*** (I) Orioli 1854:XXII ⟨8⟩. – (II) Garrucci 1860:274 ⟨8⟩ (*autopsy*); Detlefsen 1861a. ***Drawing:*** Garrucci 1860 tav. H.8. – (III) Garrucci 1864:65-6 (*autopsy*); Fabretti *CII* 2449; Garrucci *SIL* 801; Zvetaieff *IIM* 59a-b (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *III* 61a-b; Schneider 1886:106 ⟨21a-b⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.3159,7a-b; Deecke 1888:171-3 ⟨43a-b⟩; Conway 1897:378 ⟨328a-b⟩; Jacobsohn 1910:5 ⟨30a-b⟩ Herbig *CIE* 8348; Nogara in Herbig *CIE* 8348 *add.* (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913 :65-5 ⟨26⟩; Vetter 1953:311-2 ⟨322e,A-B⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:94-6 ⟨121,Va-b⟩; Peruzzi 1963b:445; G. Giacomelli 1978:534-5 ⟨12,Va-b⟩. ***Drawing:*** Garrucci 1864 tav.V.4 (reproduced in *CII* tab. XLIII, *IIM* tab. IX.3a, Deecke 1888 Taf. II, *CIE* 8348); Zvetaieff 1885 tab. IX.3 (reproduced in *CIE* 8348).

226. Painted in red on plaster across the backs of four tiles, the fourth of which was missing already when Zvetaieff saw the tiles in 1880 (the remaining three measure 63×48.5 cm, 65×48 cm, and 68×47.5 cm; letters 8-15 cm high, but slightly less high in the second line, and only *c.*5 cm high in the third line).

[1]tito[:][2]acar[3]celini[4]o:
[1]ma:[2]fi·pop·[3]petrune[4]s·ce·f
[1][h]ecu[pa] [2] [3] [4]

[264] Fabretti's *uolti· ca·uecineo* | *ania ca·uecineo* | *ca·mania* is a curious mixture of the *titulus posterior* and the rearranged *titulus prior*.

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *n* is reversed. Garrucci read *pop* as part of the first name (*Maci. Pop* Garrucci 1860, *Pop* = 'Pop(lilia tribu)'[265] Garrucci 1864), but it is clearly part of the second, as was seen already by Mommsen and Detlefsen. This second name is a later addition: the letters are smaller, the interpunct is single instead of double, and the *e*'s in *petrunes* and *ce* are cursive. (The 'sagging' of the line after *pop* in Garrucci's and Zvetaieff's drawings is non-existent.) The initials of *pop* and *petrunes* are reversed, indicating a woman's name (§11.2.5.9), but *pop · petrunes* was first interpreted as such only by Herbig. The last line, written in small letters and with a non-cursive *e*, seems to belong to both inscriptions. Pisani read *ę* instead of *[h]e*, but there are no certain parallels for the omission of *h-* in Faliscan (§3.5.2).

From autopsy in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Profano, Città del Vaticano (inv. 20790+20805 +20794). ***Bibliography:*** **(I)** Orioli 1854:XXI ⟨2-3⟩. – **(II)** Garrucci 1860:275-6 ⟨12⟩ (*autopsy*); Mommsen 1860:199; Detlefsen 1861a; Detlefsen 1861b (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Garrucci 1860 tav.H.12. – **(III)** Garrucci 1864:66-7 (*autopsy*); Fabretti *CII* 2443-4; Garrucci *SIL* 804; Zvetaieff *IIM* 62 (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *III* 64; Schneider 1886:106 ⟨24⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.3159,1: Deecke 1888:169-70 ⟨41⟩; Conway 1897:378 ⟨326⟩; Von Planta 1897:588 ⟨320⟩; Jacobsohn 1910:5 ⟨28⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8346; Nogara in Herbig *CIE* 8346 *add.* (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:64-5 ⟨24⟩; Vetter 1953:311 ⟨322c⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:94-6 ⟨121,III⟩; Peruzzi 1963b:442,445; Pisani 1964:338-40 ⟨144E⟩; G. Giacomelli 1978:534-5 ⟨12,III⟩. ***Drawings:*** Garrucci 1864 tav.VI.3 (reproduced in *CII* tab.XLIII, *IIM* tab.X.1a, Deecke 1888 Taf.II, *CIE* 8346); Zvetaieff *IIM* tab.X.1 (reproduced in *CIE* 8346).

227. Painted in red on plaster along the backs of three tiles. Of the third tile, the left half, with the letters *us*, is known only through Guidi's apograph, and the right half had disappeared when Zvetaieff saw the inscription in 1880. The first tile is still intact (69×47.5 cm; letters 13-17 cm high): the second (54×40 cm) is broken in many pieces.

[1]pola[2]marc[3]ia:sus[?---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with reversed *s*. The *l* is . The *p* is reversed to indicate a woman's name (§11.2.5.9). *Sus* was explained by Garrucci as a cognomen 'Sus', but later editors rightly assumed that letters were missing (Herbig 1910 (cognomen?), Jacobsohn, Vetter (cognomen), G. Giacomelli (husband's name)). Perhaps *s uχ[or]* 'S(exti) uxor' could be read, with the second *s*, , read as *x*, cf. the *x* in LtF **301**.

From autopsy in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Profano, Città del Vaticano (inv. 20804+20817); I was unable to find the upper left-hand and the lower left- and right-hand corner of the second tile. ***Bibliography:*** **(I)** Orioli 1854:XXII ⟨6⟩. – **(II)** Garrucci 1860:274 ⟨9⟩ (*autopsy*); Detlefsen 1861a; Garrucci 1864:65; Fabretti *CII* 2447; Garrucci *SIL* 799; Zvetaieff *IIM* 57 (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *III* 59; Schneider 1886:106 ⟨19⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.3159,4; Deecke 1888:174-5 ⟨45⟩; Conway 1897:379 ⟨330⟩; Herbig 1910:187-8 ⟨26⟩; Jacobsohn 1910:5 ⟨32⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8350; Nogara in Herbig *CIE* 8350 *add.* (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:67 ⟨28⟩; Vetter 1953:312 ⟨322g⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:94-6 ⟨121,VII⟩; Peruzzi 1963b:435-40; G. Giacomelli 1978:534-5 ⟨12,VII⟩. ***Drawings:*** Garrucci 1860 tav.H.9 (reproduced in Garrucci 1864 tav.V.2, *CII* tab.XLIII, *IIM* tab. IX.1a, Deecke 1888 Taf.II, *CIE* 8350); Zvetaieff *IIM* tab.IX.1.

[265] Falerii belonged to the *Horatia* (§2.6.2); until the Social War the *Poplilia* comprised only Anagnia and the Hernici (Taylor 1960:49-52). If the citizenship was an individual grant, one would expect one of the South Etrurian tribes (*Arnensis*, *Sabatina*, *Stellatina*, or *Tromentina*).

228-229. The *titulus prior* (letters 14-17 cm high) was painted on plaster across the backs of four tiles (65×47.5 cm, 65.5×47 cm, 64×47.5 cm, 64×44 cm).

[1][------[2]-----[3]----[4]---]
[1][---]ṃ[2]arc[3]io

The first line is completely covered by the plaster on which is written the *titulus posterior*. The first legible letter in the second line is , probably an *m* (cf. *marcia* **227**): there is no reason to read *larcio* (Deecke 1888, Conway, Herbig, Pisani, G. Giacomelli).[266]

The *titulus prior* was later covered with plaster on which was painted the *titulus posterior* in red (letters 15-19 cm high).

cesu[2]la.ti[3]perili[4]a.tef

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with cursive *e* (II). The *c* is reversed to indicate a woman's name (§11.2.4). *Tiperilia* renders Latin *Tiberilia* in Faliscan alphabet: the Faliscan form would have been **Tiferilia* (cf. *tif* MLF **459**?). The *f*, , was read as a ligature *fe(lia)* or *fe(ilia)* by Garrucci (1864), but the 'sidebars' appear to be nothing more than random slips of the brush.

From autopsy in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Profano, Città del Vaticano (inv. 20803+20796+ 20790+20806). ***Bibliography:*** (**I**) Orioli 1854:XXI ⟨4⟩. – (**II**) Garrucci 1860:276-7 ⟨13⟩ (*autopsy*); Detlefsen 1861a; Detlefsen 1861b (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Garrucci 1860 tav.H.13. – (**II**) Garrucci 1864:64-5 (*autopsy*); Fabretti *CII* 2445; Garrucci *SIL* 798; Zvetaieff *IIM* 56 (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *III* 58; Schneider 1886:106 ⟨18a-b⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.3159,6a-b; Deecke 1888:173-4 ⟨44⟩; Conway 1897:378 ⟨329⟩; Jacobsohn 1910:5 ⟨31⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8349; Nogara in Herbig *CIE* 8349 *add.* (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:66 ⟨27⟩; Vetter 1953:312 ⟨322f⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:94-6 ⟨121,V1a-b⟩; Peruzzi 1963b:443; Pisani 1964:338-40 ⟨1431⟩; G. Giacomelli 1978:534-5 ⟨12,V1a-b⟩. ***Drawings:*** Garrucci 1864 tav.V.1 (reproduced in *CII* tab.XLIII, *IIM* tab.VII.11a, Deecke 1888 Taf. II, *CIE* 8349); Zvetaieff *IIM* tab.VIII.11 (reproduced in *CIE* 8349).

230. Painted in red on plaster along the back of two tiles, the second known only through Guidi's apograph (the other one measures 66×46.5 cm; letters 9-12 cm high).

[1]l·clipi[2]a[3?][io]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *l* is . The *p* is followed by the lower half of a shaft at the edge of the tile: in spite of Garrucci's drawings, nothing more can be read or restored on this tile, as Zvetaieff's drawing shows. After this, Garrucci restored an *a* from Guidi's apograph; in view of *clipear[io]* LtF **231** and *cl[i]peario* LtF **232** and *clipea‹r›io* MF **470*** I wonder whether a second shaft might have been overlooked, in which case *clipear[io* with a cursive *e* would be possible (thus Vetter). Following the *r*, Garrucci restored a vertical shaft from Guidi's apograph. The early editors read *clipiai*: Deecke was the first to read *clipiar* 'Clipear(ius)', a solution hinted at already by

[266] Pisani's description shows that he was unaware that the line belongs to a *titulus prior*.

Detlefsen (1861b). Herbig read *l·cḷipiṗ*(--)*, which suggests that letters were missing after the ones restored from Guidi's apograph.

From autopsy in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Profano, Città del Vaticano (inv. 20788). ***Bibliography:*** **(I)** Orioli 1854:XXII ⟨7⟩. – **(II)** Garrucci 1860:274 ⟨10⟩ (*autopsy*); Detlefsen 1861a; – **(II)** Garrucci 1864:67-8 (*new autopsy*); Fabretti *CII* 2448; Garrucci *SIL* 805; Zvetaieff *IIM* 63 (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *III* 65; Schneider 1886:106 ⟨25⟩; Deecke 1886:201-2; Bormann *CIL* XI.3159,3; Deecke 1888:1756 ⟨46⟩; Conway 1897:379 ⟨331⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8351; Nogara in Herbig *CIE* 8351 *add.* (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:312 ⟨322h⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:94-6 ⟨121,VIII⟩; Peruzzi 1963b:435; G. Giacomelli 1978:534-5 ⟨12,VIII⟩. ***Drawings:*** Garrucci 1860 tav.H.10 (reproduced in Garrucci tav.1864 VI.4, *CII* tab.XLIII, *IIM* tab.X.2, Deecke 1888 Taf.II, *CIE* 8351); Zvetaieff *IIM* tab.X.2; Nogara in *CIE* 8351 *add.*

231. Painted on plaster along the backs of two tiles and across a half-tile. Nogara, in 1912, found only the first two tiles, the second of which was broken in two; I was able to find only a half-tile whose form corresponds to that of the half-tile of this inscription (68.5 × max. 41 cm), but which no longer contains any legible letters. I present this inscription in two ways, as I think the text as presented in previous editions is based on an erroneous rearrangement of the tiles in antiquity.

Arrangement of the tiles as found, as in Garrucci's apograph:

tile A	*tile C*	*tile D (=B?)*
[1]***c·clipeaṛ***	[2]***heic***	[3]***plenes·q·f***
[1]***m·f·hariṣp***	[2]***cubat***	[3]
[1]***sorex q·*(*)ẹ***	[2]	[3]

Suggested original arrangement of the tiles before the interment of Plenes:

tile A	*tile B*	*tile C*
[1]***c·clipeaṛ***	[2]***[io]***	[3] ***heic***
[1]***m·f·hariṣp***	[2]***[ex·ce]***	[3] ***cubat***
[1]***sorex q·*(*)ẹ***	[2]***[---]***	[3]

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The third tile, which is painted in a different way and in a different hand, is clearly a later addition that should be read separately: it is useless to try to read all three tiles as one text, as did many of the earliest editors.

The arrangement of the tiles in all editions except mine follows Guidi's apograph, which depicted the tiles *in situ*. I believe that it is necessary to assume that this was *not* the original arrangement, but that the inscription originally consisted of a tile (A), a half-tile (B), and another tile (C), with an inscription pertaining to C. Clipearius alone. When these tiles were removed for the interment of Plenes, the first tile (A) and the

third (C) were replaced as the first and the second of 'new' inscription, and a half-tile with the epitaph of Plenes was added at the end (D): this may have been same as the half-tile from the original inscription (B). Irrespective of whether my suggestion is adopted, the inscription occupied three lines on two (or one) tiles, and was then continued by two lines on another: a similar arrangement as in LF **243** and LF **247**.

The first line on the first tile consists of *c·clipea* (with E), followed by the lower half of a shaft. The earliest editors read a dative or a nominative plural *clipeai*. This has rightly been abandoned in favour of *clipear[io]* (thus first Herbig), but in that case a tile *must* be missing between the first and the second tile, as Garrucci's drawings show that it is impossible to restore *[io]* either on the first or on the second tile.

The second line is *m·f·hara*, followed by traces of what are apparently two letters, given by Garrucci as ⊏I (Zvetaieff's and Nogara's drawings show only vague traces at the point of te second letter). After this, Garrucci restored an *a* from Guidi's apograph, which in his drawing he places between the first and the second tile; Orioli placed it on the second tile (*acubat*), which is impossible. The earliest editors read *harai*, but already Garrucci (1864) read *haracna*. The interpretations of this were mainly based on the interpretation of the erroneous *clipeai* in the first line. If we read *clipeaṛ[io]*, *haraçna* can only be a second gentilicium, but this appears to be indicative of the *libertus* (Rix 1963:376-8) and would be incompatible with the fact that the man was *cen]lsor* (as I read the *sor* in the third line).[267] Editors pointed to *harisp* in LtF **232**: Deecke (1886) interpreted *haracna* as *hara-gnā* 'haruspex', and Nogara in fact read *haraṣp* 'harasp(ex)', which has since then become the accepted reading. Since there are no parallels for the abbreviated *honores* in (Latino-)Faliscan inscriptions apart from the *q* in Lat **237-238**, it is preferable to read *haraṣp[ex*, which, again, requires a second tile.

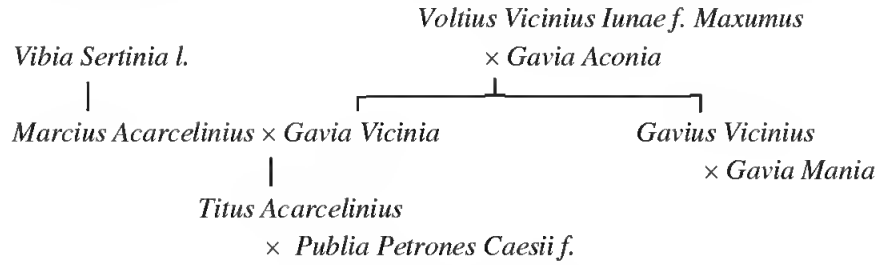
This assumption has interesting repercussions for the third line. This starts with *sorex·*, which Garrucci at first interpreted as a cognomen *Sorex* (cf. his *Locerta* in LF **221** and *Sus* in LF **227**). Detlefsen, however, extended Garrucci's interpretation of *harisp* | *sor* in LtF **232** as 'harisp(ex) Sor(rinus)' to this inscription, comparing the *augur Soranus* mentioned by Cicero (*Div.* 1.47.105). Deecke (1886) connected *sorex* to the name of Soracte, which was also known as *Sorax* (Porph. *in* Hor. *Carm.* 1.9.1-2) and its priesthood of the *Hirpi Sorani* (for which cf. §2.3.4). The very doubtfully attested (to say the least) Faliscan *sorex* now became a standard ingredient of the Faliscan vocabulary: so much so that Peruzzi even proposed an etymology for it that was not connected to the one on which the word was based in the first place (namely */sor-ag-s/ 'lot-shaker, cleromantis', adducing Liv. 22.1.11 for Faliscan cleromancy). If the existence of an original second tile is assumed, however, the second line could easily be read as *cen]lso rex*. Instead of a hypothetical *sorex* parallelled only by the

[267] I have considered reading a woman's name *h* (?) *arati[a]* (cf. MLF **348-351**). The order, man's name – woman's name – man's *cursus honorum*, would be paralleled by LF **249**.

fragmentary *sor* in LtF **232**, we would then have *cen]lso*, an office attested without ambiguities in *censo* in LtF **232**, and a *rex* as in MF **88** and perhaps in MF **249** (*re[x]*). The letters following *sorex·* were given by Garrucci first (1860) as 𐌒·𐌃, but later (1864) as 𐌒·𐌄𐌅𐌉. The *q* is often interpreted as *q(uaestor)* (as in Lat **237-238**), but what follows is unclear: Vetter read *c(ensor) VII*, but it is unlikely that a man could be *censor* seven times unless the office was quite different from its Roman counterpart (Peruzzi).

From autopsy in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Profano, Città del Vaticano (inv. 20792). ***Bibliography:*** **(I)** Orioli 1854:XXI ⟨1⟩. – **(II)** Garrucci 1860:277-9 ⟨14⟩ (*autopsy*); Detlefsen 1861a; Detlefsen 1861b (*autopsy*); Ritschl 1862:96-8; Mommsen & Henzen *CIL* I.1311; Garrucci 1864:67-8 (*autopsy*); Fabretti *CII* 2442; Garrucci *SIL* 806; Zvetaieff *IIM* 64 (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *III* 66; Schneider 1886:107 ⟨26⟩; Deecke 1886:201-2; Bormann *CIL* 11.3159; Deecke 1888:191-2 ⟨61⟩; Conway 1897:379 ⟨333⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8352; Nogara in Herbig *CIE* 8352 *add.*; Buonamici 1913:67-9 ⟨29⟩; Lommatzsch *CIL* I².1988-9; Vetter 1953:312-3 ⟨322i⟩; Safarewicz 1955:186 ⟨2⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:94-6 ⟨121,IX⟩; Peruzzi 1963b:435-40; G. Giacomelli 1978:534-5 ⟨12,IX⟩. ***Drawings:*** Garrucci 1860 tav.H.14 (reproduced in Ritschl 1862:97-8 fig.L); Garrucci 1864 tav.VI.5 (reproduced in *CII* tab.XLIII, *IIM* tab.X.3a, Deecke 1888 Taf.III, *CIE* 8352); Zvetaieff *IIM* tab.X.3 (reproduced in *CIE* 8352); Nogara in *CIE* 8352 *add.*

From these inscriptions, the following family tree has been reconstructed (reading the first line of LF **224** as *ca · uecineo[·]uolti ·* rather than as *ca · uecineo[·]uoltiṇ*):



The *pola marcia* in LF **227** and the *ṃarcio* in LF **228** are sometimes grafted onto this stemma as descendants of Marcius Acarcelinius, but the patronym from *Marcius* would be **Marcilius*, not *Marcius* (§7.5.2.2). Both may have belonged to a *gens Marcia*, or may have been children of a Marcus of whom we have no record. Perhaps this Marcus was the father of the slave-born Marcius Acarcelinius, who would then have received the patronym Marcius as his praenomen: note that a praenomen *Marcius* is not attested elsewhere. Peruzzi (1963b:441-6) pointed out how the stemma illustrates the social climbing of the Acarcelinii: Marcius, the son of a freedwoman, perhaps born while she was still a slave, since no mention is made of his father, marries the daughter of a *pater familias* whose imposing nomenclature and cognomen *Maxumus* clearly mark him as special. Their son marries a daughter of the Petronii, a gentilicium repeatedly encountered in the names of magistrates in inscriptions from Central Italy. The gentilicium *Acarcelinius* is a new formation, and Peruzzi suggested that it was derived from a toponym; A. Mancini (1981) derived it from an */akarkelom/ that would be equivalent to (but not necessarily identical with) the */okrikelom/ reflected by Latin *Ocriculum* and Umbrian */okriʃlom/ implied by Etruscan *ucrislane* Cl 1.2609, 2611-2613 etc.

The family relations of the L. Clipearius in LF **230** and the C. Clipearius in LtF **233** cannot be reconstructed. Peruzzi (1963b:435) claims that the L. Clipearius in LF **230** died before the C. Clipearius M. f. in LtF **231**, because the epitaph of the former is written in Faliscan and that of the latter in Latin alphabet, but the use of the two alphabets is not so strictly chronologically distributed that it can be used as an argument in this way. Deecke (1888:177) in fact used the argument in the reversed direction, as an illustration of how, over the generations, the originally Latin Clipearii became successively more Faliscanized. The family appears to have been Faliscan, however: an older member of the gens, *oufilo : clipeaio : letei : fileo*, now appears in MF **470***.

232-233. The following inscriptions were from a tomb adjacent to the one that yielded **215-231**. The *titulus posterior*, **233**, was painted in red on plaster along the back of two tiles. Where the plaster has crumbled away, traces of several previous inscriptions can be read, painted directly on the tile surface. These *tituli priores* are presented here as **232**. Nogara, in 1912, found both tiles, broken but still complete: I was unable to find the bottom left corner of the first extant part (38×37 cm) and the right part of the second tile (extant part 50×48 cm).

Fig.15.1. Garrucci's drawing of LF/LtF 232 and LF 233.

(From Herbig *CIE* 8353)

[?--------] [?---------]
harisp anco ma
sor * censo

m·cl[i] peario·m[f]
[----------]
[----------]or [

The *titulus posterior*, **233**, was written dextroverse in the Latin alphabet with cursive *a* (Λ) and *e* (Ⅱ). The last word *]or* may be *quaest]or*, *praet]or*, *cens]or*, or *ux]or*. Nothing now remains of this inscription, the plaster on which it was written having crumbled away apparently already in 1864 ("Ho cercato di sotto all'intonico sul quale si legge M·Clipeario, se si fosse un anterior leggenda, ma di essa ivi non vi ha vestigio alcuno",

Garrucci 1864:62) and certainly by 1880, when Zvetaieff drew the tiles. The *tituli priores* and the *titulus postumus* were read together by the earliers editors (thus still Deecke); the first to separate them clearly is Conway. Whether the *tituli priores* belong together is a different question.

The *tituli priores* on the first tile are dextroverse in the Latin alphabet with a curious *h*, ⋕, which has no parallels in other inscriptions from the area. *Harisp* is written against the edge of the tile: reading *harisp[ex]* would require another tile. The next line contains only *sor* (probably *cen]|sor*, as in LtF **231**: reading this would also require a second tile): Garrucci (1864) also read two shafts near the edge of the tile, which have been interpreted as a cursive *e* or as a numeral *II* (Vetter, who took them together with *censo* on the second tile), but neither Zvetaieff nor Nogara saw these shafts, and from what remains of this part of the tile it appears that they are drip-marks. Of the *tituli priores* on the second tile, *anco* and *ma* are sinistroverse, *ma* being written lower and smaller (the early editors erroneously read dextroverse *umbr*), while *censo* is dextroverse. The disappearance of the plaster that originally covered the space after the last letter shows that *censo*, not *censor*, is to be read. In my view, *harisp* and *sor* belong to the same text, while *censo*, *anco*, and *ma* belong to (three?) different inscriptions.

From autopsy in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Profano, Città del Vaticano (inv. 20815+ 20813). ***Bibliography:*** **(I)** Orioli 1854:XXII ⟨9⟩. – **(II)** Garrucci 1860:277-9 (*autopsy*); Detlefsen 1861a; Ritschl 1862:96-8; Mommsen & Henzen *CIL* I.1312. ***Drawing:*** Garrucci 1860 tav.H.15 (reproduced in Ritschl 1862:97-8 fig.M). – **(III)** Garrucci 1864:63 (*autopsy*); Fabretti *CII* 2450; Garrucci *SIL* 807; Zvetaieff *IIM* 65 (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *III* 67; Schneider 1886:106-7 ⟨27⟩; Deecke 1886:201-2; Bormann *CIL* XI.3518; Deecke 1888:190-1 ⟨60⟩; Conway 1897:379 ⟨332⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8353; Nogara in Herbig *CIE* 8353 *add.* (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:69 ⟨30⟩; Lommatzsch *CIL* 1^2.1988-9; Vetter 1953:313-4 ⟨323,A-B⟩; Safarewicz 1955:185 ⟨1⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:94-6 ⟨122⟩; Peruzzi 1963b:436-40, 443. ***Drawings:*** Garrucci 1864 tav.IV.3 (reproduced in *CII* tab.XLIII, *IIM* tab. VIII.10a, Deecke 1888 Taf.III, *CIE* 8353); Zvetaieff *IIM* tab.VIII.10 (reproduced in *CIE* 8353).

234-241 ('tomba degli Spurilii'). In 1891, several inscriptions in Faliscan and Latin alphabet were discovered in one of three third- or second-century tombs in Contrada Regoletti, *c.*1 km to the south of S. Maria di Falleri. Gamurrini's apographs contain some peculiar letter forms, which may at least partly be due to the severe damage sustained by the plaster on which the inscriptions were painted (cf. Gamurrini 1891:49). Vetter (1953:310) in fact called the apographs useless.

234. Painted in red on plaster on two tiles.

↑·ꟻPƎVI IRϮIꓘΛЯNI

[---?]^{2}*a*ḳit*^{3}ue*a·f

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *k* is unexpected: assuming that it represents /g/ (§11.2.4.2) does not provide a better text. A tile is probably missing at the beginning.

Bibliography: Gamurrini 1891 ⟨1⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8335; Bormann *CIL* XI.7500*a*; G. Giacomelli 1963:93-4 ⟨120,1⟩. ***Transcription:*** Gamurrini 1891:49 (reproduced in *CIE* 8335, *CIL* XI.7500*a*).

235. Painted in red on plaster on two tiles.

ⅡↃ·ЯIㅋII IIIRЯ·Ƨ·IIↃ

[1]ceịsịa*e[2][0-4?]i*ia·ce

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with cursive *e* (Ⅱ). Gamurrini's · on the place of the third and the fifth letters are perhaps to be read as *i*'s. The size of the lacuna is not indicated, but can apparently be anything between zero and four letters. The second sign after the lacuna is perhaps *l* or *n*. According to Gamurrini, no tiles are missing.

Bibliography: Gamurrini 1891 ⟨2⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8336; Bormann *CIL* XI.7500*b*; G. Giacomelli 1963:93-4 ⟨120,II⟩. ***Transcription:*** Gamurrini 1891:49 (reproduced in *CIE* 8336, *CIL* XI.7500*b*).

236. Painted in red on two tiles.

IƧıI IVЯ·Ↄ

[1]c·ạu[2][---]ị́si

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet? The gentilicium is *ru[---]* or *au[---]*. The size of the lacuna is not indicated. The last word is *ca]ị́si*, *ce]ị́si*, or *c]ẹ́si* (with a cursive *e*).

Bibliography: Gamurrini 1891 ⟨3⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8337; Bormann *CIL* XI.7500*c* (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:93-4 ⟨120,III⟩. ***Transcription:*** Gamurrini 1891:49 (reproduced in *CIE* 8337, *CIL* XI.7500*c*).

237. Painted over two tiles "con belle e grandi lettere" (Gamurrini 1891:49)

[1]m·spu[2]rilius·c·f
[1]bis·q[·][2]duo·uir

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. For the *cursus honorum*, cf. §2.3.3.

Bibliography: Gamurrini 1891 ⟨4⟩ (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.7501 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:310. ***Transcriptions:*** Gamurrini 1891:49; Bormann *CIL* XI.7501.

238. Painted on one tile is

c·spurilius
m·f·iiiiq·ii

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. Gamurrini's transcription (but not Bormann's) shows the second *i* of *spurilius* as small and written within the angle of the *l*. The second line was read by Gamurrini as 'Marci filius et quaestor iterum', but a filiation and a *honor* are hardly connected by *et*. Vetter read *III* [sic] *q(uaestor) II [uir]* (which requires a third tile). According to Bormann, the *i*'s are drip-marks rather than letters.

Bibliography: Gamurrini 1891:49 ⟨5⟩ (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.7502 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:310. ***Transcriptions:*** Gamurrini 1891:49; Bormann *CIL* XI.7502.

239. Painted in red on a tile.

m·pani[---]

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The gentilicium may have been *Panicius* (cf. Schulze

1904:203), or *pani[---]* may be a misreading for *paui[---]*, cf. *pauiceo* **12**, *paui[cio* **290**.

Bibliography: Gamurrini 1891:49 ⟨6⟩ (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.7503 (*autopsy*). ***Transcriptions:*** Gamurrini 1891:49; Bormann *CIL* XI.7503.

240. Painted in red on a tile (the second line in smaller letters according to Bormann).

[---]prae[tor ?---]
[---? duum]uir[?---]

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The second line, given as ИR/// by Gamurrini, was read as *uir* by Bormann. For the *cursus honorum*, cf. §2.3.3.

Bibliography: Gamurrini 1891:50 ⟨7⟩ (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.7504 (*autopsy*). ***Transcriptions:*** Gamurrrini 1891:50; Bormann *CIL* XI.7504.

241. Scratched on a small Etrusco-Campanian cup.

up

Dextroverse, with Γ.

Bibliography: Gamurrini 1891:50; Herbig *CIE* 8338; G. Giacomelli 1963:62 ⟨41,I⟩. ***Transcription:*** Gamurrini 1891:50 (reproduced in *CIE* 8338).

242-249 ('tomba dei Protacii' and 'tomba dei Tertinei'). The following inscriptions are from two tombs in the necropolis at località Pratoro, to the southeast of S. Maria di Falleri (see Renzetti Marra 1990:328). The first was discovered in April 1971, when it was blown open with dynamite by clandestine excavators: it yielded 72 tiles, 44 of which contained inscriptions. From this tomb, the 'tomba dei Protaci', are LF **242-246**.

A second tomb, discovered in September 1973, when it was likewise opened by clandestine excavators, appears to have contained *c.*35 tiles, inscribed in the Faliscan and the Latin alphabet: five of these were stolen on the day the tomb was discovered. From this second tomb, the 'tomba dei Tertinei', are LF **247-249**.[268] The publication of the material from these tombs has to my knowledge not progressed beyond the inscriptions presented here.

242. Painted in red on plaster across the backs of four tiles (each *c.*58×47 cm; letters c.7,5 cm high, but those of the third line are larger, *c.*7.5-12 cm).

[1][.]a·pr[2]otacio[3]·m·f·mạ[4]cistratu
[1]keset·cụ[2]estod·pi[3]·pretod·[4]pis
[1] cau[2]ia·ux[3]o·a·f [4]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with reversed *s*. The praenomen can be restored as the

[268] Reputedly from the same tomb (Renzetti Marra 1990:329) is a much later Latin inscription, which I quote here from *AÉ* 1982 (no.292): *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum).* | *Pisiuanae (mulieris) l(ibertae) Vitalini,* | *uix(it) annis XXX m(ensibus) II, C(aius) Lutaltius C(aii) f(ilius) Hor(atia tribu) Velitius Ianularius, Pisiuana (mulieris) l(iberta) Felicula* | *patrona, C(aius) Caesonius C(aii) f(ilius)* | *Priscus uir coniugi dulcissimae fec(erunt).*

very frequent *[c]a* or the less frequent *[l]a* (probably not as *[m]a*, as *Marcus* is here abbreviated as *m*). *Keset* shows the use of *k* to represent /g/ (§11.2.4.2). The formula *ma cistratu* | *keset* corresponds to the Latin expression *magistratum gerere* (cf. *TLL* 6.2 1939.1-1940.56): Renzetti Marra notes that this need not imply that it was taken over from Latin (and certainly not that the words or the perfect formation of *keset* did not pre-exist in Faliscan): on the other hand, the lexicon pertaining to officials and magistrates is virtually completely Latin (§6.3.*6*). The *-d* in *cuestod* and *pretod* is found also in *pretod* LF **214** and probably renders a weakened /-r/, an alveolar flap [ɾ]: see §3.5.7*b*. The third line, which is slightly larger, may have been added later: it provides the only instance of a woman being described as *uxor* instead of as HUSBAND$_{GEN}$ *uxor*, since the husband had already been named in the other Faliscan inscriptions, HUSBAND$_{GEN}$ *WIFE* is used only when the woman was *not* buried together with her husband: see §7.4.2.

Bibliography: Renzetti Marra 1990:333-4, 339-40 ⟨P labcd⟩ (*autopsy*); Mancini 2002:35-42. ***Drawing:*** Renzetti Marra 1990:334.

243. Painted in red on plaster across the back of a damaged tile (63×43 cm; letters *c.*8 cm high).

]kese[	probably:	***[1-2][..·protac]***	***[3]kese[4]tduum]***
]uiru·p[		***[1-2][io·..·f·ma]***	***[3]uiru·p[4]reto]***
]rcues[		***[1-2][cistratu]***	***[3]rcues[4]tor]***

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with reversed *s*. The *r* has the form Я, which is normally used for *a* (§11.2.4.2). The word *kese[t* and the elements of the *cursus honorum* show that the text was similar to that of LF **242**, but with the *honores* arranged in decreasing order of importance. The arrangement of the text is peculiar. The position of *kese[t* in the first line precludes the restoration *[.·protacio·.·f·macistratu·]kese[t*, as this would require an inscription of five or six tiles, which would be too large to fit the loculus, and too large for even the most extensive *cursus* to fill the other lines: comparison with the other *cursus* (see §2.3.3) shows that before *duum]uiru* one can expect at most *rex* and *censor* (and perhaps a priesthood, as in LtF **231**), and between *duum]uiru* and *cues[tor* only *pretor*, while some of the *honores* may have been followed by a numeral or words like *pis*. Assuming a reversed formula *kese[t · macistratu* leaves similar gaps in the *cursus*, whether a tile is assumed to be missing at the end or not:

[.·protacio·.·f·]kese[t·macis]	or	*[.·protacio·.·f·]kese[t]*
[tratu·.....duum]uiru·p[reto]		*[macistratu·duum]uiru·**
[----------]rcues[tor])		*[----------]rcues*
		[tor]

It would therefore appear that the inscription ran for three lines across two tiles and then for another three across two other ones. I have assumed similar arrangements in LF **247** and LtF **231**. For the *cursus honorum*, see §2.3.3.

Bibliography: Renzetti Marra 1990:333-4,340 ⟨P 9⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Renzetti Marra 1990:333.

244. Painted in red on plaster along the length of the back of a tile (67×47 cm; letters *c.*12 cm high).

[---p]rotacio[---]
[---o]stro-pro[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with reversed *s*. The use of - as an interpunct is unique. For *o]stro* cf. *]ostr[o* in LF **245**. Renzetti Marra reads *po]stro . pro[* with a *po]stro* 'dietro', referring to a double interment, followed by "un *pro[* elemento architettonico di cui è data la localizzazione". I doubt whether this is possible. The syncopation in *po]stro* is not a regular in Faliscan phonology (§3.6.6.2): also, *pro[---]* would apparently refer to (the place in) the loculus, while placing a body *before* another is described by *anteponat* in Lat **251**. There appears to be no Latin word that fits the text except *no]stro* or *uo]stro*;[269] the ocurrence of *ostr[o* after the *cursus honorum* in LF **245** shows that it is not a cognomen. *Pro[---]* may be part of a woman's name, e.g. *pro[tacia]*.

Bibliography: Renzetti Marra 1990:338 ⟨P 12⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Renzetti Marra 1990:338.

245. Painted in red on plaster on a tile fragment (max. 30×26 cm; letters *c.*8-9 cm high).

[-----]*[---]
[---c]ues[tor---]
[---]ostr[o---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with reversed *s*. For the *cursus honorum*, see §2.3.3. For the interpretation of *[---]ostr[o---]*, see LF **244**.

Bibliography: Renzetti Marra 1990:338 ⟨P 15⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Renzetti Marra 1990:338.

246. Renzetti Marra mentions an "*Ekn* = *Egnat[* testimoniata nella tegola P 19" (1990:339), which provides another instance of the Late Faliscan use of *k* to render /g/ (cf. §11.2.5.2).

Bibliography: Renzetti Marra 1990:339 ⟨P 19⟩ (*autopsy*).

247. Painted in red on plaster across the back of a tile (68×47 cm; letters 13 cm high).

[1][---]²f·cue[3][stor]
[1][---]²pret[3][or]
[1][---]²duum[3][uir]
[1][---]²*ar*[3][---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The arrangement of the *cursus honorum* seems to indicate that the man's praenomen and gentilicium followed by the filiation, occupied three or four lines on a missing tile, after which the text continued with three more lines on two more tiles. I have assumed a similar arrangement for LtF **231** and LF **242**. The last line may have contained the name of a woman. For the *cursus honorum*, see §2.3.3.

[269] The only candidates from a formal point of view are *austrum/ostrum*, *claustrum/clostrum*, *plaustrum/plostrum*, and *rostrum*.

Bibliography: Renzetti Marra 1990:332-4 ⟨T 20⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Renzetti Marra 1990:332.

248. Painted in red on plaster across the back of a tile (70×48 cm; letters *c.*8-9 cm, those of the third and fourth line being smaller).

[--------]er[---]
[---]o[·]spuṛ[ilio]
[.f·pre]tor·ii·duu[muiru]
[---------]*[---------]***

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with reversed *s* and cursive *e*. The contents of the first line are unclear: the main epitaph seems to have started in the second line, which is slightly larger than the others. It contained the name of a man *[---]o[·]spuṛ[ilio* with a gentilicium occurring also in Lat **237-238**. The size of the letters suggests that if only one tile is missing at the end, the filiation must have stood at the beginning of the third line. The *cursus honorum* then consisted only of *pre]tor · ii* and *duu[muiru]*: see §2.3.3.

Bibliography: (*autopsy*) Renzetti Marra 1990:332 ⟨T VIb⟩. ***Drawing:*** Renzetti Marra 1990:332.

249. Painted in red on plaster across the back of a tile (58×55 cm; letters *c.*13-14 cm high, but those of the third line only *c.*6 cm).

[---]*o·c·f
[---]*lia·c·f
[duu]n̥uiru·rẹ[x]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with cursive *e* (ll). The arrangement of the text, with apparently a man's name in the first line, a woman's name in the second, and a *cursus honorum* in the third, is unique. Of great importance is the word *rẹ[x* (of the *e* only the upper parts of the shafts are preserved), which has also been read in MF **90**, and can in my view also be read in LtF **231**. For the *cursus honorum*, see §2.3.3.

Bibliography: Renzetti Marra 1990:333 ⟨T 22⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Renzetti Marra 1990:333.

250. Also from Pratoro ('tenuta De Ferro') is a Latin inscription painted on a tile. *AÉ* 1982 (no.286) gives the text as *Pu(blius) Fuluius C(aii) f(ilius)* | *C(aii) n(epos) Suto(r) diem* | *suo obiet a(nte) d(iem) X k(alendas) Dec(embres),* | *C(aio) Atilio (et) Q(uinto) Seruio* (pour *Seruilio?) co(n)s(ulibus).* The omission of *-r* in *Suto* and *-m* in *suo*, and the *e* in *obiet* are in accordance with Faliscan as well as with 'rustic Latin'. *Seruio* for *seruilio* is an error rather than a palatalization /l̥i̯/ → /i̯/ (as Renzetti Marra explains it): see §3.5.5.*3*. The consuls are those of 106 BCE.

Bibliography: †Pulcini 1974:138; [Renzetti Marra in G. Giacomelli 1978:508] †Di Stefano Manzella 1981:156 ⟨40⟩; Renzetti Marra 1990:327,329. ***Drawing:*** Renzetti Marra in †Pulcini 1974:138

251. Cut in the back wall of the portico of a tomb (height *c.*110 cm; letters 12-14 cm high) along the ancient road between Falerii Novi and Falerii Veteres near the Fosso dei Tre Camini, i.e. also from Pratoro. The inscription was detached and brought to the

Museo di Villa Giulia somewhere between 1878 (when Bormann saw it *in situ*) and 1898 (when, according to Herbig, Pauli saw it in the museum).

l·uecilio·uo·f·et
po[l]ae·abelese
lectu·i·datuș
[·]uecilio·l·f·eț·plenese
lectu·i·amplius·nihil
inuiteis·l·c·leuieis·l·f
et·quei·eos·parentaret
ne·anteponat

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The first four letters of *amplius* are written as ligatures ΑΛ and Ꝑ . Henzen's reading (used by Dennis and Noël des Vergers),[270] was substantially improved upon by autopsies by Garrucci (for which cf. also Michaelis) and Ritschl. (Safarewicz erroneously has *e[.]* in the first line and *polae* in the second.). – *Lectus* is apparently the *terminus technicus* for the loculus (§6.3.*39*): cf. *lete* **285**, *let* **361**, and perhaps *l[.....]* MF **17**. *Plenese* is the dative of the Etruscoid feminine *plenes* found in LtF **231** from near S. Maria di Falleri: see §9.2.2.*2d*. *Abelese*, on the other hand, rather reprents *Abelle(n)sei*. *Parentaret* is *parentarit* = *parentauerit*. The phrase *amplius ... anteponat* can only be interpreted as a prohibition against unauthorized burials in the reserved loculi (Henzen, Garrucci 1860:280-1), although the syntax is obscure due to the double negation *nihil ... ne* (for which cf. *LHS* II pp.802-5), and by the absence of a subject for *anteponat*, probably to be solved by assuming an implicit *nemo* as the subject. Warmington, the only editor who provides a translation, increased the difficulties by reading *Amplius nihil* | *inviteis L. C. Levieis L. f.* | *et quei eos parentaret;* | *ne anteponat* 'Nothing further may be done against the wish of Lucius Levius and Gaius Levius, sons of Lucius, and of him whose duty it is to make sacrifices to their souls. Let no one place a body in front of these dead'. The language is (late) second-century Latin without specifically Faliscan dialect features, except perhaps for the omission of *-s* in *lectu*, which would fit Faliscan well (§3.5.7*d*).

Bibliography: [Dennis 1844 (*autopsy*)]; Henzen 1844 (*autopsy*); Dennis 1847:132 (*autopsy*); Garrucci 1860:279-81 ⟨16⟩; Michaelis 1862:346* (*autopsy*); Ritschl 1862:52; Noël des Vergers 1864:144 n.1; Garrucci 1864:73-4 (*autopsy*); Mommsen & Henzen *CIL* I.1313; Garrucci *SIL* 1880; Dennis 1878:99-100; Schneider 1886:107 ⟨29⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.3160 (*autopsy*); Deecke 1888:211-2 ⟨81⟩; †Lattes 1895:242; Conway 1897:381 ⟨336⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8334 (*autopsy*); [Weege in Helbig 1913:381]; Buonamici 1913:84-5 ⟨54⟩; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.1990; Warmington 1940:44-5 ⟨94⟩; Vetter 1953:310; Safarewicz 1955:186 ⟨4⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:263-4 ⟨XIII⟩. ***Photograph:*** Herbig *CIE* 8334; *FI* II.1 p.397 fig.238. ***Drawing:*** Brunn in Ritschl 1862 tab.LIX,B.

[270] The publication of this inscription earned the then still unknown Henzen the praise of Emil Braun: "[Er hat] eine sehr schöne Arbeit gemacht und sehr unangenehme Schwierigkeiten überaus glücklich gelöst. Er wird ein sehr guter Epigraphist werden." (letter dated 13.V.1844, quoted in Kolbe 1979:535).

252. Scratched in a bucchero plate (∅ 9 cm) found "prope Falerios novos *(strada provinciale* NOG.)" (Herbig *CIE* 8354).

la

Ductus and alphabet are not given.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8354; G. Giacomelli 1963:62 ⟨41,II⟩.

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THE WALLS OF FALLERI, FROM THE EAST.

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Chapter 16

Corchiano and the northern ager Faliscus

16.1. The sites of the northern ager Faliscus

Of the sites in the northern ager Faliscus, Corchiano is the largest. In spite of its obvious local importance, its history or indeed its ancient name is unknown (see §2.1.2). The site at Corchiano seems to have been abandoned in the third century, in all likelihood as a result of the war of 241 (Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:116). The inscriptions from Corchiano (§16.2, **253-301**) are therefore categorically classed as Middle Faliscan unless there is evidence pointing to a different period. A substantial number of inscriptions are from the smaller settlements of the northern ager Faliscus, at Vignanello (§16.3, **302-323**), Fabbrica di Roma (§16.4, **324-328**), Carbognano-Vallerano (§16.5, **329-337**), the site at Grotta Porciosa (§16.6, **338-356**), and the area near Gallese and Borghetto (§16.7, **356-359**). Contrary to the sites at Civita Castellana and Corchiano, there are clear archaeological and epigraphical data that point to a continued habitation after the war of 241-240. The inscriptions from the late tombs of the *gens Velminaea* at Vignanello (MLF **305-323**) and of *gens Folcosia* at Carbognano-Vallerano (LF **329-337**), and the presence of inscriptions in Latin alphabet at Fabbrica di Roma (LtF **325-328**) and the Grotta Porciosa site (LtF **340-345**) imply that these sites survived into period after 240. Vetter (1953:278) regarded most of the inscriptions from the smaller sites as belonging to this later period: in my view, this is true of at least 19 out of the 61 inscriptions from the northern ager Faliscus (LF **328-337**, and LtF **325-327** and **340-345**). The ceding to Rome of half the ager Faliscus after the war of 241 BC will certainly have had considerable effect on the language of the surviving sites in that area. It cannot be established with which of the smaller sites was included in the area ceded to Rome: it is likely that this comprised the Grotta Porciosa site with its strategic location near the crossing of the Tiber, but perhaps not the sites at Vignanello and Carbognano-Vallerano (§2.6.2).

16.2. Corchiano and surroundings

16.2.1. Corchiano. Corchiano is the largest site of the ager Faliscus after Civita Castellana, and the main site of the north-western ager Faliscus. It has been named as a possible candidate for Fescennium (§2.1.2). Like many South Etrurian sites, it is located

on a plateau surrounded on three sides by steep gorges, in the case of Corchiano those of the Rio Ritello and Rio delle Pastine to the north and the Rio Fratta to the south, meeting on the east side of the town. On the western side the resulting plateau, known as 'Il Vallone', was fortified with a trench and a wall (see Buglione di Monale 1887a with map tav.III, Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:111-8, and *FI* II.2 pp.214-9 with map II.1 p.53). It seems to have been abandoned in the third century, probably a result of the war of 241 (Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:116). Most of the inscriptions from the town itself were discovered during the excavations of the necropoles on the Il Vallone plateau in the 1880s and 1890s; others have been discovered at various dates in the environments of the town (cf. Bazzichelli 1885, Cozza 1886, Buglione di Monale 1887a, and *FI* II.2 pp.214-321). The inscriptions from Corchiano show a relatively large number of Etruscan features (Cristofani 1988, Peruzzi 1964c, 1990: see §9.2.3.

16.2.2. The necropoles of the Il Vallone plateau. The tombs at Corchiano are spread out over the Il Vallone plateau to the west of the site of the Faliscan town. The various parts of what is in fact one large necropolis are usually referred to as the *first* necropolis of Il Vallone, excavated in 1886 (*FI* II.2 pp.245-56), the *second* necropolis of Il Vallone or Fondo Piergentili necropolis, excavated in 1887 (*FI* II.2 pp.257-71), part of which, referred to as the *third* necropolis of Il Vallone, was excavated in 1893 or 1894 (*FI* II.2 pp.272-81), the *first* necropolis of S. Antonio or Fondo Marcucci necropolis, excavated in 1886-1888 (*FI* II.2 pp.283-96), and the *second* necropolis of S. Antonio or 'scavi Perez', excavated in 1892-1893 (*FI* II.2 pp.297-304).

253-255. Scratched on vessels from tomb I4 of the first necropolis of Il Vallone.

ae

an

ni

Sinistroverse, with cursive *a* (Λ) and *e* (ǁ).

Bibliography: Cozza 1886:155 (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8383c-d,g; *FI* II.2 p.253 (*autopsy*). ***Transcription:*** Cozza 1886:155 (reproduced in *CIE* 8383c-d,g).

256. Stamped, together with a running horse, on a terracotta strigilis apparently from tomb I8 of the first necropolis of Il Vallone (cf. *FI*).

vce

Dextroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The *v* is ⊏.

Bibliography: [Weege in Helbig 1913:379 (*autopsy*)]; twice in *FI* II.2 pp.254-5 (*autopsy*). ***Transcriptions:*** *FI* II.2 p.254 (twice).

257-258. From tomb 11 of the second necropolis of Il Vallone.

257. Scratched along the length of a damaged tile (max. 46×42 cm; letters 2.5-3 cm high).

aruz:cesie:aruto

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with reversed *s*. *Aruz* with *-z* represents [arrũ:s] rather than [arrũ:ᵗs]: for the use of *-z*, cf. §3.5.3. In *cesie*, the first *e* is shown as 𐌉. The reading of the penultimate letter of this word, 𐌉 in Nogara's drawing, is debated: Herbig, Jacobsohn, and G. Giacomelli, with some hesitation, read *cesve*, but Vetter and Cristofani rightly doubt the likelihood of a *v* in an inscription otherwise in Faliscan alphabet. Vetter, assuming that the lower sidebar of this letter was accidental, proposed *cespe* (i.e., 𐌑 instead of 𐌉); assuming that both sidebars are accidental (𐌉 instead of 𐌉) would give *cesie*, for which cf. *cesies* or *ceises* MF **265** and *ceises* Etr **XXXIV**, both from Corchiano. Herbig and Vetter considered joining this tile to MF **258**. See §9.2.3*a*.

Bibliography: Herbig 1904b:518-9 ⟨60⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig 1910:90-1 ⟨10⟩; Jacobsohn 1910:6 ⟨42⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8392; Vetter 1953:318 ⟨332⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:103 ⟨138⟩; Peruzzi 1964c; *FI* II.2 p.264 (*autopsy*); Cristofani 1988:18-9; Peruzzi 1990. ***Drawings:*** Nogara in Herbig 1904b Taf.IV (reproduced in *CIE* 8392); *FI* II.2 p.264.

258. Scratched along the length of a tile[271] (66×48 cm; letters only 3-4 cm high).

[1][---]²uenelies:sapnonia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with reversed *s*. The drawings show the *e* as 𐌇 (cf. the similar *e* in MF/Etr **64** and MLF **285**), perhaps a slip. The last two letters are written under the line in boustrophedon. According to Herbig (1904), the *t*, a 𐌕 with a very slight sidebar, could also be an *i*; all editors have read *uenelțes*, however, usually regarding this as a gentilicium derived from the Etruscan praenomen *Venel*. Vetter (1953:443) hesitatingly interpreted this *uenelțes* as a patronymic adjective, which may not be impossible, although in that case the formation is non-Faliscan (§7.5.2). Reading *uenelies* on the other hand gives a form that could very well be a Faliscan patronymic adjective or a gentilicium derived from *Venel* with the 'Etruscoid' ending *-ies* (§9.2.2). *Sapnonia* is a clearly a woman's gentilicium, although the name itself is not attested elsewhere: Peruzzi suggests that it may be connected to *Sabin-*. See also §9.2.3*a*.

A tile is certainly missing at the beginning of the text. Herbig, Nogara (in Herbig *CIE*), and Vetter considered the possibility that this might be MF **257**, but in view of the different shapes of the *e*, I hesitate to adopt this view; neither is it clear how the text resulting from joining the two should be interpreted ('Arruns Caesies son of Arruns Veneltes/Venelies'? 'Arruns Caesies son of Arruns son of Venel'?).

Bibliography: Herbig 1904b:519 ⟨61⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig 1910:195 ⟨36⟩; Jacobsohn 1910:6 ⟨45⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8393; Buonamici 1935:344; Vetter 1953:318 ⟨333⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:103 ⟨139⟩; Peruzzi 1964c; *FI* II.2 p.264 (*autopsy*); Cristofani 1988:18-9; Peruzzi 1990. ***Drawing:*** Nogara in Herbig 1904b Taf. IV (reproduced in *CIE* 8393).

[271] The *FI* author erroneously refers to the object as an 'embrice'.

259-260. Scratched inside[272] two Campano-Etruscan cups (height 8 cm, ∅ 12 cm; letters 3-4 mm high) from tomb 12 of the second necropolis of Il Vallone.

licinio

licinio

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. In **259** *l* is ⅃, in **260** it is ⅃.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8395-8396 (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.8124,18; Lommatzsch *CIL* I².2657; Vetter 1953:324 ⟨346⟩; Safarewicz 1955:185; G. Giacomelli 1963:64 ⟨49,I-II⟩; *FI* II.2 p.266 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8395-8396.

261-262. Scratched inside a plate (height 55 mm, ∅ 125 mm; letters 2.5 mm high) and a black-varnished saucer (height 7 mm, ∅ 123 mm; letters 2 mm high) ascribed to the second necropolis of Il Vallone by Herbig, but not mentioned in *FI*.

uli

uli

Sinistroverse, Faliscan (?) alphabet. Herbig read the text as *u(e)li*, which G. Giacomelli interpreted as the genitive of **Velus*, a thematized form of the Etruscan praenomen *Vel* (cf. *uelos* in EF 4?): a genitive **u(e)li(s)* is unlikely, as the consonant-stem genitive ending is *-o(s)* (§4.5.2). Perhaps *uli* is a genitive or abbreviation of *Vollius* (*uolḷia* MF **47**, *uoll[---]* MF **86**) or *Ullius* (cf. Schulze 1904:426).

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8394 and 8587 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:324 ⟨345a-b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:64 ⟨48,I-II⟩. ***Drawings:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8394 and 8587.

263-264. The following inscriptions are from tomb 22 (Benedetti's tomb 3) of the 'third necropolis of Il Vallone'. From the same tomb is a mirror with *aχle aivas* Etr **XXXIII**.

Fig.16.1. Herbig's tracing of MLF 263.

(From *CIE* 8415.)

263. Scratched in a small cup or saucer with a high, decorated rim (height 4 cm, ∅ rim 7 cm; letters 5-8 mm high).

cęsit:fere

[272] Thus Herbig, from autopsy; Bormann and Lommatzsch place the inscription under the foot.

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The second letter is either an *e* (Herbig *CIE*) or an *a* (Thulin, Herbig 1910): it cannot be taken together with the *s* as an *r* (as does Danielsson in Herbig *CIE*). The fifth letter is certainly a *t* (Thulin, Herbig 1910), not an *f* (Herbig *CIE*). This renders impossible Herbig's *cęsif : fere* = *fere cesi f(ileo) :* (*CIE*, adopted by Vetter and G. Giacomelli), a reading which is in any case improbable, as the words are arranged in two-thirds of a circle with the empty one-third between *fere* and *cesit*. I wonder whether *cęsit* could not be a verb, cf. *keset* LF **242**, *kese[t* LF **243**, but I am at a loss how this would make a coherent text.

From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 6395). ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:270 (*autopsy*); Herbig 1910:193 ⟨33⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8399; Vetter 1953:325 ⟨348⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:62 ⟨42⟩; *FI* II.2 p.275 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8399.

264. Scratched under a black-varnished saucer (height 4 cm, ∅ 12.8 cm; letters 6 mm high) from a woman's grave (Cristofani). First half of the fourth century.

hermana

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The *h* is (reversed?) 𐌇; the *a*'s are 𐌀. The text is generally regarded as Etruscan on account of the Etruscan *r*, 𐌓; morphologically, it could as well be Faliscan.

Bibliography: Herbig 1910:189 ⟨28⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8400; Vetter 1953:325 ⟨348a⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:62 ⟨43⟩; *FI* II.2 p.275 (*autopsy*); Cristofani 1988:17,23 ⟨12⟩; Rix *ET* Fa 2.13. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8400.

265-266. The following inscriptions are from tomb 7 (Benedetti's tomb IX) of the first necropolis of S. Antonio.

265. Painted on two tiles. Known only through apographs by Helbig and Manzielli, and Nogara's copy of the apograph in the Museo di Villa Giulia inventories.

poplia:calitenes
aronto:cesies
lartio:uxor

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Helbig's apograph has *popia* (thus Lignana, Conway, Bormann, and Pisani) and *ceises* (thus Lignana); most editors read *poplia* and *cesies* on the strength of the apographs by Manzielli and Nogara (*ceisies* Conway). According to Helbig's apograph, the first *t* is 𐌕, but the others 𐌔; in Nogara's, they are all 𐌕. The syntax of this text is awkward. The simplest solution is to take *lartio* as a unique instance of a patronymic adjective within the formula HUSBAND$_{GEN}$ *WIFE* (thus Gamurrini in Lignana, Deecke, Bormann, Vetter, G. Giacomelli, and Peruzzi): see §7.4.2 and §9.2.2.*4*. Buonamici's alternative, in which Publia is the *daughter* of Arruns Calitenes and *wife* of Lars or Lartio Caesius, requires two instances of postponed praenomina, for which there are is only one Faliscan parallel, *fasies : caisia* MF **41**.[273] The problem,

[273] Entirely improbable is Lignana's 'Poplia di Calitene, Arunzio di Cesio, Lartio e la moglie'.

however, is that *lartio* is a nominative where a genitive would be expected: I very much doubt that *lartio* is a genitive *lartio(s)* from a nominative *larti*, as Herbig, Vetter, and G. Giacomelli interpreted it. Although it is not impossible, an Etruscan or Etruscoid nominative *larti* would be expected to be declined as an i-stem, taking a genitive *larte(s)* (§4.5.2) just like *feliçinate(s)* MF **42**. Perhaps the nominative *lartio* was used by mistake because the *cesies* that precedes it could be used both as nominative and as genitive (Peruzzi 1964c:337, §9.2.2.*4*). Pisani's idea that the patronymic adjective *lartio* was used here instead of the genitive because it is an alternative to the genitive in FILIATION is very perhaps possible, but not attractive: if *cesies* | *lartio : uxor* is to mean 'the wife of Lars Caesius', one would of course expect *lartia* and not *lartio*.

Bibliography: Lignana 1887a:199-201; Deecke 1888:185-7 ⟨56⟩; Conway 1897:383 ⟨345⟩; Herbig 1910:91-101 ⟨12⟩; Jacobsohn 1910:6 ⟨39⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8387; Buonamici 1913:75 ⟨43⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.7513; Ribezzo 1930:98-9; Vetter 1953:318 ⟨334⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:101 ⟨132⟩; Pisani 1964:337 ⟨143F⟩; Peruzzi 1964c:229-32; *FI* II.2 p.288 (*autopsy*); Cristofani 1988:17-8; Peruzzi 1990:282. ***Transcriptions:*** Helbig in Lignana 1887:199 (reproduced in Deecke 1888 Taf. III, *CIE* 8387);[274] Nogara in *CIE* 8387.

266. Scratched on a tile. Known only through apographs by Helbig and Manzielli.

uelturꞏtetena
aruto

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. In Helbig's apograph the *t* is 𐌕; in the others, it is is 𐌕. *A* is given as 𐌀. *Tetena* may be the same name as *Tettius* in MF **41**: see §7.8.1.*12-153* and §9.2.3*b,f*.

Bibliography: Lignana 1887a:201; Deecke 1888:188 ⟨57⟩; Conway 1897:527 ⟨28*⟩; Herbig 1910:91 ⟨11⟩; Jacobsohn 1910:6 ⟨38⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8388; Buonamici 1913:76 ⟨44⟩; Vetter 1953:318 ⟨335⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:101-2 ⟨133⟩; Pisani 1964:336 ⟨143C⟩; *FI* II.2 pp.288-9 (*autopsy*); Cristofani 1988:17-8; Peruzzi 1990:282. ***Transcriptions:*** Helbig in Lignana 1887:201; Manzielli in Deecke 1888 Taf. III (reproduced in *CIE* 8388).

267. Stamped on the handle of a bronze strigilis (length 23 cm) from tomb 13 of the second necropolis of S. Antonio.

arθ[3-5]rẹ

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The last letter, 𐌓, is very reminiscent of the hitherto unique *e* in Etr **XXXIV**, 𐌄, from tomb 7 of the first necropolis of S. Antonio: see §11.2.4. I wonder whether this inscription might be related to *arnθial uṛ[4-5?]* Etr **LI**, also purported to be from Corchiano. If so, the text could be read as *arθ[ial u]rẹ* (and Etr **LI** perhaps as *arnθial uṛ[es mi?]*). The text may therefore be Etruscan rather than Faliscan.

Bibliography: *FI* II.2 p.300 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** *FI* II.2 p.300.

[274] Deecke's edition is based on Manzielli's apography, but his drawing on Lignana's transcript.

268. Engraved on the handle of a bronze strigilis (length *c.*21 cm) from tomb 22 of the second necropolis of S. Antonio. Fourth century.

med·loucilios·feced

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The unparallelled placing of *med* is probably due to influence from the Etruscan model *mini zinace* ... (see §8.9.2, §9.4.1): *med* is certainly not an abbreviated praenomen (as Lommatzsch and Bormann took it). The use of the Latin alphabet at this date points to an import, as does the presence of *-s* (§3.5.7*d*) and perhaps the use of *ou* (§3.7.2), although the position of *med* makes me doubt whether Wachter (1987:369) is richt in stating that "die Inschrift [könnte] hinsichtlich der sprachlichen Merkmale ohne weiteres aus Rom stammen". This is now confirmed by *oufilo : clipeaio : letei : fileo : met : facet* MF **470*** (mid- or late fourth century) and *cavios frenaios faced* MF **471*** (late fourth or early third century), which show that in contemporary Middle Faliscan *faced* was used rather than *feced*.

Bibliography: Kretschmer 1912 (*autopsy*); Meister 1916:96-7; Dessau 1916:3^2.CXLV ⟨9444⟩; Della Seta 1918:86 (*autopsy*); Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.2437; Bormann *CIL* XI.8130,1; Diehl 1930:77 ⟨721⟩; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.2437 add.; Safarewicz 1955:186; Vetter 1953:327; Degrassi 1963:357 ⟨1251⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:265-6 ⟨XIX⟩; Coarelli in *RMR* p.311 ⟨464⟩ (*autopsy*); *FI* II.2 p.302 (*autopsy*); Agostiniani 1982:151 ⟨594⟩; Wachter 1987:369. ***Photographs:*** Kretschmer 1912 Taf. between pp.104-5 (reproduced in *CIL* I^2.2437); *RMR* tav.LXXV. ***Drawing:*** *FI* II.2 p.302.

269-271. The following inscriptions are from tomb 28 of the second necropolis of S.Antonio.[275]

269. Scratched crudely across the front of a tile (57.5 × 50.5 cm; letters 5-12 cm high).

arutemacena
morenez

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The first six letters are written notably larger, with the line swerving upwards: the remaining letters were written smaller, as realization dawned on the maker that he or she was not going to succeed in fitting all the letters of *macena* onto the first line; the last *a* of *macena* is in fact written above the line. The first *m* (ⲘⲘ) and both *n*'s (ⲚⲚ) are reversed. For the nominative *arute*, probably rather an accusative *arute(m)* used as a nominative than a form with an 'epenthetic e', see §9.2.2.*1,4*. *Macena* is 'Ma(r)cena' (Cristofani and Peruzzi), cf. *marllcna* in **270**. For the use of *-z* in *morenez*, see §11.2.4, §9.2.2.*1*; for the feminine *morenez*, see §9.2.2.2*c*.

From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 9551); a small piece containing the top part of the *z* is missing. ***Bibliography:*** Herbig 1910:89-90 ⟨9⟩ (*autopsy*); Jacobsohn 1910:6 ⟨40⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8384 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:75 ⟨42⟩; Vetter 1953:316 ⟨329⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:100 ⟨129⟩ (*autopsy*); *FI* II.2 p.303 (*autopsy*); Cristofani 1988:18; Peruzzi 1990:280-1; Rix *ET* Fa 1.1. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8384.

[275] Dohrn gave the provenance of MF **271** erroneously as Falerii Veteres.

270. Scratched across the front of a tile (58 × 57 cm; letters 7-14 cm high).

cna:citiai
larise:mar

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The interpuncts are odd: whereas the rest of the text is scratched in sometimes rather jagged strokes, they appear to have been *drilled* into the surface, resulting in neatly rounded holes. The *s* is very long and thin. The *r* at the end of the second line, smaller than most of the letters of the first line, is raised and tilted backwards, which Herbig and Vetter took as an indication that the first line should be read after the second, which gives *larise : mar*||*cna : citiai*, a much better reading than *cna : citiai* | *larise : mar*. Why the lines should be so arranged is entirely unclear: not only is the arrangement unique in the Faliscan sepulchral inscriptions on tiles, but there is more than enough room to write the letters *cna : citiai* underneath *larise : mar* rather than above them. The resulting *mar*||*cna* would then be 'Marc(e)na' (Cristofani, Peruzzi), cf. *macena* 'Ma(r)cena' in MF **269**. *Larise* is in my view an accusative *larise(m)* used as a nominative, rather than a form with an 'epenthetic *-e*' marking an /s#/ that was realized more strongly than in Faliscan (Vetter, Peruzzi): see §9.2.2.*4*. *Citiai* is either a dative (thus Herbig, Vetter, and G. Giacomelli) or a genitive: see §8.10.2. It is not necessary to assume that it is an Etruscan feminine nominative (as do Cristofani and Peruzzi): see §9.2.3*c*.[276]

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 9553). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig 1910:193-4 ⟨34⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8386; Vetter 1953:317 ⟨331⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:101 ⟨131⟩; *FI* II.2 p.303 (*autopsy*); Cristofani 1988:18; Peruzzi 1990:278-81; Rix *ET* Fa 1.2. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8386.

271. Scratched along the length of the front of a tile (64.5×47.5; letters 7-11 cm high).

poplia
zuconia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. *Zuconia* is an adaptation of Etruscan *zuχu*, attested at Corchiano in *zuχus* Etr **XXXI** and perhaps in *zu[con]leo* MF **56** from Civita Castellana.

From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 9552). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig 1910:185-6 ⟨23⟩ (*autopsy*); Jacobsohn 1910:6 ⟨43⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8385; Vetter 1953:317 ⟨330⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:100 ⟨130⟩ (*autopsy*); [Dohrn in Helbig/Speier 1969:674-5 ⟨2752⟩]; *FI* II.2 p.303 (*autopsy*); Cristofani 1988:18; Peruzzi 1990:278-9. ***Photograph:*** G. Giacomelli 1963 tav.VII. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8385.

16.2.3. The Rio Fratta necropolis. The third-century Rio Fratta necropolis lies to the east of Corchiano; it was excavated in 1911 (see Gabrici 1912c).

272. Scratched across the front of tile (68 × 47 cm; let. 3-8 cm) found in 1894 on the site of the Rio Fratta necropolis.

[276] Cristofani erroneously gives the praenomen as *Cauie*.

cauio:nomes
ina:maxomo
zeruatronia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with reversed *s*. *Zeruatronia* has a parallel in *Seruatronia* in *CIL* X.8230 from Capua. For the use of *z*-, see §11.2.4. See §9.2.3*c*.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 12356). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig 1910:189-90 ⟨29⟩ (*autopsy*); Jacobsohn 1910:5 ⟨44⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8378 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:73 ⟨38⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.7515; Vetter 1953:316 ⟨328⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:98 ⟨127⟩; Cristofani 1988:19. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8378.

273-274. Scratched, **273** to the left and **274** to the right of a graffito of a human profile inside a red-varnished plate (height 5 cm, ∅ 14 cm; letters 10 mm) from tomb 3.

cauiːturi

ct

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. In **273**, *t* is ⍑; in **274**, it is ⊦. *Caui : turi* is genitive (Vetter, G. Giacomelli) or abbreviated nominative (§8.8.1). The gentilicium occurs also at Civita Castellana (*turia* MF **22-27**, and probably also *tur* MF **44**).

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8592; Gabrici 1912c:82-3 (*autopsy*); Buffa *NRIE* 992; Vetter 1953:325 ⟨349⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:64 ⟨50⟩. ***Drawings:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8592; Gabrici 1912c:83.

16.2.4. Corchiano, specific provenance unknown. Several inscriptions have (rightly or wrongly) been ascribed to the town without further particulars of their discovery being known.

275-276. Two tiles that may to have belonged to the graves of two brothers;[277] the gentilicium is attested also from a family tomb at Civita Castellana (MF 48-53).

275. Scratched along the front of a tile (71 × 48.5 cm; letters *c*.6 cm high).

cauio:oufilio
uolteo

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The letters are squarish; the *o*'s are ◇.

From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 9550). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig 1910:84-8 ⟨1⟩ (*autopsy*); Jacobsohn 1910:6 ⟨41a⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8397; Vetter 1953:319 ⟨337a⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:104 ⟨140,I⟩; Pisani 1964:336 ⟨143D,a⟩; [Dohrn in Helbig/Speier 1969, pp.674-5 ⟨2752⟩]; R.G. Giacomelli 1978:75 ⟨3,I⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8397.

276. Scratched along the front of a tile (64×46 cm; letters 2-6 cm high).

ceisio:oufilio
uolθeo

[277] Dohrn gave the provenance of these tiles erroneously as Falerii Veteres.

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with reversed *s*. The *θ* is almost ↀ-shaped and was in fact read as *d* by Herbig, Jacobsohn, and Pisani, but in view of the general angular shape of the letters of this inscriptions, this is not necessary: see, however, §3.5.4.

From autopsy in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 9549). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig 1910:84-8 ⟨2⟩ (*autopsy*); Jacobsohn 1910:6 ⟨41b⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8398; Vetter 1953:319 ⟨337b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:104 ⟨140,II⟩; Pisani 1964:336 ⟨143D,b⟩; [Dohrn in Helbig/Speier 1969, pp.674-5 ⟨2752⟩]; R.G. Giacomelli 1978:75 ⟨3,II⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8398.

277-284. Scratched on vases in the Crescenzi collection are several inscriptions:

277. Scratched on the rim of a saucer (height 6.5 cm, ∅ 16 cm; letters 3-4 mm high).

cau

Dextroverse. Herbig and G. Giacomelli unnecessarily considered reading *cal*.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8383*i*,a; Vetter 1953:324 ⟨347⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:63 ⟨46,I*a*⟩. ***Drawing:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8383*i*,a.

278. Scratched in a plate (height 2 cm, ∅ 8.5 cm).

la

Dextroverse. The *a* is Λ.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8383*k*. ***Drawing:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8383*k*.

279-280. Scratched i plate (height 2.5 cm, ∅ 12.5 cm) are

acre

ame

Sinistroverse. In **279**, the *r* is ↀ; in **280**, the *e* is .

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8383*l*,a-b; G. Giacomelli 1963:63 ⟨46,II*a-b*⟩. ***Drawing:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8383*l*, a-b.

281. Scratched under a small bucchero vase (∅ 5 cm).

ta

Sinistroverse. The *a* is Λ.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8383*m*. ***Drawings:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8383*m*.

282. Scratched a third- or second-century plate (height 5.5 cm, ∅ 14.9 cm)

aṃẹ

Dextroverse? The *a* is , the *m* (a similar *m* occurs in MLF **317**), the *e* .

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8383*p*; G. Giacomelli 1963:63 ⟨46,III⟩. ***Drawings:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8383*p*.

283. Scratched under a small bucchero vase (∅ 6 cm).

ta

Dextroverse.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8383*q*. ***Drawing:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8383*q*.

284. Scratched in a plate (height 4 cm, ∅ 9.8 cm) is

ue

Sinistroverse.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8383*r*. ***Drawing:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8383*r*.

16.2.5. The surroundings of Corchiano. From the wider surroundings of Corchiano are several inscriptions that may date either from before or after the war of 241-240, and have therefore been classed as Middle or Late Faliscan, unless there are reasons to date them otherwise.

285. About 1.5 km north of Corchiano, at an ancient crossing of the Rio della Tenuta (or Rio Merlese) known as *Puntone* (Dennis, G. Giacomelli), *Pontone* (Buglione di Monale, *FI*), or *Ponte* (Ward Perkins & Frederiksen) *del Ponte*, are the remains of a small Faliscan settlement (see Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:123-7 with map p.122 fig.20), probably a dependency of Corchiano, with which it was connected by a Faliscan predecessor of the Via Amerina. Like Corchiano, it appears to have been deserted after the war of 241 (Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:125-7). Cut in the back wall of the porticus of a tomb to the left of the Rio della Tenuta.

[---]fatecela·letezotxxiiii

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The third *e* is 𐌇 (cf. the similar *e* in MF **64** and **258**); the *z* is 𐌆. The second interpunct was read after *celale* by Buglione di Monale and Nogara, but after *cela* by G. Giacomelli. According to Nogara (in Herbig *CIE*), the four strokes at the end are shallower than the other letters and may be later additions. Herbig interpreted *[---]fate* as a genitive '...fatis'. Peruzzi divided *letezotxxiiii* as *lete zot xxiiii* 'lecti sunt XXIIII' (for the omission of syllable-final /k/ before /t/, see §3.5.7*c*). His alternative for the first part, *[---]f atecela* '... f(ilii) antecella', however, depends on a space between *f* and *ate* that appears to be non-existent. M. Mancini, interprets *lete* as the locative of a */loi̯tā/ with a similar meaning: see, however, §8.2.1 and §3.7.6.

Bibliography: [Dennis 1848:157 (*autopsy*)]; [Dennis 1878:120]; Buglione di Monale 1887:28 (*autopsy*); [Deecke 1888:48]; Herbig 1910:192; Herbig *CIE* 8391 + *add.*; Vetter 1953:323 ⟨342a,2⟩; [Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:125]; G. Giacomelli 1963:102-3 ⟨136⟩ (*autopsy*); Peruzzi 1967a; M. Mancini 2002:28-33. ***Photograph:*** *FI* II.1 p.414 fig.263. ***Drawing:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8391 *add.*

286. Scratched on the bottom of a small saucer from tomb 2 of the tombs discovered and excavated in 1916 at Contrada Lista, *c.*2 km north of Corchiano. From the same tomb is the saucer with the Etruscan inscription *mi alsi*is mi* Etr **XXXVI**.

la

Sinistroverse.

Bibliography: Bendinelli 1920:29 ⟨35⟩ (*autopsy*); Buffa *NRIE* 979; G. Giacomelli 1963:63 ⟨44,II⟩. ***Transcription:*** Bendinelli 1920:29.

287. Scratched on the bottom of a cup from an isolated tomb on the Fosso del Ponte delle Tavole to the south of Corchiano, explored perhaps *c.*1893, is an incomprehensible inscription: incomprehensible, in fact, that Herbig and *FI* each present it with a different side up:

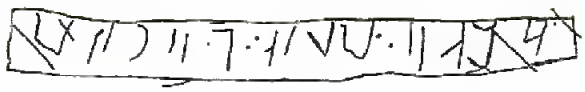

Fig.16.2. Herbig's tracing of MLF 287.

(From *CIE* 8400a.)

The ductus is apparently sinistroverse, but the letters and contents are unclear.
Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8400a (*autopsy*); *FI* II.2 p.318 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8400a.

288. Cut above and to the right of the entrance in the portico of a tomb in Contrada Musalè, to the left of the Fosso delle Pastine is a dextroverse inscription in Latin alphabet with cursive *e* (letters of the first line 11-13 cm high, of the second line 7-9 cm high), according to G. Giacomelli from the third or second century. The inscription was published twice, and the two very different accounts leave me at a loss as to what the text is, apart from the fact that the first letters are *m·haedua*. G. Giacomelli (1961) read *m.haedua.c.f.gal( )que[.]maçḷoine(×)c(×)a*, later (1963) changing her reading of the middle part to *gal[uia]que macḷoine(a)*, and that of the end to *c.(f.)a* 'figlia di Caio'. Vetter's *magoḷneos* or *magoḷneo·s·* (in G. Giacomelli 1963 and 1965) is impossible according to G. Giacomelli (1963). The same inscription was published again as *m.ḥaeduaonoa* | *mimąnoineṣao* by R. Giacomelli, who erroneously described it as unedited. He implausibly connected *haedua* to the Gallic tribe of the *Haedui*.
Bibliography: (I) G. Giacomelli 1961:325-6 ⟨5⟩ (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:266 ⟨XX⟩; G. Giacomelli 1965:551. ***Drawing:*** G. Giacomelli 1961:325 fig.5. – (II) R. Giacomelli 1977:63-8 (*autopsy*). ***Photographs:*** R. Giacomelli 1977:61-3 figs.1-3. – (III) Marinetti 1982:36.

289. Cut in the back wall of a tomb close to where the ancient road to Gallese crossed the Rio delle Pastine (cf. Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:169) is an intelligible inscription given by Nogara as

𐌀𐌉>�Φ𐌀:𐌌:𐌂𐌉𐌐𐌀𐌋	***laris:ṃ:rφçχa***
𐌓𐌂𐌉𐌎𐌄𐌉𐌎𐌂𐌉𐌐𐌅	***uąieṣiṿṣist***

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet? G. Giacomelli read the Φ as *φ*. Only the praenomen *laris* is clear: Rix reads the remainder of the first line as *mąrçẹṇą*.
Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8588; Vetter 1953:323 ⟨342a,3⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:103 ⟨137⟩; Rix *ET* Fa 1.5. ***Transcription:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8588.

290. Cut in the wall of the hollow road leading down to the gorge of the Rio delle Pastine near the Madonna delle Grazie (cf. Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:169).[278]

c**(*)coṇẹo·l(*)·ce·paui[ceo·ru?]so***

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet with cursive *e*. Pasqui's drawing shows the first two words *c·naecomio*, but from the photograph, I am inclined to read either *cṇ·ạcoṇẹo·* (cf. *aco[n]ẹọ* LtF **329** and *acon[?]io* LtF **343**) or *c·pṛẹcoṇẹo·* (cf. *precono* in MLF **361**). What follows is uncertain: Pasqui's drawing has *l.il.o.*, either a filiation (*l·fịlịo·? lọçịlịo·?*) or a cognomen. The second name is largely obliterated: Pasqui's drawing gives *ce·paui**so*, but the photograph shows that the number of missing letters was larger, probably three to five. The gentilicium was probably *paui[ceo*, cf. *pauiceo* MF **12**; *]so* is probably a cognomen (cf. perhaps *ruso* in MLF **318**?): see §7.9.1. The names are those of local magistrates, see §11.1.4.*5*.

Bibliography: Pasqui in *FI* II.1 p.45 (*autopsy*). ***Photograph:*** *FI* II.1 p.414 fig.262. ***Drawing:*** Pasqui in *FI* II.1 p.45.

291. Cut in the rock *c.*1.5 km south of Corchiano along the ancient road to the settlement at the crossing of the Rio Cruè (cf. Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:117 with maps p.112 fig.18 and p.119 fig.19, and *FI* II.2 p.217). Second century.

c·egnatius·s[ex·]f·prata
faciunda·coirauit

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The reading *egnatius* goes back to Nogara (in Bormann; *ponatius* Gamurrini, *FI*). The lacuna can only be restored as *s[ex·]*; G. Giacomelli's *s[exti.]* is impossible (*Sp. [f.]* Di Stefano Manzella). The expression *prata facere* was something of a *terminus technicus*, cf. e.g. Varro *R* 2 *praef.* 4, Iustin. *dig.* 39.3.3.2.

Bibliography: Gamurrini 1887a:62 (*autopsy*); Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.1992; Bormann *CIL* XI.7505; Safarewicz 1955:186 ⟨6⟩; Degrassi *ILLRP* 1263; G. Giacomelli 1963:266 ⟨XXI⟩; *FI* II.2 p.217 n.32 (*autopsy*); Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.1992 *add.* ***Photograph:*** *FI* II.1 p.407 fig.249. ***Drawing:*** *FI* II.2 p.217 n.32.

292-296. Along the ancient road between Corchiano and the settlement on the Rio Cruè (Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:117 with maps p.112 fig.18 and p.119 fig.19, and *FI* II.2 pp.217, 320), a series of tombs was excavated in 1887 at Contrada La Selvotta (see *FI* II.2 pp.320-1). The stamps on some of the tiles (cf. *FI* II.2 p.321) show that the tombs were in use until the Imperial period.

292. Scratched under a plate from the first *tomba a fossa*.

ans·l·ṛụfi[?---]

Nogara's transcription is ΛNS·L·RIIFI..., which Herbig read as '[...]ans · L · Ṛụfi ...'.

[278] *FI* II.1 p.414 gives the location as "in cima alla cava di Valle Spigliara"; Pasqui located Valle Spigliara on the right side of the stream and the road with the inscription on the left.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8381b; *FI* II.2 p.320 (*autopsy*). ***Transcription:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8381b.

293. Scratched inside a cup from the first *tomba a camera.*

lociaeiṃoi

Nogara had read 𐌋𐌏𐌓𐌉𐌀𐌄𐌉𐌃𐌏𐌉 *lociae ṭitoi*, but this would contain an *ae* that is unparalleled in the inscriptions in Faliscan alphabet, and Herbig (*CIE*) rightly read *eiṃoi* (cf. *aiṃiosio eqo* EF **467***). This is generally interpreted as a dative, making the inscription unique in giving the names both of the giver and the receiver (§8.8.1); if *eiṃoi* is a genitive (§8.8.1), the inscription would present a likewise unique instance of a filiation formula in a *Besitzerinschrift* (§7.5.1).

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8381e; Herbig 1914a:239-40; Lejeune 1952b:125; Vetter 1953:324 ⟨344⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:63-4 ⟨47⟩; *FI* II.2 p.320 (*autopsy*). ***Transcription:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8381e (reproduced in Herbig 1914a:240).

294. Scratched under a black-varnished cup from the third *tomba a camera*

at

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet.

Bibliography: *FI* II.2 p.321 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** *FI* II.2 p.321.

295-296. Scratched before firing on a Megarian bowl from the second *tomba a fossa. FI* mentions only no.297, but Siebourg, and apparently also Baudrillart ("environs de Corchiano" 1889:288), ascribe a second bowl to this location. *c.*230-150 (Baudrillart).

c·popil[i]

c·popili meuanie

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *l* is ⅃. *FI* gives **295** as *c·popili*. In **296**, Baudrillart read *popil.*, but Siebourg's *popili* is certainly right. *Meuanie* is locative, not Siebourg's *Mevanie((n)sis)*: cf. the ablative (?) *ocriclo* 'Ocriculum' on other bowls from this workshop (e.g. *CIL* I^2.421*a-b*). The inscriptions are clearly imports. See also Lat **478***.

Bibliography: Baudrillart 1889:288-9; Siebourg 1897:43-4 ⟨4, 6⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.6704,2*d*, 3*a*; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.419*d*, 420*a*; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.420*a add.*; *FI* II.2 p.320 (*autopsy*); Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.420*a* add. ***Drawings:*** Baudrillart 1889 pl.VII; Hülsen in Siebourg 1897:42; Siebourg 1897:42; *FI* II.2 p.320.

297-301. A series of tiles was found in 1953 at a spot called Puntone del Pero and published by G. Giacomelli among the inscriptions from Corchiano and its territory.

297-298. Painted in yellow along the length, **297** of the front, **298** of the back of a tile.

iuna

iuna

Bibliography: G. Giacomelli 1963:98-100 ⟨128,Ia-b⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Photograph:*** G. Giacomelli 1963 tav.X.

299. Painted in white on the front of a tile.

[1]uo·nel[2][n---]

Dextroverse in Latin alphabet. The *l* is ⊦ (§11.2.4). G. Giacomelli read *[---]uo* as the end of a gentilicium, assuming a lost preceding tile that contained the praenomen and the beginning of the gentilicium. In that case, however, *nel[n---]* would have to be filiation (in view of its position in **300** it seems impossible that it is a cognomen), which is difficult as there are no praenomina in *Nel( )n-*, *Nael( )n-*, or *Nil( )n-*. *Neln[---]* is therefore rather a gentilicium, and *uo* is the abbreviation of *Volta.*

Bibliography: G. Giacomelli 1963:98-100 ⟨128,II⟩ (*autopsy*); Rix 1964:447 n.4; G. Giacomelli 1965:550. ***Photograph:*** G. Giacomelli 1963 tav.X (reproduced in G. Giacomelli 1965 tav.CXXXV*a*).

300. Painted in white on the front of a tile.

[1][---]²a·neln f
[1][---]²uxo·ohi*[..]

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *e* is Ε , the *l* ⊦: Rix proposed to read *neron[*, but this is impossible according to G. Giacomelli (1965). The *f* is placed between both lines. In the second line, the *i* is followed by the upper part of a shaft, perhaps an *l* (G. Giacomelli). One tile is certainly missing at the beginning. *Uxo*, combined with *[---]a*, shows that the inscription contained the name of a woman. The arrangement seems to be: a praenomen *[---]a* starting on a tile missing in front followed a gentilicium *neln\[---]* continued on the second line of the missing tile; then, still on the missing tile, the (probably abbreviated) name of the husband in the genitive followed *uxo* and by an affiliation *ohi*[..] | f*. This can perhaps be read as *ohi̯[i·]* | *f* 'Oufili f(ilia)' with a praenomen *Oufilus* (cf. *aufilo · aratio* MLF **348** and §7.7.1.*12*): the use of *h* for *f* would then be a (hypercorrect) extension of its use for original *f* in word-initial position: see §3.5.2.

Bibliography: G. Giacomelli 1963:98-100 ⟨128,III⟩ (*autopsy*); Rix 1964:447 n.4; Olzscha 1965:122-3; G. Giacomelli 1965:550. ***Photograph:*** G. Giacomelli 1963 tav.X (reproduced in G. Giacomelli 1965 tav. CXXXV*b*).

301. Painted in white on the front of a tile.

[....]nea·*a
[u]xor ia·*
ma·oṣcin*

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet with cursive *a* and *e*. According to G. Giacomelli, the penultimate letter of the first line looks like "una *g* stravolta e rovesciata" (1963:99). In the second line, *ia* is placed apart from and slightly higher than *[u]xor*; what follows this is completely unclear. In the last line, G. Giacomelli read *oxcin*×, but her photograph and description ("una *x* stranamente rotondeggiante nella parte sinistra", 1963:99) seem to point to an *s* (Ϛ) rather than an *x*. It is unclear whether any tiles were missing in

front. G. Giacomelli read the text as two inscriptions, the first giving a woman's name consisting of a (missing) abbreviated praenomen and a gentilicium ending in *]nea*, followed by the abbreviated name of her husband and *[u]xor*, and the consisting of the remainder of the text. Rix proposed to read the first of these inscriptions as *]neron[i..] / ian[ta... / u]xor*, but according to G. Giacomelli (1965), this is impossible.

Bibliography: G. Giacomelli 1963:98-100 ⟨128,IV⟩ (*autopsy*); Rix 1964:447 n.4; G. Giacomelli 1965:550. ***Photograph:*** G. Giacomelli 1963 tav.X (reproduced in G. Giacomelli 1965 tav. CXXXV*c*).

16.3. Vignanello

Although excavations at this location go back to the 18th century (cf. Giglioli 1916:37-8), little is known of the Faliscan settlement at Vignanello, which was probably one of the smaller settlements of the north-western ager Faliscus. As said in §16.1, the third-century tomb of the *gens Velminaea* (from which come MLF **305-323**) implies that the settlement was still inhabited after the war of 241 (cf. §2.5.2). The inscriptions are all from tombs at Contrada Molesino, to the west of the town, on the slope between the modern road to Vallerano and the Piano della Cupa, near the tunnel of the Roma-Viterbo railway (Giglioli 1916:37-8 with map p.39 fig.1). Most of these tombs were discovered undisturbed in 1916 and excavated in the same year: only Giglioli's tomb *a* (from which come MLF **302-303**) appears to have been explored before that date.

302-303. The following inscriptions are from Giglioli's tomb *a*.

302. Cut over a loculus.

i̯a:fir·mia:titia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The traces of the first two letters are 𐌉𐌀: Vetter's *ia*, adopted by G. Giacomelli, is certainly preferable to Giglioli's *[he:?]*. Only the upper points of the interpuncts are preserved. The point in *fir·mia* is probably a chance trace. The last *a* is of the type 𐌀: see §11.2.4.2. The gentilicium *Firmius* is also attested at Civita Castellana (*i̯hirmia* MF **18**, *i̯hirmeo* MF **19**, *firmio* MF **54**) and S. Maria di Falleri (*hirmio* LF **213**).

Bibliography: Giglioli 1916:38 (*autopsy*); Nogara 1916; Herbig 1923:231 ⟨1⟩; Vetter 1953:320 ⟨338a⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:105 ⟨143,I⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Giglioli 1916:38.

303. Cut between two loculi.

poplia:cocelia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *p* is 𐌐.

Bibliography: Giglioli 1916:38 (*autopsy*); Nogara 1916; Herbig 1923:231 ⟨2⟩; Vetter 1953:320 ⟨338b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:105 ⟨143,II⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Giglioli 1916:38.

304. Scratched on the bottom of a fourth- or third-century saucer from Giglioli's tomb 2.

pupiias

Sinistroverse, Faliscan (?) alphabet with reversed *s*. The *a* is A. Giglioli's transcript showed a lacuna of one letter between the *a* and the *s*. Vetter interpreted *pupia[.]s* as a genitive (an interpretation adopted by all later editors), assuming that Giglioli's lacuna did not, in fact, contain any letters: the lacuna is in fact omitted by Pisani, Cristofani, and Rix, and Gulinelli's drawing now shows definitively that there is indeed no lacuna between *a* and *s*. On the other hand, she adds a new problem by reading *pupiias*, with a double *i* that is without parallel in any inscription from the ager Faliscus. I have considered reading *pupẹas* with cursive *e*, but the inscription seems rather too early for this: neither is it possible to read *pupḷias*.

Bibliography: Giglioli 1916:62 (*autopsy*); Buffa *NRIE* 987; Vetter 1953a:326 ⟨352⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:64 ⟨51⟩; Pisani 1964:344 ⟨146G,b⟩; Cristofani 1988:20, 24 ⟨18⟩; Rix *ET* Fa 2.21; Gulinelli 1995 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Gulinelli 1995.

305-323 (the 'tomba dei Velminei'). Giglioli's tomb 3 was found intact, with the inscriptions still *in situ*: inscriptions MLF **316-319** were discovered only after the tiles had been removed and cleaned, and their location in the tomb is unknown (see Giglioli 1916:77-8). Most inscriptions contain a gentilicium *uelmineo*: as this is never written as *uelminio*, it may have ended in /-ẹ̄os/ ← /-ẹ̆i̯os/, or in /-ę̄(i̯)os/ ← /-āi̯os/ rather than in /-ios/ (cf. §3.7.6, §7.8.1.*165*). The tomb was dated to the third century by Giglioli.

305. Painted in red across the front of a tile (*c.*65×*c.*42 cm; letters *c.*4 cm high).

tito:uelmineo
titọi:fecupa

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The last part of each line (the letters *ineo* and *ecupa*) is written vertically downwards. *T* is ⊤, but the second *t* is ⊬. In the second line, Herbig's *tit[io]* (a patronymic adjective) has been adopted by all later editors, but Giglioli's drawing appears to have *titọi*, which, if correct, would be an unambiguous case of a genitive in *-oi* (§4.4.4). Unfortunately, according to G. Giacomelli, all that can now be read of the second line is *tit*.

Bibliography: Giglioli 1916:65-6 (*autopsy*); Nogara 1916; Herbig 1923:231-2 ⟨3⟩; Vetter 1953:320 ⟨339a⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:105-7 ⟨144,l⟩ (*autopsy*); Pisani 1964:336-7 ⟨143E⟩. ***Drawing:*** Giglioli 1916:65 fig.20.

306-307. The *titulus prior*, **306**, is painted in white across the front of a tile.

cauia
[---]
[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Giglioli mentions traces of a second and a third line that do not appear his drawing. The tile was later used as the first tile of **307**, painted in red across the front of two tiles.

[1]iuna[2]uelmineo
[1]titio [2]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *o* of *uelmineo* is written under the line.

Bibliography: Giglioli 1916:66 (*autopsy*); Nogara 1916; Herbig 1923:231-2 ⟨4⟩; Vetter 1953:320 ⟨339b,A-B⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:105-7 ⟨144,II*a-b*⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Giglioli 1916:66 fig.21.

308. Painted in white across the front of a tile.

cauiouelminẹo
popliaifile

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The middle parts of both lines (*elmi* and *aif*) are written vertically downwards, the last parts (*neo* and *ile*) upside down in boustrophedon. The last word is read either as *file[ai]* (Giglioli, Nogara, Herbig) or as *file(ai)* (Vetter, G. Giacomelli). According to Giglioli, the funeral gifts indicate that the deceased was a woman, which excludes *popliai file[o]* 'son of Publia': see §8.10.2.

Bibliography: Giglioli 1916:67-8 (*autopsy*); Nogara 1916; Herbig 1923:231-2 ⟨5⟩; Vetter 1953:320 ⟨339c⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:105-7 ⟨144,III⟩ (*autopsy*); Pisani 1964:340-1 ⟨145A⟩. ***Photograph:*** Giglioli 1916:68 fig.23.

309. Painted in white on along the length of three tiles (the first max. *c.*25×*c.*42 cm, the others *c.*67×*c.*42 cm; letters 10-17 cm high).

[1] ti[2]to[uel[3]mineo
[1]nu[2]i*ice [3]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Editors generally read *titoi*, but I regard the stroke after *tito* rather as an interpunct: see below. The *o* of *uelmineo* is written under the line: it contains a stroke that is probably accidental. The second line, [illegible], has been read as *p...ice* (Giglioli), *nuipice* (Herbig),[279] *nuịdice* (Vetter), and *nụịdice* (G. Giacomelli): comparison with **315** shows that it ended in *ipice* or *ịdice*, and that the preceding letters are probably an abbreviation of the father's praenomen.

Herbig interpreted his *ipice* as an originally reduplicative perfect *i(m)pice(t)* = **impigit* ← */in-pepag-/ from *impingo* 'to fasten (a tile) upon (a loculus)', with *uelminelo* | *n* 'N. Volminius' as the subject and *titoi* as a dative. Later editors rejected this, assuming the Middle and Late Faliscan outcome of */in-pepag-/ would be **i(m)pace(t)* rather than **i(m)pice(t)* (cf. §3.6.6), although most maintained the interpretation of *i*ice* as a verb, however. Stolte took *ipice* as a perfect /in-pīgit/ from an **impingo* 'to paint (an inscription) upon (a tile)' (an idea rejected by Herbig); Ribezzo and Peruzzi took

[279] Pisani's impossible *n...* *ipice* appear to be an erroneous rendering of this reading.

ịpice as an Etruscan verbal form in *-ce*, the former deriving it from Latin *ibi* ('collocavit'), the latter from Etruscan *ipi* 'olla sepolcrale'. I find none of these proposals particularly attractive (cf. §6.2.*38*), and would rather read *tito* **ł** (with a stroke-interpunct) *uelmineo* **ł** *nu* 'Titus Velminaeus son of Nu.' (or *ịụ* 'son of Iu(na)') and interpret *i*ice* either as an intransitive verb similar in sense to *cupat*, or as a cognomen, although the latter is difficult, cf. §7.9.1.*3*.

Bibliography: Giglioli 1916:72-3 (*autopsy*); Nogara 1916; Herbig 1923:231-2 ⟨15⟩; Stolte 1926:61; Ribezzo 1931b:192; Vetter 1953:320 ⟨339d⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:105-7 ⟨144,IV⟩ (*autopsy*); Pisani 1964:341 ⟨145C,a⟩. ***Drawing:*** Giglioli 1916:73 fig.30.

310. Painted in white along the length of three tiles (the first two *c.*65 × *c.*45 cm, the third *c.*35 × *c.*45 cm; let. 7-10 cm).

[1]cuicto[2] uelmin[3]eo
[1][---?][2]uoxie[.][3]eai

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Although the second line is unclear, the contents of the text seem to have been similar to those of **308**, with a man's name in the first line followed by a woman's name in the dative (or the genitive?) in the second. The only proposal for restoration is Herbig's *uo.x.fe[l]eai*.

Bibliography: Giglioli 1916:73 (*autopsy*); Nogara 1916; Herbig 1923:231-2 ⟨14⟩; Vetter 1953:321 ⟨339e⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:105-7 ⟨144,V⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Giglioli 1916:73 fig.31.

311. Painted along the length of the front of a tile (*c.*55 × *c.*45 cm; letters 10-12 cm high).

sextia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet.

Bibliography: Giglioli 1916:74 (*autopsy*); Nogara 1916; Herbig 1923:231-2 ⟨6⟩; Vetter 1953:321 ⟨339f⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:105-7 ⟨144,VI⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Giglioli 1916:74 fig.32.

312. Painted in white along the lenth of the front of two tiles (*c.*65×*c.*45 cm; letters 8-10 cm high).

[1]uoltio[:][2]uelmineo
[1]titio:sce[2]ụa

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The penultimate letter is X: Giglioli, Nogara, and Herbig read *sceua*, Vetter *rex a....* The latter is impossible according to G. Giacomelli, who adopted Giglioli's alternative *scexa*, noting from autopsy that the letter is now illegible. *Sceua*, however, now has a parallel in *sceiuai* LF **379**.

Bibliography: Giglioli 1916:75 (*autopsy*); Nogara 1916; Herbig 1923:231-2 ⟨7⟩; Vetter 1953:321 ⟨339g⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:105-7 ⟨144,VII⟩ (*autopsy*); Torelli 1967:536-7. ***Drawing:*** Giglioli 1916:75 fig.35.

313. Painted in white along the length of the front of two tiles (*c.*65×*c.*45 cm; letters *c.*10 cm high).

[1]uolta:u[2]elmineo
[1]fuloni[2]acue

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet.

Bibliography: Giglioli 1916:75 (*autopsy*); Nogara 1916; Herbig 1923:231-2 ⟨8⟩; Vetter 1953:321 ⟨339h⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:105-7 ⟨144,VIII⟩ (*autopsy*); Pisani 1964:340 ⟨144F⟩. ***Drawing:*** Giglioli 1916:75 fig.36.

314. Painted along the length of the front of a tile (*c.*60×*c.*45 cm; letters 6-10 cm high).

cauia loriea

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The last part of the line (the letters *riea*) is written vertically downwards due to lack of space. For *loriea*, cf. *loṷṛia* MF **41.**

Bibliography: Giglioli 1916:65-85 (*autopsy*); Nogara 1916; Herbig 1923:231-2 ⟨9⟩; Vetter 1953:321 ⟨339i⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:105-7 ⟨144,IX⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Giglioli 1916:76 fig.37.

315. Painted in white along the length of the front of a tile.

tito:uel
mineo:iun
aịị*ice

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The third line has been read as *iunlaluaice* (Giglioli), *iunlaịịpice* (Herbig), *iun-l(-)ali-ice* or *iunl[e]ọụḍice* (Vetter), *iunlai [ip]ice* (Pisani), and *iunlaị( )**ice* (G. Giacomelli). Most editors interpret this text in the same way as **309**, with *tito : uel|mineo* as the subject and *iunlaị* as a dative to go with a verb *ịpice*. *Iunlaị* is probably rather a filiation (§8.10.2); for interpretations of *i*ice*, see **309**.

Bibliography: Giglioli 1916:76 (*autopsy*); Nogara 1916; Herbig 1923:231-2 ⟨16⟩; Stolte 1926:61; Ribezzo 1931:192; Vetter 1953:321 ⟨339k⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:105-7 ⟨144,X⟩ (*autopsy*); Pisani 1964:341 ⟨145C,b⟩. ***Photograph:*** Giglioli 1916:77 fig.39.

316. Painted in upward-slanting lines across the front of a tile (*c.*67×*c.*45 cm; letters 5-10 cm high).

popli[o]
uelmi
no

Dextroverse, but apparently in Faliscan alphabet. *P* is ᐱ; the *e* stands within the *u*; the *m* is reversed. *Uelmi|no* is clearly an error for *uelmi|n‹e›o*.

Bibliography: Giglioli 1916:77-8 (*autopsy*); Nogara 1916; Herbig 1923:231-2 ⟨11⟩; Vetter 1953:322 ⟨340d⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:105-7 ⟨144,XI⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Giglioli 1916:78 fig.41.

317. Painted across the front of a damaged tile (*c.*60×*c.*40 cm; letters 7-10 cm high).

[1]popl[2][---]
[1][u]elṃi[2][ne---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The second line is unclear. The third legible letter was first read as *e*, but Vetter read it sideways as an *m* (a similar sign in MLF **282** was als read as *m* by Herbig), which would give *[u]elṃi[ne-]*. This would require a second tile: Vetter's suggestion that this was **319** is implausible in view of the different shapes of the letters and of the fact that **319** is not painted across the tile, but lengthwise.

Bibliography: Giglioli 1916:77-8 (*autopsy*); Nogara 1916; Herbig 1923:231-2 ⟨12⟩; Vetter 1953:322 ⟨340a⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:105-7 ⟨144,XIII⟩. ***Drawing:*** Giglioli 1916:78 fig.42.

318. Painted on the front of a tile (max. *c.*60×*c.*50 cm; letters from *c.*8-10 cm to *c.*15-20 cm high).

[1]cauio[2][---]
[1]ruso[2][?---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with reversed *s*. Giglioli, Nogara, and Herbig took *ruso* as a gentilicium; Vetter, and, apparently, G. Giacomelli, assumed a tile was missing at the end that contained the gentilicium in the first line, with a cognomen *ruso* as in *M. Occius Ruso* in *CIL* XI.3254 I.13 from Sutri.

Bibliography: Giglioli 1916:77-8 (*autopsy*); Nogara 1916; Herbig 1923:231-2 ⟨13⟩; Vetter 1953:322 ⟨340b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:105-7 ⟨144,XIV⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Giglioli 1916:78 fig.43.

319. Painted on a tile (*c.*60×*c.*45 cm; letters *c.*11 cm high) is

[1][---]²o
[1][---]²no

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet? The letters are followed by an empty space; Herbig's *o... | no...* is therefore impossible. Giglioli (apparently holding the tile the other way up?) read *[---]no |[---]o* (dextroverse, with reversed *n*). At least one tile is missing in front; Vetter implausibly suggested that this was the tile of **317**.

Bibliography: Giglioli 1916:77-8 (*autopsy*); Nogara 1916; Herbig 1923:231-2 ⟨10⟩; Vetter 1953:322 ⟨340c⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:105-7 ⟨144,XII⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Giglioli 1916:78 fig.40.

320-323. From the same tomb are several small plates with abbreviations:

ce

ce

ue

ca

Sinistroverse.

320 and 323 from autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 26090 and 26266).
Bibliography: Giglioli 1916:81-2 (*autopsy*). ***Transcriptions:*** Giglioli 1916:81-2.

16.4. Fabbrica di Roma

The Faliscan settlement at Fabbrica di Roma is another of the minor centres of the northwestern ager Faliscus of which little is known: the presence of inscriptions in Latin alphabet (LtF **325-328**) seems to indicate that it survived the war of 241 (§2.1.2). Of the inscriptions from this site, MLF **324** was found during the excavation, in 1888, of one of three tombs discovered that year at Poggio or Monte delle Monache, a height to the south of the town (Pasqui 1889, Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:158); the provenance of the others appears to be unknown. Two inscriptions of uncertain origin (MLF **360-361**), may also be from Fabbrica.

324. Scratched across the front of a tile (45×65 cm; letters only 2.5 cm high) from a late fourth-century tomb at Monte delle Monache.[280]

cauio·latrio

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The first *o* is damaged, but it is unnecessary to consider *i*, *f*, or *p* (as does Pasqui), or to read *caui* (as does Conway).

From autopsy, Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 8241). ***Bibliography:*** Pasqui 1889 (*autopsy*); Conway 1897:372 ⟨313⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8370 (*autopsy*); [Della Seta 1918:103 (*autopsy*)]; Bormann *CIL* XI.7514; Vetter 1953:316 ⟨325⟩; [Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:158]; G. Giacomelli 1963:98 ⟨125⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8370.

325. Painted in red on plaster along the back of a tile (78×42 cm; letters 11-14 cm high).

m·neroni
a·f·et·hlau
elea·m·f·

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. *Hl* is a ligature ⱶ (*t.l* Thulin); this use of *h* is probably a hypercorrect extension of its use for (original) *f* in word-initial position before a vowel (§3.5.2), perhaps implying that the inscription may have been written by someone who was not well acquainted with Faliscan orthography. Thulin joined this tile to that of LtF **326**, but Herbig (*CIE*) rightly rejected this because of the differences in the sizes of the tiles and the letters. The gentilicium *Neronius* is attested also in LtF **328** from Fabbrica di Roma, at Civita Castellana in MF **15** and **16**, and at the Grotta Porciosa site in LtF **340**; *Flauilius* is not attested elsewhere in the area.

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:268 (*autopsy*); Herbig 1910:109 n.1 (*autopsy*); Jacobsohn 1910:6 ⟨46b⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8374; Buonamici 1913:72 ⟨37⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.7519 (*autopsy*); Lejeune 1952b:118; Vetter 1953:316 ⟨327d⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:265 ⟨XVI⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8374.

[280] Conway erroneously described the inscription as painted and ascribed it to the La Penna necropolis at Civita Castellana.

326. Painted in red on plaster on a tile (69×47 cm; letters 13-15 cm high).

[---] cuba
[---]nte

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. Thulin unconvincingly joined this tile to that of **325**. The two lines are probably not to be read together, as did Thulin (*cubante* with an epenthetic [-e], cf. §9.2.2.*1*) and Vetter (*cuba-/nt (h)e(c)*, requiring a inversion of the usual formula (§8.10.1) and an omission of word-initial *h*-, for which see §3.5.2). The second line could be *aru]nte*, but even then the overall arrangement of the text remains unclear.

Bibliography: Thulin 1907:268 (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8375 (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.7520 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:316 ⟨327e⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:265 ⟨XVIII⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8375.

327. Painted in white on the front of two tiles (both 68×46 cm; letters of the first tile 12 cm high, of the second tile 14 cm high).

*[1]**st·aco[* *[2?]]**·uei*
*[1]**leuia[* *[2?]] t·f*

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The traces of the first two letters on the second tile are (**u* or **u̯* editors); the *i*, omitted by Bormann, is (*t* Herbig, Vetter, and G. Giacomelli). The first tile can be read separately as 'St. Acus *vel sim.*; Levia', but the tiles may also be joined, as was done by Herbig, who read *st.aco[n]eo.uet(-)* | *leuia[.s]t.f(ilea)* 'St. Aconius Vet...; Livia, daughter of Statius'. A similar case of *aco* or *aconio* is LtF **341** from the Grotta Porciosa site; cf. the possible reading *ạcoṇẹo* in LtF **290** from near Corchiano.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8372 and 8273 (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.7518, 7522 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:316 ⟨327a-b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:265 ⟨XV,i-ii⟩. ***Drawings:*** Herbig *CIE* 8372-8273.

328. Painted in white on the front of a tile (65×45 cm; letters 22-25 cm high).

[1][se]x·ne[[2?]]ro·[---]

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *x* was read as *t* by Herbig, but in a text in Latin alphabet this seems unlikely. The tiles were joined by Herbig (albeit with some hesitation) and all later editors, and read as *[se]x·nero·[nio]*, with a point that is probably a chance trace (cf. *ne·roni* MF **15**). The gentilicium *Neronius* is also attested in LtF **325** from Fabbrica di Roma, at Civita Castellana in MF **15** and **16**, and at the Grotta Porciosa site in LtF **340**.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8376-8377 (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.7521 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:316 ⟨327c⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:265 ⟨XVIIa-b⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8376-8377.

16.5. Carbognano-Vallerano

329-337 (the 'tomba dei Folcosii'). Late in 1880 or early in 1881, a tomb was discovered at Contrada I Quarti, *c.*3 km north of Carbognano (cf. Dressel 1881, Bazzichelli 1881, and Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:158). Dressel dated the tomb and its contents to the second half of the second century,[281] which if correct would be interesting from a linguistic point of view, as none of the inscriptions show traces of Latin influence; Bazzichelli dated it more generally to the period after 241. The contents of the tomb where transported to the newly-founded Museo Civico at Viterbo shortly afterwards, where they have been part of the collection since 1886 (Emiliozzi 1986:131). Most of the inscriptions from this tomb pertain to members of a *gens Folcosia*, a gentilicium found also at Civita Castellana (*cęiṣ[i.]* | *holc[osi.]* | *ar :f [...]* LtF **140**). The two descriptions of the tomb vary with regard to the number of inscribed tiles. Dressel published nine inscriptions; Bazzichelli on the other hand describes the tiles both as "ventisette grandi tegole, *otto* [my italics] delle quali scritte in caratteri etruschi con color nero: una di questi è in frantumi, ed altre pure sono state spezzate" and as "le tegole scritte, che sono *dieci* [my italics], quattro delle quali ben conservate e con iscrizioni. In altre tre si notano resti di scrittura, in una veggonsi appena tre lettere, due hanno appena tracce di scrittura" (1881:136).

329. Painted in black across the front of a tile (68×48 cm; letters 5-7 cm high).

sesto[i]
fulczeo

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *s* is , an with a small accidental stroke at the top, not the read by Dressel (who thence regarded this inscription as the oldest). A small stroke after *sesto* in Dressel's drawing, now invisible, is a 'stroke-interpunct' (§11.2.4) rather than an *i* (*sestọi* Conway). Only the lower half of the *u* is preserved: comparison with the *o*'s shows that it is a *u* (Deecke, Conway, and Herbig), not an *o* (Vetter and G. Giacomelli). The *z* is ; the second *e* is . The deceased is either the father or the son of the Voltius Folcosius of **330**, depending on the interpretation of *zextoi* in that text. For the use of *z*-, see §11.2.4. For *sesto* vs. *zextoi* **330**, see §3.5.7*c*.

From autopsy in the Museo Civico, Viterbo (inv. 92/93). ***Bibliography:*** Dressel 1881 ⟨5⟩ (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *IIM* 76; Schneider 1886:106 ⟨14⟩; Zvetaieff *III* 78; Danielsson in Pauli 1887:123 (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.3162*b*,6; Deecke 1888:178-9 ⟨47⟩; Conway 1897:382 ⟨337⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8357 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:69 ⟨31⟩; Vetter 1953:314 ⟨324a⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:96-7 ⟨123,I⟩ (*autopsy*); Devine 1970:17-8. ***Drawing:*** Dressel 1881 between pp.156-7 (reproduced in *IIM* tab.XI.5, Deecke 1888 Taf.II); Herbig *CIE* 8357.

[281] "L'ipogeo [...] spetta alla prima meta incirca del settimo secolo di Roma" (Dressel 1881:159), i.e. approximately 150-100 BCE. Pisani (1964:341) quotes this as "(VII sec.? così Dressel)".

330. Painted in black on the front of a tile (66×47.5 cm; letters 4-7.5 cm high).

uoltio
folcozeo
zextoi
fi

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with cursive *e* (Ⅱ). The *z* is reversed, ⅂. The early editors adopted Jordan's interpretation of *zextoi* as a genitive, which I find not unattractive; since Schmidt, it has generally been interpreted as a dative: see §4.4.4 and §8.10.2. For the use of *z*-, see §11.2.4.

From autopsy in the Museo Civico, Viterbo (inv. 87). ***Bibliography:*** Dressel 1881 ⟨1⟩ (*autopsy*); Jordan 1881:510-1; Deecke 1881:237; Zvetaieff *IIM* 71; Schneider 1886:105 ⟨9⟩; Zvetaieff *III* 73; Bormann *CIL* XI.3162*b*,1; Deecke 1888:180 ⟨48⟩; Von Planta 1897:588 ⟨321⟩; Conway 1897:382 ⟨338⟩; Schmidt 1905:31; Herbig 1910:194; Jacobsohn 1910:5 ⟨34⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8358 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:70 ⟨32⟩; Herbig 1914a:237; Lejeune 1952b:125; Vetter 1953:314 ⟨324b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:96-7 ⟨123,II⟩ (*autopsy*); Pisani 1964:341 ⟨145B⟩; Devine 1970:17-8. ***Drawings:*** Dressel 1881 between pp.156-7 (reproduced in *IIM* tab. XI.1, Deecke 1888 Taf.II); Herbig *CIE* 8358.

331. Painted in black along the front of a tile (68×47 cm; letters 3-5 cm high).

cesiofolcuso

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with reversed *s* and cursive *e* (Ⅱ). The third letter was read as *p* by Dressel (whence all early editors), but Herbig's *s*, adopted by Vetter and G. Giacomelli, is fully justified. The penultimate letter is ⟨, which has been read as *s* (Vetter, G. Giacomelli, whose reading, from autopsy, I adopt) and as *i*: in both readings the result is an error for **folcusio*. Dressel's *folcno (?)* and Deecke's (1888) *folcusio* are impossible. It is unclear whether the traces above the line belong to a lost first line (Dressel, whence all editors until Conway).

From autopsy in the Museo Civico, Viterbo (inv. 89). ***Bibliography:*** Dressel 1881 ⟨6⟩ (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *IIM* 77; Schneider 1886:106 ⟨15⟩; Zvetaieff *III* 79; Danielsson in Pauli 1887:124; Bormann *CIL* XI.3162*b*,7; Deecke 1888:181-2 ⟨50⟩; Conway 1897:382 ⟨340⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8360 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:71 ⟨34⟩; Vetter 1953:314 ⟨324d⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:96-7 ⟨123,IV⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Dressel 1881 between pp.156-7 (reproduced in *IIM* tab.XI.6, Deecke 1888 Taf.III); Herbig *CIE* 8360.

332. Painted in black along the front of a tile (63.5×41 cm; letters 3-10 cm).

cẹḷio*olcuzeo
******io***
poplia e
uelcẹḷ f

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Only a few traces near the left edge of the tile now remain. In the first line, all editors read *cạio* or *caio*, but Herbig's drawing ( ) indicates *cẹḷio* (with reversed *l* as in the fourth line). Of the first letter of the gentilicium, only a small trace remains; the penultimate seems to be *e* (*i* Danielsson, Herbig, Vetter,

G. Giacomelli). The second line, given as by Dressel and as by Herbig, has been read as *caio* (Bormann), *ҫaio* (Deecke 1888), or *cạio* (Buonamici), or as *...ẹtio* (Danielsson), *ҫẹtio* (Herbig), *cẹtio* (G. Giacomelli), but these forms can neither be patronymic adjectives nor cognomina: perhaps it is possible to read *ṣẹxṭ‹i›o*: the traces would appear to allow at least *ṣẹxto*. The *e* against the edge of the tile at the end of the fourth line is a continuation of the fourth line (*fle*): there is no reason to adopt Lejeune's read *poplia[cu]e*. The last two letters of the name in the fourth line are given as by Herbig, whose *uelcẹị* (with reversed *l*), adopted by G. Giacomelli, is attractive. The other proposals (*uelcịą* Danielsson, *uolc..f* Dressel, Zvetaieff; *valci..f* Schneider, *u?ịe??f* Deecke 1888, *uezcia* Vetter) appear to be impossible.

From autopsy in the Museo Civico, Viterbo (inv. 93bis). ***Bibliography:*** Dressel 1881 (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *IIM* 75; Schneider 1886:106 ⟨13⟩; Zvetaieff *III* 77; Danielsson in Pauli 1887:123 (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.3162*b*,5; Deecke 1888:180-1 ⟨49⟩; Conway 1897:382 ⟨339⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8359 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:70-1 ⟨33⟩; Lejeune 1952b:119; Vetter 1953:314 ⟨324c⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:96-7 ⟨123,III⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawings:*** Dressel 1881 between pp.156-7 (reproduced in *IIM* tab. XI.4, Deecke 1888 Taf. II, *CIE* 8359); Herbig *CIE* 8359.

333. Painted in black along the front of a tile (68 × 47.5 cm; let. 3.5-7 cm). Dressel was uncertain as to which side of the tile was the upper or the lower, eventually deciding by a deposit of mud on the inside of one of the flanges. This may be wrong: I have therefore included my drawing (fig. 16.4) either way up

[..]folcosio	or	********oi***
********oi***		***[..]folcosio***

If the tile is held as Dressel proposed, the inscription is sinistroverse: if it is held the other way up, dextroverse. In either case, the alphabet is Faliscan, but in the second case the letters of *folcosio* appear more normal:

Fig. 16.3. Author's drawings of MLF 334.

left: Tracing of the inscription in the orientation proposed by Dressel.
right: Tracing of the inscription read the other way up.

Nothing remains of the praenomen preceding *folcosio*, read as *anc...* (Schneider), *ụ* (Deecke 1888), *ҫẹ* (Herbig, G. Giacomelli), and *ẹҫ* (Vetter). The gentilicium seems to have been written with *f* (Deecke 1888, Vetter) rather than *h* (Herbig, G. Giacomelli).

The line ending in *-oi* is incomprehensible (*uo uictoi* Schneider; *ḷou ṭiṭoi* Herbig, whence Buonamici and Vetter, *ḷou ṭitoi* G. Giacomelli). Because of this *-oi*, the text is usually interpreted as '... Folcosius (made this grave) for ...' (§8.10.2): if the forms in *-oi* can be genitive, as I assume (§4.4.4), it may be a filiation. In both interpretations this line would be the second, implying that Dressel's orientation of the tile is correct.

From autopsy in the Museo Civico, Viterbo (inv. 90). ***Bibliography:*** Dressel 1881 (*autopsy*); Deecke 1881; Zvetaieff *IIM* 78; Schneider 1886:106 ⟨16⟩; Zvetaieff *III* 80; Bormann *CIL* X *sub* 3162*b*; Deecke 1888:182-3 ⟨52⟩; Conway 1897:383 ⟨342⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8361 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:71 ⟨35⟩; Herbig 1914a:239; Lejeune 1952b:125; Vetter 1953:314-5 ⟨324e⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:96-7 ⟨123,V⟩ (*autopsy*); ***Drawing:*** Dressel 1881 between pp.156-7 (reproduced in *IIM* tab.XI.7, Deecke 1888 Taf.III, *CIE* 8351); Herbig *CIE* 8361.

334. Painted in black along the front of a tile (66.5×45 cm; letters 7-10.5 cm high).

cauia
uetulia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Cf. **335**.

From autopsy in the Museo Civico, Viterbo (inv. 91). ***Bibliography:*** Dressel 1881 ⟨2⟩ (*autopsy*); Deecke 1881:237; Zvetaieff *IIM* 72; Schneider 1886:105 ⟨10⟩; Zvetaieff *III* 74; Bormann *CIL* XI.3162*b*,2; Deecke 1888:184 ⟨54⟩; Conway 1897:383 ⟨344⟩; Jacobsohn 1910:5 ⟨36⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8363; Vetter 1953:315 ⟨324g⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:96-7 ⟨123,VII⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Dressel 1881 between pp.156-7 (reproduced in *IIM* tab.XI.2, Deecke 1888 Taf.III); Herbig *CIE* 8363.

335. "Un tegolone oggi perito, poichè rotto in più pezzi fu dallo scopritore gettato via come inutile, avea, secondo la copia fattane dallo stesso colono, la seguente inscrizione:

OIVꟻ)
OΛIVIƎV

Non è difficile emendare la trascrizione in

OIVꟻ)
OIꓶVꟻƎV

ed avremmo quindi uno stretto congiunto della sopra" (Dressel 1881:157). I find this story strange. Is it likely that Jannoni would have discarded a broken inscription when according to Bazzichelli he preserved a number of broken tiles, both inscribed and plain? And if he found the tile already broken, why would he puzzle it together to make the apograph, only to discard the original? And if the tile was not broken when he found it, why would he have made an apograph?[282] Maybe an inaccurate sketch of **334** was mistaken (by whom?) for an apograph of another, presumably 'lost', inscription.

Bibliography: Dressel 1881; Zvetaieff *IIM* 73; Schneider 1886:105 ⟨11⟩; Zvetaieff *III* 75; Bormann *CIL* XI.3162*b*,3; Deecke 1888:183 ⟨53⟩; Conway 1897:383 ⟨343⟩; Jacobsohn 1910:5 ⟨35⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8364; Vetter 1953:315 ⟨324h⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:96-7 ⟨123,VIII⟩. ***Transcription:*** Jannoni in Dressel 1881:157 (reproduced in *IIM* p.63, Deecke 1888 Taf. III, *CIE* 8364).

[282] The similarity of the names is not suspect: cf. *cauio · uecineo* LF **224** and LF **225** and *cau[ia · Juecin[e]a* LF **222** = *cauia : uecinea* LF **223**, all from one tomb near S. Maria di Falleri.

336. Painted in black on the front of a tile (67×45 cm; letters 10-14 cm high).

tito·marhio
uoltilio·

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. *H* is 𐌇; the letters *io* are written vertically downwards under the line: the point after *uoltilio* serves to separate the word from these letters. The early editors read the *h* as 𐌉, an *e* combined with a 'vertical hyphen' (*marelio* Dressel, Danielsson, Schneider) or an *i* (*mareiio* Jordan, Deecke 1881, Zvetaieff, Bormann); *marhlio* was first read by Deecke (1888). *Marhlio* may perhaps stand for *Marcius* (Herbig, Hirata 1967:60-1), but cf. Campano-Etruscan *ma·r·hie·s·* Cm 6.1 (G. Giacomelli): see §7.8.1.*99*.

From autopsy in the Museo Civico, Viterbo (inv. 88). ***Bibliography:*** Dressel 1881 (*autopsy*); Jordan 1881:511-2; Deecke 1881:237; Zvetaieff *IIM* 74; Schneider 1886:106 ⟨12⟩; Zvetaieff *III* 76; Danielsson in Pauli 1887:123; Bormann *CIL* XI.3162*b*,4; Deecke 1888:182 ⟨51⟩; Conway 1897:382 ⟨341⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8362 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:72 ⟨36⟩; Vetter 1953:315 ⟨324f⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:96-7 ⟨123,VI⟩ (*autopsy*); Stuart-Smith 2004:60-1. ***Drawing:*** Dressel 1881 between pp.156-7 (reproduced in Jordan 1881:511, *IIM* tab.XI.3, Deecke 1888 Taf.III); Herbig *CIE* 8362.

337. Painted in black on a tile (68.7×47 cm; letters 9.8-10.7 cm high).[283]

[1][---?]2p·ol[3][---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Possibly an abbreviation *p* (or *[po]p*, which would require a missing tile that contained the letters *[po]*) followed by a gentilicium *ol[---]* (cf. perhaps *olna* MF **82**); hardly *ol[cosi---]*, as there are no certain instances of omission of word-initial *h-* in Faliscan (§3.5.2). Deecke's *f]ol[cozeo* is impossible.

Frustra quaesiui[284] in the Museo Civico, Viterbo, on two occasions in 1990. ***Bibliography:*** Dressel 1881 ⟨8⟩ (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *IIM* 79; Zvetaieff *III* 80; Bormann *CIL* X *sub* 3162*b*; Deecke 1888:184 ⟨55⟩; Conway 1897:383; Herbig *CIE* 8365 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:315 ⟨324i⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:96-7 ⟨123,IX⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8365.

16.6. The site at Grotta Porciosa

The Grotta Porciosa site lies *c.*3 km to the south-east of Gallese and *c.*2 km to the north-west of Borghetto, between the Fosso delle Rote and Rio Fratta to the north and the Fosso di S. Silvestro to the south. The remains were first described by Dennis (1878:120-2) as the probable site of Fescennium (but cf. §2.1.2); other surveys have appeared in *FI* II.1 p.48-52 with map p.53 ('pagus del Comunale o di Lucciano') and in Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:171-6 with map p.175 fig.28. The site seems to have

[283] In Herbig's drawing, the letters are thin and reminiscent of those of *ceịs[i.] | holc[osi.] | ar ·f [...]* MF **140** from Civita Castellana.

[284] The tile was seen by Herbig in the Museo Civico in 1903. G. Giacomelli, who also saw these tiles, does not mention that it was missing, while noting that she failed to find **329** and **332**.

been a major settlement of the north-eastern ager Faliscus, owing its importance perhaps to the proximity of the Tiber crossing. The inscriptions in Latin alphabet imply that it continued to exist after the war of 241, perhaps because the Tiber crossing was then connected to the Via Flaminia (§2.5.2), cf. Cifani 2002. Of the inscriptions from this location, MLF **338-345**, attributed to tombs discovered "ad oppidulum *Gallese* in regione quae *S*^{a} *Lucia* vocatur, secundum viam" (Herbig *CIE* p.88), are in all probability from the tombs along the ancient road running through the S. Lucia estate directly to the north of the Grotta Porciosa site (Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:171). From the tombs on the north side of the Rio Fratta is a rock-cut sepulcral inscription MLF **346**. Another group of inscriptions (MLF **347-355**) was discovered, according to Magliulo (in Herbig *CIE* p.35), during an excavation in 1890 by a 'sign. Kamelli' at 'Grotta Pulciosa'. Although placed among the inscriptions from the Valsiarosa necropolis at Civita Castellana by Herbig (*CIE* 8196-8204), the rediscovery of some of the inscriptions in or shortly before 1974 shows that they indeed belonged to the site at Grotta Porciosa.

338. Scratched across on the back of a tile (69×48 cm; letters 6-9 cm high).

tana
lartia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The first *t*, of which the top half is preserved, was ⊦, the second ϯ. *Lartia* is perhaps a gentilicium rather than a patronym.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8401 (*autopsy*); [Della Seta 1918:105 (*autopsy*)]; Vetter 1953:322 ⟨341a⟩; [Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:171]; G. Giacomelli 1963:104 ⟨141⟩; Cristofani 1988:20. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8401.

339. Painted in red on the back of a tile (69×48 cm; letters 5.5-9 cm high).

ueltur
ortecese

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The last *e* is written under the line upside down in boustrophedon; Cristofani's *Orteces* appears to be impossible. Herbig interpreted *ortecese* as **Horticensis*; Vetter connected it with *Horta*, modern Orte, to the northeast of the ager Faliscus. G. Giacomelli (1963:209) rejects these derivations, among other reasons because in Faliscan word-initial *h-* is never omitted (§3.5.2). The name may well be connected to *urtcsnas* Etr **XXXV** from Corchiano (Colonna): both names point to a toponym **Hortica*/**Horticum*, perhaps the original name of Corchiano, the oldest attested form of which is *Orclanum* (from **Horticulanum*?): see §6.5.*11*, §7.8.1.*108*.

Bibliography: Herbig 1910:191-2 ⟨31⟩ (*autopsy*); Jacobsohn 1910:6 ⟨47⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8402; Buonamici 1913:76-7 ⟨46⟩; [Della Seta 1918:105 (*autopsy*)]; Vetter 1953:322 ⟨341b⟩; [Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:171]; G. Giacomelli 1963:104 ⟨142⟩; Cristofani 1988:20; Colonna 1990:136. ***Drawing:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8402.

340. Painted in red along the length of the back of a tile (68×47 cm; letters 7.5-11 cm high).

c·nero ni

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet with cursive *e* (Ⅱ). The last two letters (erroneously read together as *m* by Bormann) are written slightly apart, near the edge of the tile. The gentilicium *Neronius* is also attested in LtF **325** and **328** from Fabbrica di Roma and in MF **15** and **16** from Civita Castellana.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 9558). ***Bibliography:*** Herbig *CIE* 8404 (*autopsy*); [Della Seta 1918:105 (*autopsy*)]: Bormann *CIL* XI.7524 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:323 ⟨341e⟩; [Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:171]; G. Giacomelli 1963:266 ⟨XXIII⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* p.89.

341. Two tiles, the first (68×46 cm; letters 9-14.5 cm high) painted in red on plaster lengthwise along the front, the other (68×45 cm; letters 11.5-16 cm high) painted in red lengthwise directly onto the front of the tile.

1 ***m·aco[*** *2?* ***]nio·ia·****
1 ***rutil·ce[*** *2?* ***]ilia·cǫ****

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet with cursive *a* (Λ) and *e* (Ⅱ). The *o* in the second line of the second tile, omitted by Bormann and Safarewicz, is ⟨ ⟩. Both lines end in vague traces. The first tile could be read by itself as 'M. Acus Rutil(us), Cae(sii f.)', but despite the differences in the ways in which they are painted and in the size of the letters, the tiles are usually read together as 'M. Aconius Ia(nti) f(ilius) Rutil(us); Caelia co(niunx)'. *Co* = 'co(niunx)' (Herbig) is unexpected, however, since both in the Faliscan and in the Latin inscriptions, the normal or formulaic word is *uxor* (§7.4.2). In Vetter's *cę* 'Cae. (f.)' the *e* would have a different form than the cursive *e* of the first tile. A similar case of *aco* or *aco[n]eo* occurs in LtF **327** from Fabbrica di Roma, cf. also the possible reading *ąconęo* in LtF **290**.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8403a-b (*autopsy*); [Della Seta 1918:105 (*autopsy*)]; Bormann *CIL* XI.7523a-b (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:322-3 ⟨341c-d⟩; Safarewicz 1955:186 ⟨9⟩; [Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:171]; G. Giacomelli 1963:266 ⟨XXII,i-ii⟩. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8403a-b.

342. Painted in white across the back of a tile (70×50 cm; letters 15-21 cm high) "con avanzi di una riquadratura a colore giallo" (Museo di Villa Giulia inventories, quoted by Herbig).

[---]ln[---]

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. Herbig read *l( ) n(eroni)* or, apparently holding the tile the other way up, *p( ) n(eroni)*.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8405 (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.7526c (*autopsy*); [Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:171]. ***Transcription:*** Herbig *CIE* 8405.

343. Painted in red across the back of a tile (68×48 cm).

[---]roç[---]

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet; ROC Herbig. The *c* could perhaps be an *o*.
Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8406 (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.7526a (*autopsy*); [Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:171]. ***Transcription:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8406.

344. Painted in white on a tile fragment (letters 17 cm high).

[---]·er[---]

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. Bormann read *ero*.
Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8407 (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.7525 (*autopsy*); [Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:171]. ***Transcription:*** Herbig *CIE* 8407.

345. Painted in red on plaster across the back of a tile (67×45 cm).

[---]*f[---]

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The trace is shown as ⁽; the *f*, F, could also be an *e*.
Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8408 (*autopsy*); Bormann *CIL* XI.7526b (*autopsy*); [Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:171]. ***Transcription:*** Herbig *CIE* 8408.

346. Pasqui's description of the location of this inscription is unclear: it apparently belongs to one of the tombs in the north side of the gorge of the Rio Fratta, opposite the Grotta Porciosa site (cf. Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:176). "Una tomba tuttora aperta e in balia delle intemperie che presto le danneggeranno ancora di più. Trovasi essa molto più a valle delle precedenti in luogo detto il Pontone di Costanzo. E` incavata sul masso, con entrata in piano, stretta e poco regolare. La porticella arcuata mette as una camera rettangolare larga m. 5,45 lunga m. 2,20 entro il quale furono deposti i cadaveri entro ventiquattro loculi chiusi da tegoli e dentro a piccolo loculo che doveva contenere un ossario. Sopra al loculo a destra della fila più alta nelle pareti di fronte è incisa a lettere regolari alte mm. 55:" (*FI* II.1, p.68)

m·tito·tulio·uoltilio·hescuna

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Colonna finds the *m* problematic: the most obvious interpretation seems to be to take both *m* and *tito* as praenomina, followed by a gentilicium, a patronym, and a second gentilicium in the singular,[285] possibly because the *m* was added later (as in *m · t · u · genucilio* Cap **435**). Such second gentilica belong to the onomastic formula of freedmen: see §7.6. *Hescuna* may be a derivation from the same root as the Faliscan toponym *Fescennium*, as Colonna suggested (§6.5.*10*).
Bibliography: Pasqui in *FI* II.1 p.67-8 (*autopsy*); Colonna 1990:123 n.52. ***Drawing:*** Pasqui in *FI* II.1 p.68 (reproduced upside down in Colonna 1990:124 fig.4).

[285] Also in *m · c · pompilio CIL* I^2.30, *q · k · cestio CIL* I^2.61, and *q · a · aidicio CIL* I^2.2442.

347-353 ('tomba degli Arati'). The following inscriptions were painted between the loculi of a tomb excavated in 1890 by a 'sig. Kamelli' and Magliulo, and were known for more than 80 years only through Magliulo's apographs. These were emended by most editors because of their peculiar letterforms. In 1974, however, the tomb and six of the inscriptions were rediscovered during an excavation of the Centro Cattolico Archeologico Romano near the Grotta Porciosa site. The photographs published by Renzetti Marra (1974) show that Magliulo's apographs were quite accurate, his main mistake being the rendering of the peculiar *t*, ⋮, as ⋮, which had been read as *c*.

347. Painted in white between two loculi (length 170 cm; letters 15-17 cm high).

tanncuil·aratia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. *A* is ⋮, *t* is ⋮. *Tanncuil* is an error for *tan‹a›cuil*.

Bibliography: (I) Jacobsohn 1910:4 ⟨20⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8198; Vetter 1953:298 ⟨278a⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:78 ⟨76,I⟩. ***Drawing:*** Magliulo in *CIE* 8198. – (II) Renzetti Marra 1974:355-7 ⟨1⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Photograph:*** Renzetti Marra 1974 tav.LVIII,a.

348. Painted in white between two loculi (length 130 cm; letters 10-12 cm high).

aufilo·aratio

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *t* is ⋮.

Bibliography: (I) Jacobsohn 1910:4 ⟨20⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8199; Vetter 1953:298 ⟨278b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:78 ⟨76,II⟩. ***Drawing:*** Magliulo in *CIE* 8199. – (II) Renzetti Marra 1974:355-7 ⟨2⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Photograph:*** Renzetti Marra 1974 tav.LVIII,b.

349. Painted in white between two loculi (length 90 cm).

cauio·aratio

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *t* is ⋮.

Bibliography: (I) Jacobsohn 1910:4 ⟨20⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8201; Vetter 1953:298 ⟨278d⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:78 ⟨76,IV⟩. ***Drawing:*** Magliulo in *CIE* 8201. – (II) Renzetti Marra 1974:355-7 ⟨4⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Photograph:*** Renzetti Marra 1974 tav. LIX,a.

350. Painted in white between two loculi (length 90 cm; letters 15 cm high).

tito·artio

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The first *t* is ⋮, the second and third are ⋮. *Artio* is an error for *ar‹a›tio*.

Bibliography: (I) Jacobsohn 1910:4 ⟨20⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8203; Vetter 1953:298 ⟨278f⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:78 ⟨76,VI⟩. ***Drawing:*** Magliulo in 8203. – (II) Renzetti Marra 1974:355-7 ⟨6⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Photograph:*** Renzetti Marra 1974 tav. LIX,c.

351. Painted in white between two loculi (length 100 cm; letters 8-14 cm high).

caisio·tirio

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet with reversed *s*. For the gentilicium, cf. MLF **358**.

Bibliography: (I) Herbig *CIE* 8202; Vetter 1953:298 ⟨278e⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:78 ⟨76,V⟩. ***Drawing:*** Magliulo in *CIE* 8202. – (II) Renzetti Marra 1974:355-7 ⟨5⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Photograph:*** Renzetti Marra 1974 tav.LIX,b.

352. Painted in white between two loculi (length 70 cm; letters 15 cm high).

f aino

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The distance between the *f* and *anio* is usually disregarded, and the whole read as one word connected with Latin *Faenius*. The photograph clearly shows a space after the *f*, and Renzetti Marra rightly reads *f aino*: cf. *f · pacios* LtC **392**. In Magliulo's apograph, the first letter of the second word is ⅂ (*ą* Vetter), but Renzetti Marra's photograph shows that Herbig's *a* is definitely correct.

Bibliography: (I) Herbig *CIE* 8200; Vetter 1953:298 ⟨278c⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:78 ⟨76,III⟩. ***Drawing:*** Magliulo in *CIE* 8200. – (II) Renzetti Marra 1974:355-7 ⟨3⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Photograph:*** Renzetti Marra 1974 tav.LVIII,c.

353. This inscription was ascribed by Magliulo to the same tomb, but was not found when this was re-excavated.

16.4. Magliulo's apograph of MF 353.

(From *CIE* 8204.)

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oct*i[....]uoltili

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet? Similar letters are found in MLF **333**. Like Latin names in *Oct-*, the praenomen, probably abbreviated to *oct*, is derived from *octo* (Herbig in fact read *oçţo* 'Octo') or *octauus* (*oct(a)ui*?). *Uoltili* is probably a patronymic adjective rather than a gentilicium, in which case the gentilicium can only be very short (e.g. *[aino]*, cf. *aino* in MLF **352** from the same tomb?). *Uoltili* is an abbreviated nominative or a genitive: it is not necessary to restore *uoltili[o]* (thus Herbig). I fail to see how Vetter's *ụcsọr [caui] uoltili* can be derived from Magliulo's apograph; also, there are no Faliscan examples of a woman being described as 'the wife of ...' without her own name being mentioned (§7.4.2), or of *cs* for *x*.

Bibliography: (I) Herbig *CIE* 8204; Vetter 1953:29 ⟨278g⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:78 ⟨76,VII⟩. ***Drawing:*** Magliulo in *CIE* 8204 – (II) Renzetti Marra 1974:355-7 ⟨7⟩ (*autopsy*).

354. Scratched on a tile found in 1890 during the excavation by Kamelli and Magliulo. Known only through Magliulo's apograph.

titopolafio

Magliulo's apograph gives the *p* as ꟼ. Herbig doubted the likelihood of a gentilicium *polafio* (*CIE*) and (1914) read *tito pola fio* 'Titus Pola filius' (='Titus Pola jr.') with *fio* "wohl sicher über *fi̯ius aus *fil'ius" (1914b:251). This was adopted by G. Giacomelli

with *pola* as a genitive *pola(s)* (cf. §4.2.2, §3.5.7*c*) and by G. Giacomelli. The palatalisation of /li̯/ on which these interpretations are based appears to have no parallels in the Faliscan material, however (§3.5.5.*3*): spellings such as *hileo* MF **161** and *filea* MF **14** show that the word was /fīlios/ and not /fīli̯os/: see §3.6.2. It is therefore better either to adopt Magliulo's *tito polafio* (cf. the *Masofius* and *Patrufius* adduced by G. Giacomelli) or to emend to *pol‹fa›io*, a derivation of names in *Pulf-* (Hirata): see §7.8.1.*123*.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8196; Herbig 1914b:251; Herbig 1923:231; Vetter 1953:298 ⟨277a⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:77 ⟨74⟩; Hirata 1967:68; G. Giacomelli 2006:92. ***Drawing:*** Magliulo in *CIE* 8196.

355. Scratched on a tile found in 1890 during the excavation by Kamelli and Magliulo. Known only through Magliulo's apograph.

manileo

Sinistroverse: Magliulo's apograph gave the *m* as M and the *n* as N, and the *l* reversed as Ꞁ. Either *manileo* 'Manilius' or *m anileo* 'M. Annilius' *vel sim.*.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8197; Vetter 1953:298 ⟨277b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:77-8 ⟨75⟩. ***Drawing:*** Magliulo in Herbig *CIE* p.35.

16.7. The area around Gallese and Borghetto

356-357. In a 'tenuta Paciano' between Gallese and Borghetto, Nogara found two inscriptions ("alter m. 0,69 a. × 0,52 l., alter 0,45 a. × 0,88 l." Herbig *CIE* 8598-8599) cut in the right-hand wall of a *cuniculus* leading to the bottom of the gorge of the Rio delle Rote. Ward Perkins & Frederiksen (1957:173-4) identified the spot with a tomb *c.*350 m to the north of Casale Paciano, 2 km to the west of the Grotta Porciosa site, but refer to the inscriptions as 'inscribed tiles'. In Nogara's transcriptions the texts are:

AIIIƎV	*ueiila*	AIƎV ƎM	*me[.]uela*
IϮIOI	*ioiti*	AϮ⊐:ƎAVƧ V	*u[.]suae:rfa*
AMI1	*pima*	AИ⅃>OVƎ⊥	*zeuoc*na*

The second inscription is read as *me[ ]uela* | *u[ ]svae : dfa* | **evoc*na* by G. Giacomelli. Both are incomprehensible; the latter may end in an Etruscan gentilicium in *-na*.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8598-8599; [Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:173-4, 176]; G. Giacomelli 1963:72 ⟨65a-b⟩. ***Transcriptions:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8598-8599.

358-359. Two inscriptions that are described as "dipinti, se ho ben interpretato, su tegoli sepolcrali" (G. Giacomelli 1977:68). Apart from the text, and the fact that they were found near Borghetto (cf. the anonymous reference in *SE* 41 (1973), pp.541-2), no data are given.

cailio·tirio

tito·batio

If the alphabet is Faliscan, the use of *b* is indeed surprising (§11.2.2-4) and would probably point to Latin or Sabellic influence. The gentilicium *tirio* occurs also in *caisio · tirio* MLF **351** from the nearby Grotta Porciosa site; G. Giacomelli for some reason regarded it as a patronym. He compared *batio* to *Battius* in *CIL* VI.6740 and 6757 from Rome.

Bibliography: R.G. Giacomelli 1977:68-9; Marinetti 1982:36.

16.8. Northern ager Faliscus, exact provenance unkown

360. Painted in red across the back of a tile (67×48 cm; letters 7-8 cm high). The tile is broken in two: Thulin reports that according to the Museo di Villa Giulia inventories one half was found at Fabbrica and the other at Gallese (i.e., near the site at Grotta Porciosa).[286]

cauia
hadenia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. There is no trace of the interpunct read by Herbig (whence all later editors) before *hadenia*: as the inscription is very well preserved, it is more likely that it never existed than that it has disappeared since Herbig saw it in 1903.

From autopsy in the Museo dell'Agro Falisco, Civita Castellana (inv. 8249). ***Bibliography:*** Thulin 1907:294-5 ⟨33⟩ (*autopsy*); Jacobsohn 1910:6 ⟨46a⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8371 (*autopsy*); [Della Seta 1918:103 (*autopsy*)]; Vetter 1953:316 ⟨326⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:98 ⟨126⟩. ***Drawings:*** Thulin 1907:295 (reproduced in *CIE* 8371); Herbig *CIE* 8371.

361. Scratched along the length of the back of a damaged tile. Perhaps from the area of Fabbrica di Roma (Renzetti Marra).

] precono[
] cuitenet[
] let [

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The first line ends in the lower half of a shaft, placed lower than the rest of the line. It is probably a *t*, to be read with *tene* in the following line. The third line is followed by a vacant space of seven or eight letters; why Renzetti Marra reads *let[* is not explained. *Tenet* would appear to be 'tenet', *let* an abbreviation the same word that occurs in the plural as *lete* in MLF **285**: *pace* Mancini, this is in all probability the same word as Latin *lectu* in Lat **251** (see §6.3.*39*). It is tempting to interpret *cui* as relative a pronoun (§4.9), but this presupposes a merger of /ē̯/ (← */oi̯ ei̯/) with */ī/ that is not attested even in the Late Faliscan inscriptions (§3.7.5) and

[286] "Wenn diese Angabe richtig ist, hat wohl eins von beiden im Packsatttel eines Esels als Ballast die Reise von einen Ort zu dem anderen gemacht" (Thulin 1907:295).

would have been very surprising even in a Latin inscription until *c.*150 BCE. If *cui* is a relative pronoun at all, it is probably a nominative (e.g. "'Preconio il quale occupa il letto'", Renzetti Marra 1990:337). I cannot adopt Renzetti Marra's suggestion that it is a locative ("'Preconio qui/dove occupa il letto'", 1990:338): in Faliscan, 'here' is *he(c)* or *fe(c)*, and relative 'where' will hardly have been *cui* in view of Latin *ubi*, Oscan *puf* Po 34-37, and Umbrian *pufe TI* Ib.33, VIa.8, VIb.50, VIIa.43. The third possibility given by Renzetti Marra, taking *cui* as a dative 'cui' ("'Preconio cui (al quale) tocca il letto'", 1990:388), requires an unparallelled construction for *tenet*.

Bibliography: Renzetti Marra 1990:336-7 ⟨B,1⟩ (*autopsy*); Rix 1993a; M. Mancini 2002:28-33. ***Drawing:*** Renzetti Marra 1990:336.

362. Scratched on a tile seen in 1907 by Bormann in the Veroli collection, Caprarola (letters 8-10 cm high). Vetter gave the vicinity of Corchiano, Vignanello, or Carbognano as a likely provenance, as other pieces in the Veroli collection were from that area.

iata:senθia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Veroli's drawing shows the *s* as an Ϟ that appears to be a slip for the normal Ϟ. The *θ* is shown as O, which in the ager Faliscus is very rare: cf. §I1.2.4. Cf. *[---]nθia* MLF **212**. Note the omission of syllable-final /n/ in *iata*, but not in *senθia*.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8586; Vetter 1953:323 ⟨342⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:97-8 ⟨124⟩. ***Drawing:*** Veroli in *CIE* 8586.

Chapter 17

The south-eastern ager Faliscus and the ager Capenas

17.1. The inscriptions from the south-east

As said in §2.1.1, the exact borders between the ager Faliscus and the ager Capenas cannot be established. If the alphabet and the language of the inscriptions is any clue, the most significant non-Etruscan site to the west of Mount Soracte, Rignano Flaminio (§17.2, MLF **363-375** and Etr **XLIII**), was Faliscan rather than Capenate, and the same seems to be true for the area around Monte Soratte and the land lying between it and the Tiber, to which belong S. Oreste (§17.3, MF **376**), Ponzano (§17.4, LtF **377**), Civitella S. Paolo (§17.5, LF **378-384**), and Fiano Romano (§17.6, EF/Etr **385**). The inscriptions from these sites can not be connected to the war of 241 BCE and have therefore all been classed as Middle or Late Faliscan or Capenate (cf. §11.1.3), unless they can be dated in other ways. The ager Capenas (at least in the linguistic, but perhaps also in the geopolitical sense) would then have occupied only a relatively narrow strip along the west bank of the Tiber, from the Tiber crossing near Lucus Feroniae in the south to some unknown point southeast of Mount Soracte. A description of the ager Capenas is given in G. Jones 1962 with map pl.XLIII. Its linguistic history seems to have been defined by influences from the surrounding areas: see §9.3.3. Apart from the inscriptions presented in this chapter, three inscriptions of unknown origin may also be Capenate: *pa‹qu›is blaisiís* Sab **468***, *iunai* MLF/Cap **475***, and *setorio* MLF/Cap **476***.

17.2. Rignano Flaminio

Rignano Flaminio lies on the western slopes of Soracte, close to the Via Flaminia and its precursors, the main connection between the ager Faliscus and the south. It is not clear whether it belonged to the ager Faliscus or the ager Capenas; the inscriptions at least are all either Faliscan (MLF **363-375**; MLF **371-372** have been regarded as Etruscan) or Etruscan (Etr **XLIII**) The inscriptions from this site were all found in 1911 during the excavation of a group of tombs discovered that year on the south-east side of the nearby Monte Casale (cf. Gabrici 1912b:75).

363-366. The following inscriptions were found in tomb 1. As this had been filled in with debris from other tombs (Gabrici 1912b:75), not all the inscriptions found in this

tomb need necessarily have belonged there. From the same tomb is *umrie* **XLIII**. The gentilicia in this tomb, *Umbrius* and *Umbricianus*, are probably derived from the ethnonym of the Umbrians (§7.8.1.*158-159*, §6.5.*18*), which is interesting in view of the Sabellic epigraphical and linguistic features in the ager Capenas.

363. Painted in red on a fragmentary tile (letters 7.5-17 cm high).

[iu]na:upreciano

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *p* is a heavily splayed and tilted , as it is in **364** from the same tomb; the *r* is Я rather than Я (§11.2.4.2). The letters *ia* are written vertically downwards under the line and the letters *no* upside down in boustrophedon underneath the line for lack of space. The gentilicium occurs also in MLF **364**: cf. also *umrie* **XLIII** from the same tomb, and *u]mpricius* Lat **219** from S. Maria di Falleri.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8430; Gabrici 1912b:75-6 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:80 ⟨51⟩; [Della Seta 1918:104 (*autopsy*)]; Vetter 1953:324 ⟨343b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:107-8 ⟨145,I⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8430; Gabrici 1912b:76 fig.2.

364. Painted in red on a fragmentary tile (letters 10-15 cm high).

[---]upreciano

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *p* is a heavily splayed and tilted , as in **363** from the same tomb; the *r* is Я rather than Я (§11.2.4.2). The final *o* is written under the line for lack of space. For the gentilicium, see under **363**.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8431; Gabrici 1912b:75-6 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:80-1 ⟨52⟩; [Della Seta 1918:104 (*autopsy*)]; Vetter 1953:324 ⟨343a⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:107-8 ⟨145,II⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8431; Gabrici 1912b:75 fig.1.

365-366. The *titulus prior* was painted in red ("rubro colore paene evanido", Herbig *CIE* 8429) on twelve tile fragments (letters 15-16 cm high).

[---]are·*[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The trace at the end is the bottom of an *e* or an *a*.

Apparently painted directly over this, without covering the *titulus prior* with a layer of plaster (which is apparently unique, see §11.1.4.*1c*), was the *titulus posterior* (letters 12-15 cm high), also in red ("rubro colore melius conservato", Herbig *CIE* 8429).

[---]uịnụ[---]

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Gabrici read *unil* (dextroverse, with reversed *n*). The *i* is thin and stands close to the *u*. Of the last letter, only the bottom halves of two shafts are preserved: these may have belonged to separate letters. Perhaps *uịnụ[---]* is a gentilicum *uịnụ[cio* 'Vinucius'?

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8429*a-b*; Gabrici 1912b:75-6 (*autopsy*); [Della Seta 1918:104 (*autopsy*)]; Vetter 1953:324 ⟨343d⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:107-8 ⟨145,IV*a-b*⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Nogara *CIE* 8429*a-b*; Gabrici 1912b:76 fig.4.

367-375. The following inscriptions are from the fourth- or third-century tomb 5.

367-370. Scratched in four black-varnished saucers: ***(367)*** height 4.2 cm, ∅ 10 cm, letters 4-5 mm high; ***(368)*** height 65 mm, ∅ 108 mm, letters 6-9 mm high; ***(369)*** height 57 mm, ∅ 133 mm, let. 8-15 mm high; ***(370)*** height 60 mm, ∅ 140 mm, letters 7-8 mm high. The first is reminiscent of fifth-century ware (Gabrici 1912a:78-9).

uoltai

uoltai

uoltai

uoltai

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Genitive (thus Pisani) or dative: see §8.8.1.
Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8435-8438; Gabrici 1912b:79-81 (*autopsy*); [Della Seta 1918:104 (*autopsy*)]; Buonamici 1913:77-8 ⟨48⟩; Vetter 1953:325 ⟨350⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:65 ⟨52,I-IV⟩; Pisani 1964:344 ⟨146G,c⟩. ***Drawing:*** Nogara *CIE* 8435-8438; Gabrici 1912a:79,81.

371-372. Scratched in two black-varnished plates (height 5.5 cm, ∅ 13.5 and 14.5 cm respectively; letters 7-12 mm high).

larise uicina

larise
uicina

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. In **372**, the first *a* is squarish. The *e* is upside down and (Ǝ) in **371** and upside down and reversed (Ɛ or Ɛ?) in **372**. Rix erroneously gives both texts as *larise* | *uicina*. The *-e* in *larise* (also in *larise* MF **270**) has been regarded as an epenthetic [e] or [ə] after an /s#/ that was pronounced more strongly than in Faliscan (§3.5.7*d*), but is perhaps rather an accusative *larise(m)* used as a nominative: see §9.2.2.
Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8439-8440; Gabrici 1912b:80 (*autopsy*); [Della Seta 1918:104 (*autopsy*)]; Buonamici 1913:78 ⟨49⟩; Vetter 1953:325 ⟨351a-b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:65 ⟨53,I-II⟩; Cristofani 1988:21; Rix *ET* Fa 2.22-23. ***Drawing:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8439-8440; Gabrici 1912b:80.

373-375. Scratched under three black-varnished saucers (height 7 cm, ∅ 17 cm, letters 18 mm high; height 5.5 cm, ∅ 14.5 cm, letters 10 mm high; height 6 cm, ∅ 15.5 cm, letters 10 mm high respectively):

la

la

la

Sinistroverse. In **373**, *a* is Λ, in **374** *a* is ꟻ (but not, it would appear, a *v*); **375** is (*uo* Gabrici, *ụo*? Herbig), with a sign very similar to the first *o* in Cap **388**.
Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8441-8443; Gabrici 1912b:81; G. Giacomelli 1963:65 ⟨54,I-III⟩. ***Drawing:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8441-8443; Gabrici 1912b:81.

17.3. S. Oreste

376. Scratched in an early to mid-fourth-century red-varnished saucer (height 5.5 cm, ∅ rim 15.8 cm, foot 9 cm; letters 10 mm high).

statiocailio

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *l* is ⅄. The gentilicium recurs in MF **90-97** from what was apparently a family tomb of the *gens Caelia* at Civita Castellana.

Bibliography: Colonna 1976b (*autopsy*); Marinetti 1982:36; ***Photographs:*** Colonna 1976b:119 figs.1-2. ***Drawing:*** Colonna 1976b:119 fig.3.

17.4. Ponzano Romano

377. Cut on a tuff base (18.5[287]×38×8.5 cm), damaged at the top, from Contrada Il Brecceto near Ponzano,[288] in the area between Mount Soracte and the Tiber.

[.]ṃuniorecena*
numesio·m[art]ę
d d l m

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet with cursive *e* (ll). Of the initial *m*, only a trace of the right-hand shaft remains; of the letters *uniorec*, only the lower halves are preserved. The *o* in the second line is diamond-shaped and open on the lower side. Gatti's *Numesio M[art]i[o]* (adopted by Wachter), for which cf. the dedication *mar · popi st · f · n · mart · d · d · me* Cap **420**, is preferable to such deities as *Munibregenai* (Kretschmer), *Munio Recena* (Dessau), *[se]munib(us)* (Egger in *CIL* I^2.2436), or *[ter]munib(us) regena-t(ibus)* (Vetter; doubted by Prosdocimi). *Ṃunio* is the dedicant rather than the deity: the gentilicium *Munius* occurs also in *CIL* XI.3941 from Capena. Restoring *m[art]i[o]*, however, is impossible, unless the stone is damaged, which from Gatti's description does not appear to be the case. As there is not enough space to restore *m[arte]i*, I read *m[art]ę*, taking the shaft at the end of the line as part of a cursive *e*. The similar shaft at the end of first line is usually read as *i*, but this makes no sense: perhaps it is not a letter at all, in which case we would have a cognomen (or a second gentilicium?) *recena*.[289]

Bibliography: Gatti 1906 (*autopsy*); Kretschmer 1917:137-9; Bormann *CIL* XI.7762; Dessau 1916:3^2.C ⟨9231⟩; Diehl 1911:14 ⟨138⟩; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.2436; Diehl 1930:17 ⟨160⟩; Vetter 1953:330-1 ⟨361⟩; Degrassi *ILLRP* 290; Prosdocimi 1962:758 n.4; Briquel 1972:823 n.7; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.2436 *add.*; Wachter 1987:440. ***Drawing:*** Gatti 1906:61.

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[287] Gatti (1906:61) gave the height as "m. 0,75", probably an error for 'm. 0,175'.

[288] Kretschmer erroneously gave the provenance as Capena.

[289] Reading *[o]rṭicena*, (cf. *orticese* MLF **339** and *urtcsnas* Etr **XXXV**) seems impossible.

17.5. Civitella S. Paolo

378-382. The following inscriptions were found in 1959 at località Monte Verde near Civitella S. Paolo. They are all from the third- or second-century tomb VI.

378. Scratched on the bottom of a red-varnished saucer (height 4 cm, ∅ rim 12.7 cm, foot 7.6 cm; letters 7-9 mm high).

madicioeco

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *a* is 𐌀. Torelli divided *madicio* as *m adicio*, probably rightly. The formula OWNER$_{NOM}$ *ego* is until now only attested for Latin inscriptions, OWNER$_{GEN}$ *ego* only for Faliscan inscriptions: see §8.9.2.

Bibliography: Torelli 1967:536 ⟨1⟩ (*autopsy*); Briquel 1972:820, 826; Renzetti Marra 1974:350 ⟨1⟩; Agostiniani 1982:149 ⟨588⟩. ***Drawing:*** Torelli 1967:53.

379. Scratched on the bottom of a reddish-brown varnished saucer (height 2.7 cm, ∅ rim 7.4 cm, foot 3.8 cm; letters 9-10 mm high).

sceiuai

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *a* is 𐌀. For the name, cf. *sceua* MLF **314**. Torelli found it strange to find the owner designated by the cognomen alone: I rather suspect that *Scaeua* was a female praenomen, corresponding in sense to the male praenomen *Laeuius*: see §7.7.1. *Sceiuai* is either genitive or dative, probably the former: see §8.8.1. The *-ei-* represents /ę̄/ ← /ai/, although the ending is still written *-ai*, indicating that the here the diphthong (/-āi/) or the disyllabic /-āī/ developed differently: see §3.7.6.

Bibliography: Torelli 1967:536-7 ⟨2⟩ (*autopsy*); Renzetti Marra 1974:350 ⟨II⟩. ***Drawing:*** Torelli 1967:53.

380. Scratched on the outside of a brown-varnished plate (height 1.7 cm, ∅ rim 11.7 cm, foot 4.1 cm; letters 7-12 mm high).

seralia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *a* is 𐌀.

Bibliography: Torelli 1967:537 ⟨3⟩ (*autopsy*); Renzetti Marra 1974:35 ⟨III⟩. ***Drawing:*** Torelli 1967:53.

381. Scratched inside a black-varnished saucer (height 4.9 cm, ∅ rim 13.1 cm, foot 5.1 cm; letters 10 mm high).

iun

Sinistroverse.

Bibliography: Torelli 1967:537 ⟨4⟩ (*autopsy*); Renzetti Marra 1974:351 ⟨IV⟩. ***Drawing:*** Torelli 1967:53.

382. Scratched in a red-varnished saucer (height 6 cm, ∅ rim 16 cm, foot 8.7 cm; letters 8-14 mm high).

cauios

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *a* is Ⱥ; the *o* is slightly diamond-shaped. This is one of the very few Faliscan instances where word-final *-s* after a short vowel is written out: see §3.5.7*d*.

Bibliography: Torelli 1967:537-8 ⟨5⟩ (*autopsy*); Renzetti Marra 1974:351 ⟨V⟩. ***Drawing:*** Torelli 1967:53.

383-384. The following inscriptions are from the third- or second-century tomb XV.

383. Scratched in a red-varnished saucer (height 3.9 cm, ∅ rim 12.3 cm, foot 7 cm; letters 10 mm high).

ecotulie

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The first *e* is , the *o* . *Tulie* is either an a-stem genitive, with *-e* representing */-ē/* (thus Torelli, but cf. §3.7.6), or an Etruscoid nominative or genitive *tulie(s)* (see §9.2.2.2*d*). In the former case, the formula is *ego* OWNER$_{GEN}$ as attested for the Latin inscriptions, in the latter, it could also be *ego* OWNER$_{NOM}$ attested for the Faliscan inscriptions (§8.9.2). In view of the preservation of the diphthong in the ending of *sceiuai* MF **379**, I prefer to take *tulie* as an 'Etruscoid' form. Torelli's alternative, to take *tulie* as a nominative plural, is impossible in view of *eco*.

Bibliography: Torelli 1967:538 ⟨1⟩ (autopsy); Renzetti Marra 1974:351 ⟨I⟩; Agostiniani 1982:150 ⟨589⟩. ***Drawing:*** Torelli 1967:538.

384. Scratched in a brown-varnished saucer (height 6 cm, ∅ rim 12 cm, foot 5.1 cm). Letters 8 mm high.

[fel]ịcinatiu

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Of the first *i*, only the lower half is legible. The *a* is , the *t* . The integration is Torelli's, after *feliçinate* in MF **42**. The editors regard the ending as Etruscan, but it is rather the regular i-stem genitive plural ending with an early, but not impossible, closing of the vowel (§36.6.*1*). A parallel for a *Besitzerinschrift* consisting of the genitive plural may be provided by *tulom* MF **72**, if this is interpreted as 'Tullum = Tullorum'.

Bibliography: Torelli 1967:538-9 ⟨2⟩ (*autopsy*); Renzetti Marra 1974:351 ⟨II⟩; Briquel 1972:820, 826; Rix *ET* Fa 2.17. ***Drawing:*** Torelli 1967:538.

17.6. Fiano Romano

385. Scratched on the shoulder of a small impasto amphora. Sixth or fifth century according to Paribeni, but first half of the seventh century according to Briquel.

tulate tulas urate

Sinistroverse, Etruscan (?) alphabet with reversed *s*. The *r* is ꟾ. *Tulas* is written as *tul as* on both sides of the handle, but is certainly one word. The text, which appears to be some kind of word-play, is regarded as Etruscan by most editors, but is not included in *ET*. An interpretation based on the Italic languages has been proposed by Pisani, who connected *tulate* and *tulas* with Latin *tollo* and *urate* with Oscan *urust* 'dixerit' *TB* 14, 16, taking the text as an injunction to drink and chatter ("'sopportate - sopporta! chiacchierate"'). Although this interpretation is not without its problems, it is certainly possible: see §5.3.2.*20-21,23*.

Bibliography: Paribeni 1927; Buonamici 1929a; Buffa *NRIE* 986; Pisani 1943:262-3; Vetter 1953:291; G. Giacomelli 1963:268 ⟨XXXVI⟩; Pisani 1964:347; Pallottino *TLE* 25; Briquel 1972:815-8. ***Photograph:*** Paribeni 1927:370 fig.1. ***Drawing:*** Paribeni 1927:370 fig.2 (reproduced in Briquel 1972:815 fig.6).

17.7. Civitucola (ancient Capena)

The site of ancient Capena is the Colle di Civitucola or Colle del Castellaccio, *c.***4** km to the north of modern Capena (called Leprignano until the 1930s, and occurring under that name in the older literature on the subject). Like many South Etrurian sites, ancient Capena lies on a spur of land enclosed between river gorges, in this case those of the Fosso di Vallelunga or Fosso dell'Olio to the north and that of a smaller stream to the south, which meet on the east of the town (see Paribeni 1905, 1906a-b, Stefani 1953 with map p.3, and G. Jones 1962:134-5 with maps pp.130-1). The early finds (Cap **386-393**) are from Contrada S. Martino, to the north of Civitucola; most of the other inscriptions were found during the excavations in 1905 and 1906 at Contrada le Saliere, to the west of Civitucola on the same ridge (Cap **395-420** and Cap **421**), and at Monte Cornazzano, to the south of Civitucola (Cap **422**). The provenance of the other inscriptions (Cap **394** and **423-430**) is undocumented. An Etruscan inscription from the area is the alphabetary Etr **XLIV**.

386-393. The following inscriptions were found at Contrada S. Martino (Henzen).

386-387. Repeated four times on a black-varnished cup (height 6 cm, ∅ 13.5 cm) is a decorative stamp showing a dolphin and the inscription (letters *c.*1 mm high).

cel

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. Herbig considered reading *ḷeṷ*. Scratched inside the cup is

c·pscni

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet with reversed *s*. *Pscni* = *p(e)sc(e)ni*, a genitive or perhaps an abbreviated nominative (§8.8.1) of *Pescennius*.

Bibliography: Henzen 1864:147 (*autopsy*); Fabretti *CII* 2453*bis*,a; Garrucci *SIL* 816 (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *IIM* p.66 ⟨*e*⟩; Deecke 1888:203-4 ⟨69⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.6706,4 (*autopsy*); Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.476,4; Herbig *CIE* 8449 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:89 ⟨56⟩; Vetter 1953:327 ⟨356a⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:266 ⟨XXIV⟩; Briquel 1972:822-3; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.476,4 *add.*; Wachter 1987:440 n.999. ***Drawing:*** Palmieri in Fabretti *CII* tab.XLIII; Garrucci *SIL* tab.II.3; [*e prioribus* Deecke 1888 Taf.III]; Herbig *CIE* 8449 (reproduced in Briquel 1972:822 fig.8).

388. Scratched in a black-varnished cup (h. 6 cm, ∅ 15 cm; let. 6-11 mm).

ḳ·uomanio

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. *A* is Λ; the *o*'s are polygonal and open at the bottom (cf. Cap **389**, and LtF **377** from nearby Ponzano Romano). The first *o* looks very similar to the *a* or *o* in MLF **375**. The first letter, , was read as *t*. *c*., and interpreted either as two praenomina followed by a singular (or a very unlikely dual!) gentilicium *uomanio* (Henzen, Garrucci, Deecke, Schulze), or as a praenomen *t* followed by a paternal praenomen *c*, with an affiliation between the praenomen and the gentilicium, as in Umbrian and Volscian (Garrucci, Deecke). Buonamici read *p[·]*, Lommatzsch and Herbig *k*., which has been adopted by all later editors. The gentilicium *Vomanius* has been connected to the potamonym *Vomanus* (cf. §7.8.1.*182*, §6.5.*4*).

Bibliography: Henzen 1864:147-8 (*autopsy*); Fabretti *CII* 2453*bis*,c; Garrucci *SIL* 815 (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *IIM* p.65 ⟨*d*⟩; Deecke 1888:200 ⟨65⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.6706,5; Conway 1897:384 ⟨347⟩; Schulze 1904:117; Herbig *CIE* 8450 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:89-90 ⟨57⟩; Meister 1916:99-100; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.476.5; Vetter 1953:327 ⟨356b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:266 ⟨XXV⟩; Briquel 1972:824; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.476,5 *add.* ***Drawings:*** Henzen 1864:147; Palmieri in Fabretti *CII* tab. XLIII; Garrucci *SIL* tav. II.5; [*e prioribus* Deecke 1888 Taf. III]; Herbig *CIE* 8450 (reproduced in Briquel 1972:824 fig.9).

389. Scratched in a black-varnished cup (h. 6 cm, ∅ 15 cm; let. 9-14 cm.)

a·írpios·esú

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *o* is polygonal and open at the bottom, as in Cap **388**. The second letter is ⋈ and has been read as *ś* by most editors; Briquel convincingly read it as *í*, which results in a name *írpios* that recalls the Faliscan *Hirpi Sorani* (§2.3.4): see §7.8.1.*74*, §9.3.2. The word-final *-s* is written out, which is very rare in the Faliscan, but not in the Capenate inscriptions (§3.5.7.*d*). The last letter is Ψ, which was usually read as *χ*: as in the case of *k · sares · esú* Cap **404**, Briquel gave this letter the value *ú* and read *esú*, which must be interpreted as *esú(m)* /esom/ = *sum* (Colonna 1983b:58, independently Bakkum 1996): see §5.3.1.*5*. The resulting formula, OWNER$_{Nom}$ *sum*, is unparallelled in *Besitzerinschriften* but provides few difficulties: see §8.8.2.

Bibliography: Henzen 1864:148 (*autopsy*); Fabretti *CII* 2453bis,*b*; Garrucci *SIL* 814 (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *IIM* p.66 ⟨*f*⟩; Deecke 1888:200-1 ⟨66⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.6706,6; Lommatzsch *CIL* 476,6;

Herbig 1910b:184-5; Herbig *CIE* 8451 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:90 ⟨58⟩; Vetter 1953:327 ⟨356c⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:267 ⟨XXVI⟩; Briquel 1972:833-7; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.476,6 *add.*; Colonna 1983b:58-61; Wachter 1987:440 n.999; Bakkum 1996; Mancini 1997:27-30. ***Drawings:*** Henzen 1864:148; Palmieri in Fabretti *CII* tab.XLIII; [*e prioribus* Deecke 1888 Taf.III]; Herbig *CIE* 8451 (reproduced in Briquel 1972:832 fig.10).

390. Scratched, before firing according to Henzen, under the foot of a black-varnished cup (height 6.5 cm, ∅ 15.5 cm; letter 3-7 mm high).

k·pa·aiedies·

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The first *a* is ⅁, the second Λ. The *e*'s are Ε. Some editors have read the text as referring to two brothers K. and Pa. Aiedius (Schulze, Vetter, Degrassi, G. Giacomelli) or to three brothers K., P., and A. Aiedius (Henzen). *Aiedies* would then be an instance of the second-declension nominative plural in *-es*, which is especially frequent at the end of lists (including those consisting of multiple praenomina, cf. Bakkum 1994), but for this it is too early. Others have assumed that the text refers to only one person 'A. Aiedies K. f.' (Garrucci, Zvetaieff, Bormann), 'K(aeso) Pa(quii filius) Aiedius' (Deecke, Wachter), or 'pa . aiedies . k .' (Herbig). In this interpretation, *aiedies* is a Sabellic nominative singular in *-ies* (cf. *sares* in Cap **404**) with the filiation between the praenomen and the gentilicium, as in Umbrian and Volscian (Briquel). Both the praenomen *pa* = *Pacius* and the gentilicium *Aiedius* are Sabellic rather than Latin.

Bibliography: Henzen 1864:149-50 (*autopsy*); Fabretti *CII* 2453bis,*g*; Garrucci *SIL* 811 (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *IIM* p.65 ⟨*a*⟩; Deecke 1888:199-200 ⟨64⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.6706,1; Conway 1897:383 ⟨346⟩; Von Planta 1897:588 ⟨323⟩; Schulze 1904:116-7; Herbig *CIE* 8453 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:91-92 ⟨60⟩; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.476,1; Vetter 1953:328 ⟨358a⟩; Cencetti 1957:196-7; G. Giacomelli 1963:267 ⟨XXVIII⟩; Briquel 1972:830; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.476,1 add.; Wachter 1987:440 n.999; Bakkum 1994:20-2. ***Drawings:*** Henzen 1864:149 (reproduced in *CII* tab.XLIII); Garrucci *SIL* tab.II.4 (reproduced in *CIL* XI.6706,1, *CIL* I^2.476,1, Cencetti 1957:196 fig.15); [*e prioribus* Deecke 1888 Taf.III]; Herbig *CIE* 8453 (reproduced in Briquel 1972:832 fig.10).

391. Scratched in a black-varnished cup.

at·fertrio

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *a* is Λ. *At* may be *Attus*. *Fertrio* is probably to be read as *fert(o)rio* = *Fertorius*, derived from the praenomen *Fertor*, which may occur in the area in the abbreviated form *f* (e.g. in Cap **392**, see further §7.7.1.*23*). There appear to be no attestations of the gentilicium *Feretrius* suggested by Deecke.

Bibliography: Henzen 1864:147 (*autopsy*); Fabretti *CII* 2453*bis*,*i*; Garrucci *SIL* 812 (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *IIM* p.65 ⟨*b*⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.6706,2 (*autopsy*); Deecke 1888:201-2 ⟨67⟩; Conway 1897:384 ⟨348⟩; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.476,2; Herbig *CIE* 8454 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:92 ⟨61⟩; Vetter 1953:328 ⟨358b⟩; Degrassi *ILLRP* 1232; G. Giacomelli 1963:267 ⟨XXIX⟩; Briquel 1972:824-5; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.476,2 *add.* ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8454 (reproduced in Briquel 1972:824 fig.9).[290]

[290] The drawing in Deecke 1888 (Taf.III) reproduces Henzen's transcription.

392. Scratched around the foot of a black-varnished cup (height 3 cm, ∅ 8.5 cm; letters: 7-12 mm high).

f·pacios

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet with reversed *s*. The letters *ac* are accidentally written together as , hardly the *paḳios* suggested by Briquel. Henzen's *f. paci* is a misreading. The *f* probably stands for *Fertor*, as was proposed by Garrucci (see §7.7.1), not for the *Faustus* proposed by Henzen. It occurs also in *f aino* MLF **352** from the Grotta Porciosa site and perhaps in *fofiti* or *f ofiti* MF **58** from Civita Castellana.

Bibliography: Henzen 1864:146 (*autopsy*); Henzen 1865:266-7; Fabretti *CII* 2453bis,*h*; Garrucci *SIL* 813 (autopsy); Zvetaieff *IIM* p.65 ⟨*c*⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.6706,3; Deecke 1888:202 ⟨68⟩; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.476,3; Herbig *CIE* 8455 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:92 ⟨62⟩; Vetter 1953:328 ⟨358c⟩; Degrassi *ILLRP* 1233; G. Giacomelli 1963:267 ⟨XXX⟩; Briquel 1972:825; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.476,3 *add.* ***Drawings:*** Palmieri in Fabretti 1867 tab. XLIII (reproduced in Deecke 1888 Taf. III); Herbig *CIE* 8455 (reproduced in Briquel 1972:824 fig.9).

393. Scratched on a small urn (height 7.5 cm).

claudia·c·f
a·d·iii·eidus·sext

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The language is the Latin of the inscriptions of the second century BCE.

Bibliography: Henzen 1864:145-6 (*autopsy*); Fabretti *CII* 2453*bis*,k; Garrucci *SIL* 1883; Bormann *CIL* XI.3961a; Herbig *CIE* 8456 (*autopsy*); Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.1987. ***Transcriptions:*** Henzen 1864:145 (reproduced in *CII* 2453, *SIL* 1883, *CIL* XI. 3961*a*, *CIL* I^2.1987); Herbig *CIE* 8456.

394. Briquel mentions an inscription from 'S. Marino' (given the context, probably an error for 'S. Martino') that would shortly be published by Di Giuseppe:

st·clanidio

There are no other attestations of a gentilicium *Clanidius*.

Bibliography: Briquel 1972:825; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.2903c.

395-419. The following inscriptions were found during excavations at Contrada Le Saliere in 1905 and 1906 (cf. Paribeni 1905, 1906b).

395. Scratched inside a black-varnished etrusco-campanian saucer from tomb VI.

c·aci

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet with A. *Aci* is a genitive or abbreviated nominative of a gentilicium *Accius* or *Acilius*. The latter occurs in *CIL* XI.7531 from Falerii Novi and *CIL* XI.7768 from Fiano Romano.

Bibliography: Paribeni 1905:304; Paribeni 1906b:288, 482; Herbig *CIE* 8495; Bormann *CIL* XI.8124,2; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.2496,1; G. Giacomelli 1963:267 ⟨XXXI,i⟩. ***Transcriptions:*** Paribeni 1905:304; Paribeni 1906b:288, 482 (reproduced in Herbig *CIE* 8495).

396. Scratched, near the foot, on a black-varnished vessel from tomb VI.

c·aue

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet with Λ; the last letter is a cursive *e* (Ⅱ), not Paribeni's *ii*.
Bibliography: Paribeni 1905:304; Paribeni 1906b:288; Herbig *CIE* 8496; Bormann *CIL* XI.8124,6; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.2496,5; Vetter 1953:328 ⟨359a⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:268 ⟨XXXI,ii⟩; Briquel 1972:824-5. ***Drawing:*** Paribeni 1905:304 (reproduced in Paribeni 1906b:483, Herbig *CIE* 8496, Briquel 1972:824).

397. Scratched in a black-varnished cup from tomb VII.

cl·anu

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *l* appears to have been written within the *c*; the *a* is Λ.
G. Giacomelli read *clanu*: cf. perhaps *clanidio* Cap **394**?
Bibliography: Paribeni 1905:306; Paribeni 1906b:289, 482; Herbig *CIE* 8497; Bormann *CIL* XI.8124,4; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.2496,3; G. Giacomelli 1963:268 ⟨XXXII,i⟩; Briquel 1972:822-3. ***Drawing:*** Paribeni 1905:306 (reproduced in Paribeni 1906b:482, *CIE* 8497, Briquel I972:822 fig.8).

398. Scratched on a black-varnished vessel from tomb VII.

cau

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *a* is Λ.
Bibliography: Paribeni 1905:306; Paribeni 1906b:289, 482; Herbig *CIE* 8498; Bormann *CIL* XI.8124,7; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.2496,6; G. Giacomelli 1963:268 ⟨XXXII,ii⟩. ***Drawing:*** Paribeni 1905:306 (reproduced in Paribeni 1906b:482, Herbig *CIE* 8498).

399. Scratched on the body of an *olla* without handles, from tomb VII.

sex
senti

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *e* is cursive (Ⅱ). Apparently due to a confusion with *sex · sen·ti* Cap **429**, Paribeni read *sex. senti*: G. Giacomelli and Briquel made the same error. The form is a genitive or abbreviated nominative (§8.8.1). The gentilicium occurs also in *senθia* MLF **362** from the northern ager Faliscus, and perhaps also in *[---]nθia* MLF **212** from the surroundings of Civita Castellana.
Bibliography: Paribeni 1905:306; Paribeni 1906b:289, 483; Herbig *CIE* 8500; Bormann *CIL* XI.8124,1*a*; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.2496,10a; G. Giacomelli I963:268 ⟨XXXIII⟩; Briquel I972:822-3. ***Drawing:*** Paribeni 1906b:483 (reproduced in Briquel 1972:822 fig.8).

400. Scratched on the neck of an *urceus* from tomb XXX.

c·sab

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *a* is Λ. The name is obviously *Sab(in-)*, reflecting the Latin form: the Faliscan form would have been **Saf(in-)*, see §6.5.*17*.
Bibliography: Paribeni 1905:326; Paribeni 1906b:311, 483; Herbig *CIE* 8508; Bormann *CIL* XI.8124,15; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.2496,8; Briquel 1972:825. ***Drawing:*** Paribeni 1905:326 fig.7 (reproduced in Paribeni 1906b:483).

401-402. Scratched on two Etrusco-Campanian vases from tomb XXXIII.

si or ***is***

Dextroverse, but it is unclear whether the graffito is to be read as 𐌎𐌉 or as 𐌉𐌎 (thus Herbig).

ha

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *a* is Λ.

Bibliography: Paribeni 1905:327-8; Paribeni 1906b:312; Herbig *CIE* 8511 and 8514; Bormann *CIL* XI.8124,11. ***Transcription:*** Paribeni 1905:327-8 (reproduced in Paribeni 1906b:312, *CIE* 8511, and8514).

403. Scratched on a late terracotta cup from tomb XXXV.

kape

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *a* is Λ. The third letter is Λ: editors have usually read *kale* ('Gallus'? Herbig, G. Giacomelli), apparently with an upside-down *l*; Vetter read *kaue*, apparently with an upside-down *u*.

Bibliography: Paribeni 1905:329; Paribeni 1906b:313, 481; Herbig *CIE* 8515; Buonamici 1913:93 ⟨65⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI *sub* 8124; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.2496,9; Vetter 1953:329 ⟨359c⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:268 ⟨XXXIV,i⟩; Briquel 1972:832-3. ***Drawing:*** Paribeni 1905:329 (reproduced in Paribeni 1906b:481, *CIE* 8515, Briquel 1972:832 fig.10).

404. Scratched on an Etrusco-Campanian cup from tomb XXXV.

k·sares·esú

Dextroverse, but with Faliscan *a* and *r*. The *k* is . The last letter is , which is was usually read as Ψ *χ*: as in the case of *a · írpios · esú* Cap **389**, Briquel gave the letter the value *ú*. The resulting *esú* is *esú(m)* /esom/ = *sum* (Colonna 1983b:58, independently Bakkum 1996): see §5.3.1.5. The formula, OWNER$_{NOM}$ *sum*, is unparallelled (cf. also on Cap **389**), but provides few difficulties: see §8.8.2. The ending of *sares* is apparently a Sabellic nominative with *Endsilbenkürzung*, cf. *aiedies* in Cap **390**.

Bibliography: Paribeni 1905:329; Paribeni 1906b:313, 481; Herbig *CIE* 8516; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.2496,9; Vetter 1953:329 ⟨359d⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:268 ⟨XXXIV,ii⟩; Briquel 1972:832-7; Colonna 1983b:58-61; Wachter 1987:440 n.999; Bakkum 1996. ***Drawing:*** Paribeni 1905:329 (reproduced in Paribeni 1906b:481, *CIE* 8516, Briquel 1972:832 fig.10).

405-409. Scratched on five black-varnished cups from tomb XXXVIII .

ca

ca

ca

ca

p·an

Dextroverse. The *a* is Λ. The last text, , has also been read as *r·an* (Paribeni 1905:335, Lommatzsch): the first letter in fact looks more like *r* than like *p*: for a praenomen *R-* see Salomies 1987:87 n.233.

Bibliography: Paribeni 1905:335; Paribeni 1906b:318; Herbig *CIE* 8518-8521, 8523; Bormann *CIL* XI.8124,3,12-14; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.2496,2. ***Drawing*** *of 409:* Paribeni 1905:335 (reproduced in Paribeni 1906b:318, *CIE* 8523). ***Transcriptions*** *of 405-408:*

410. Scratched on a saucer from tomb XLI.

cn

Dextroverse.

Bibliography: Paribeni 1905:338; Paribeni 1906b:320; Herbig *CIE* 8524; Bormann *CIL* XI.8124,9. *tr.* Paribeni 1905:338 (reproduced in Paribeni 1906b:320, *CIE* 8524).

411-412. Scratched on a black-varnished saucer and a cup from tomb XLIV.

ua

mc

The first inscription is dextroverse, with Λ (read upside down by Paribeni and Herbig); the second sinistroverse.

Bibliography: Paribeni 1905:340; Paribeni 1906b:322; Herbig *CIE* 8528 and 8530. *Drawing:* Paribeni 1905:340 (reproduced in Paribeni 1906b:322, *CIE* 8528 and 8530).

413-415. Scratched on a saucer from tomb XLV is an inscription that Paribeni gave as

IΛNINIΛNIꓘ

"'L(uci) Ani' ripetuto due volte" (1905:342). Bormann (in Paribeni 1905:484) suggested reading ΛNNIΛNINI *anṇiạnini* (=*anṇiạni{ni}*?) which was adopted by Herbig and G. Giacomelli.

Two other saucers from this tomb bear inscriptions:

hui

t·ps

Dextroverse. *Hui* may be *h ui*, with *h* for an original /f-/, as in Faliscan (§3.5.2): an abbreviated praenomen *f*, probably *Fertor* (§7.7.1.*23*), occurs in Cap **392**, MLF **352**, perhaps in MF **58**. *Ps* is probably *P(e)s(cenni-)*, cf. *pscni* Cap **387**.

Bibliography: Paribeni 1905:342; Paribeni 1906b:324; Herbig *CIE* 8532-8533; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.2496,7; G. Giacomelli 1963:268 ⟨XXXV⟩. ***Transcriptions:*** Paribeni 1905:342; Paribeni 1906b: 324 (reproduced in *CIE* 8532-8533, *CIL* I^2.2496,7).

416. Scratched on a saucer from tomb XLIX.

an or ***na***

The text is given by Paribeni as ΛИ or NΛ, probably rather the latter.

Bibliography: Paribeni 1905:343; Paribeni 1906b:326; Herbig *CIE* 8535. ***Transcription:*** Paribeni 1906b: 326 (reproduced in *CIE* 8535).

417-418. Scratched on two black-varnished saucers from tomb LVIII.

eno

cn

Dextroverse.

Bibliography: Paribeni 1905:352; Paribeni 1906b:335; Herbig *CIE* 8538-8539; Bormann *CIL* XI.8124,8. ***Transcriptions:*** Paribeni 1905b:352 (reproduced in Paribeni 1906b:335, *CIE* 8538-8539).

419. Scratched on a black-varnished skyphos from tomb LXVIII (tomb LXIX Herbig)

c·ap

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *a* is Λ, the *p* Ꝑ.

Bibliography: Paribeni 1905b:361; Paribeni 1906b:342; Herbig *CIE* 8540; Bormann *CIL* XI.8124,5; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.2496,4. ***Transcription:*** Paribeni 1905:361 (reproduced in Paribeni 1906b:342, *CIE* 8540, *CIL* XI.8124,5, *CIL* I^2.2496,4).

420. Scratched on a black-varnished cup from tomb XX (height 18.5 cm, ∅ 13 cm).

m·anio

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet with reversed *n*. The *i* appears to have a very small bar at the top, which led Bandinelli to read *anto* = *Anto(nius)*.

Bibliography: Bendinelli 1920:131; Coarelli & Mangani *RMR* p.311 ⟨463⟩; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.2903*a*. ***Photograph:*** Coarelli & Mangani *RMR* tav. LXXVI. ***Drawings:*** Bendinelli 1920:131; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.2903*a* (from the photograph in *RMR* tav. LXXVI).

421. Incised on a bronze oinochoe (h. 18.5 cm) found between 1909 and 1912 in tomb 180 (215) at Contrada Le Saliere. The same tomb contained an amphora with a consular dating of 160 BCE. Second half of the second century (Wachter).

mar·popi·st·f·n·mart·d·d·me

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The reading is Kretschmer's: Della Seta (whence Stefani) read *ste* 'Ste(llatina tribu)' instead of *st·f*. He interpreted *n.mart* as 'N(onis) Mart(iis)', but it is probably rather an abbreviation of the name of the same deity that appears in LtF **377** from Ponzano as *numesio · m[art]ę*. *Popi* is *Popius* rather than *Popilius*.

Bibliography: Kretschmer 1917:139; Della Seta 1918:335 (*autopsy*); Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.2435; Warmington 1940:70-1 ⟨34⟩; Degrassi *ILLRP* 249; Stefani 1958:177; Briquel 1972:826; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.2435 *add.*; Wachter 1987:440 n.1000. ***Drawing:*** Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.2435 add.

422. Scratched on a vase from tomb LXXI at Monte Cornazzano'

ΓΥΙΗLILI

Dextroverse. The reading is Paribeni's. No interpretation has been proposed for this unintelligible graffito. "Quid subsit, non video." (Herbig *CIE* 8541).

Bibliography: Paribeni 1906b:346; Herbig *CIE* 8541. ***Transcription:*** Paribeni 1906b:346.

423-430. The following inscriptions are ascribed to Capena, without further specification, and without a reason being given for the attribution. Several of these inscriptions were described only by Garrucci and have unfortunately vanished since.

423. Scratched around the foot of black(-varnished?) cup.

Fig.17.1. Garrucci's drawing of Cap 423.

(From *CIE* 8452.)

Garrucci hesitatingly read *M. Spauri(os) ...i*, Deecke *...? śnuśpaurn...*. Later editors adopted Bormann's *atnuśpauri*. All these readings assume that ⋊ (⋈) is to be reas as *ś*. Briquel, giving the sign its South Picene value *í*, hesitatingly proposed *atnuípluri...*.

Bibliography: Garrucci *SIL* 818 (*autopsy*); Deecke 1888:206-7 ⟨74⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.6706,7; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.476,7; Herbig *CIE* 8452; Buonamici 1913:90-1 ⟨59⟩; Vetter 1953:327-8 ⟨357⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:267 ⟨XXVII⟩; Briquel 1972:833 n.2. ***Drawing:*** Garrucci *SIL* tab.II.6 (reproduced in *CIL* XI.6706,7, *CIL* I^2.476,6, *CIE* 8452).

424-425. Scratched on two black-varnished cups.

c·uel

t·no

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet with cursive *e* (ⅡⅠ). *Uel* is perhaps *Vel(min-)*, cf. *Velminaeus* in MLF **305**, **307-310**, **312-313**, **315-317** from Vignanello.

Bibliography: Garrucci *SIL* 822, 826 (*autopsy*); Deecke 1888:208, 208-9 ⟨76,77*d*⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.6706,10.3, 6706,10.7; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.476,10.3, 476,10.7; Herbig *CIE* 8466-8467 (*autopsy*). ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8466-8467.

426-429. Scratched on four small cups.

an

c·ca

l·ca

c·uo

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *a* is Λ.

Bibliography: Garrucci *SIL* 820, 823, 825 (*autopsy*); Deecke 1888:208-9 ⟨77*a-c*⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.6706,10.1, 10.6, 10.4; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.476,10.1, 10.4, 10.6; Herbig *CIE* 8471, 8478-8480.

***Drawing** of 425:* Herbig *CIE* 8471. ***Transcriptions** of 426-428:* Garrucci *SIL* 820, 823, 825 (reproduced in *CIL* XI.6706,10.1, 10.6, 10.4, *CIL* I^2.476,10.1, 10.4, 10.6, *CIE* 8478-8480).

430. Scratched on the neck of a *pithos*, in 1909 in the Sammlung Reimer, Hamburg.

sex·sen·ti

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet with cursive *e*. Genitive, or perhaps an abbreviated nominative: see §8.8.1. For other instances of the gentilicium *Sentius*, see the identical text Cap **399**.

Bibliography: Ballheimer 1909:29-30 ⟨45⟩ (*autopsy*); Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.2496,10b. ***Drawing:*** Ballheimer 1909:29.

17.8. The shrine of Lucus Feroniae

The sanctuary of Feronia was discovered in 1952 in the southern ager Capenas, near Scorano (see Taylor 1920, Foti 1953, Andreae 1957, and G.Jones 1962:191-201). Most of the dedications (Cap **431**, Lat **432**, Cap **433**, Lat **434**, Cap **435**, Lat **436**, Cap **437-438**) are written in a Latin that shows very few dialectal features, except for the consistent spelling of the name of the deity as *Feronea* instead of *Feronia* in Lat **432**, Lat **434**, Cap **435**, Lat **436**, and perhaps Cap **438**. This may well have been a mannerism going back to an older local spelling with *e*: cf. §3.6.2. One dedication, *cavies : uhtav[ies ?---]* Etr **XLV**, is written in Etruscan but shows a Sabellic (?) spelling *ht* in the name. With the exception of the building inscription Lat **456**, all inscriptions appear to predate the destruction of the shrine by Hannibal in 211 BCE (cf. Liv. 26.11).

431. Cut in two contiguous sides of a small sandstone basis (6.5×3 cm; letters 5-10 mm high). Second half of the third century.

R. Bloch & Foti	*Torelli*
ṭescoṣal** ǀ **uod·a[rria]	***pescoṣal** ǀ **[q]uod·a[fluc]***
plaria·t·l** ǀ **dedet·libes	***plaria·t·l** ǀ **dedet·libes***
feron·dono** ǀ **m·mereto	***feron·dono** ǀ **m·mereto***

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *a* is Λ. The first *r* is Ꝑ, the second Ꝛ. Of the first and the sixth letters, only the lower halves are preserved. The text has been read in two entirely different ways. R. Bloch & Foti assumed that the lines continue round the corner of the block, reading *ṭeṣco saluod Arria Plaria T(iti) l(iberta) dedet libe(n)s Feron(eae) donom mereto*. This, however, presents two major problems: *(a)* since *Arria* is nowhere attested as a praenomen, the name *Arria Plaria* would have to be a double gentilicium (cf. §7.6), but apparently *without* any praenomen; *(b)* the formula *donum dedit libens merito* is split in two. Both these problems are solved by Torelli's

(1974:741-6) very different reading. Reading each side separately, he gave the text as *Ṛesco. Ṣal(uia)* I *Plaria T. l.* I *Fero(niae) don(o)* II *[q]uod a[f luc(o)]* I *dedet libes* I *m(erente) mereto.* This keeps the formula *donum dedit libens merito* more or less intact, and instead of *Arria* has a more common female praenomen *Saluia*, which according to Kajava (1995:69 n.88) is especially common as a name of slaves (and therefore of freedwomen, as in this inscription). Although Torelli's reading is clearly preferable and is adopted by Wachter, it is not without problems, especially the occurrence of an apparently Sabellic word *pesco(m)*, for which cf. Marsian *pesco* VM 5 (and Umbrian *persklum TI* Ia.1 etc.), in an otherwise Latin inscription: see §6.2.*54*, §6.3, §9.3.2.

Bibliography: R. Bloch 1952:622-5 (*autopsy*); R. Bloch & Foti 1953:63-71 (*autopsy*); Foti 1953:16 (*autopsy*); *AÉ* 1953 p.60 ⟨195⟩; Andreae 1957:273 ⟨1⟩: Degrassi *ILLRP* 93a; Jones 1962:193 n.91; Briquel 1972:824-5; Torelli *RMR* pp.333-4 ⟨482⟩ (*autopsy*); Torelli 1974:741-6; Moretti 1975:145 ⟨141⟩; Poccetti *NDI* 225; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.2867; Wachter 1987:440-1. ***Photographs:*** R. Bloch 1952 fig.2*a-c*; R. Bloch & Foti 1953 before p.65, figs.1-3; Degrassi *ILLRP* tab. 42a-b; Torelli 1974 tav.CXXX. ***Drawings:*** R. Bloch & Foti 1953:66 (reproduced in Briquel 1972:824 fig.9); Torelli 1974 tav. CXXX (reproduced in *CIL* I^2.2867).

432. Cut in the front of the pediment of an *aediculum* (9×38 cm). Third century.

l·calpurnius
[fe]ronea·dono·merite

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *p* is Γ , the *n* N, and the *l* L. The gentilicium *Calpurnius* occurs also in *CIL* XI.3943 from Capena. For the antevocalic *e* in *[fe]ronea*, see above *ad init.* Poccetti's *NDI* gives the lines in reversed order.

Bibliography: R. Bloch 1952a:625 (*autopsy*); R. Bloch & Foti 1953:71-2 (*autopsy*); *AÉ* 1953 p.60 ⟨196⟩; Foti 1953:16; Andreae 1957:274 ⟨2⟩; Degrassi *ILLRP* 93b; Briquel 1972:822-3; Coarelli *RMR* p.334 ⟨483⟩ (*autopsy*); Moretti 1975:173 ⟨39⟩; Poccetti *NDI* 226; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.2868; Wachter 1987:441. ***Photographs:*** R. Bloch 1952a:625 fig.2*d*; R. Bloch & Foti 1953 before p.65 fig.4; Degrassi 1965:31 tab. 41; Coarelli *RMR* tav. LXXXV; ***Drawing:*** Briquel 1972:823 fig.8.

433. Cut in a stone base (8.5×7.5×13.2 cm; letters *c.*22 mm high) damaged at the left. Late third century.

[---]no
[---]afluc
[---]mere

Dextroverse in Latin alphabet; the last *e* is cursive (II). Degrassi & Krummrey integrated *[---]no(s)* I *[Feronea] af luc(o)* I *[dedet] mere(to)*; Torelli proposed *[Fero(niae) do]no* I *[dedet] af luc(o)* I *[libes] mere(to)*, apparently without the name of a dedicant. It is unclear what *af luc(o)* would have meant.

Bibliography: R. Bloch 1952a:625 (*autopsy*); R. Bloch & Foti 1953:72-3 (*autopsy*); *AÉ* 1953 p.60 ⟨197⟩; Andreae 1957:274 ⟨3⟩; Torelli 1974:745 n.10; Moretti 1975:175 ⟨43⟩; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.2869. ***Photographs:*** R. Bloch 1952a:625 fig.2*e*; R. Bloch & Foti 1953 before p.65 fig.5 (reproduced in *CIL* I^2 tab.11 fig.1); Moretti 1975 tav.39.

434. Cut on a stone base (4.9×7.6×3.8 cm; letters *c*.0.8 cm high) damaged at the top. Third century.

[----------]
feronea dono[?]
lubens·merto[?]
dedit

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *l* is ⌞. The first line, which stood on the missing part of the base, contained the name of the dedicant. *Merto* is a graphical contraction *mer(e)to*. For the antevocalic *e* in *feronea*, see above. For the dative in *-a*, see §3.7.6.

Bibliography: Moretti 1975:175 ⟨44⟩; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.2869b. ***Photographs:*** Moretti 1975 tav. 38; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2 tab.143 fig.5.

435. Cut in a round stone base (height 10.5 cm, ∅ 10 cm; letters 2.5 cm high) found in 1970. Late third century.

m·t·u·genucilio·sen·l
feroneai·dedit

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *l* is ⌞. The first two initials are larger (3.5 cm) and were added later (hence the muddled syntax, with the singular *genucilio* and *dedit*). Moretti suggested that *sen* is perhaps a cognomen rather than a praenomen. Note *genucilio* with antevocalic *i* beside *feroneai* with antevocalic *e*: see above *ad init.*

Bibliography: Moretti 1975:173-4 ⟨40⟩; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.2869a. ***Photographs:*** Moretti 1975 tav.38; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2 tab. 143 fig.4.

436. Cut in a round stone base (h. 9 cm, ∅ 13.5 cm; let. 1.3 cm). Late third century?

[---]rcius·l·l
[fer]oneae
[l] m

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *l* is ⌞. The first *l* is reversed: Moretti interpreted it as 'l(ibertae)', Degrassi & Krummrey as 'L(uciae)', which I prefer. As the lines appear to have been were centred, the last line was probably *[l] m* rather than *[d d l] m*. Note *[---]rcius* with *i* beside *[fer]oneae* with *e*: see above *ad init.*

Bibliography: Moretti 1975:152 ⟨156⟩; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.2869c. ***Photograph:*** Moretti 1975 tav.36; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2 tab.143 fig.6.

437. Scratched on a shard of a vase (38×9×20 mm R. Bloch & Foti; 9×8 cm *AÉ*).

·fe

Probably the abbreviation of the name *Feronia*.

Bibliography: R. Bloch 1952:625 (*autopsy*); R. Bloch & Foti 1953:73; Foti 1953:16; *AÉ* 1953 p.60 ⟨198⟩; Andreae 1957:274; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.2910.

438. Scratched on an impasto fragment (max. 5×11 cm). Third century.

[---]*ea**[---]

Since in the other dedications antevocalic *e* for *i* appears only in the name of Feronia (see above *ad init.*), *[---]*ea** is probably *[fero]ṇeaę* or *[fero]ṇeaị*.

Bibliography: Moretti 1975:152 ⟨154⟩; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.2910a.

439-455. Scratched on a number of fragments of various vessels found in a building destroyed in the late third century.

m r

m r

m r

m r

m r

m r

m r

m r

m r

m r

cm

lma or ***lna***

l·ma or ***l·na***

m·p

de

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. In **452** and **453**, the last letters are ΛΛ, which can be read as *ma* or as *na*. In **454**, only the shaft of the last letter is left. In **455**, the *e* is cursive (Ⅱ).

Bibliography: Moretti 1975:156-60 ⟨7-22⟩; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.2910b.1-17.

456. Cut on a stone base (19×112×27.5 cm; letters first line 5-6 cm, second line 4-4.5 cm, third line 3.5-4 cm high) and coloured in with red. Early first century (Fraschetti).

c·didius·t·f·m·uettius·m·f·duomuiri
quinq·statuas·fornicesque·d·d
faciundum·coer·idemque·probauerun[?t]

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet.

Bibliography: Moretti 1975:104-5 ⟨141⟩; Fraschetti 1977:317 n.1; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.3338b.

Photograph: Moretti 1975 tav.28; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2 tab.144 fig.3.

17.9. Ager Capenas, provenance unknown

457-462. These inscriptions were published by Garrucci as Capenate, but without data with regard to the circumstances of their discovery. Most have not been seen since.

457. Scratched in a small vase is

apa

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet with cursive Λ.

Bibliography: Garrucci *SIL* 819 (autopsy); Gamurrini 1880 ⟨829⟩; Deecke 1888:205-6 ⟨72⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.6706,9; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.476,9; Herbig *CIE* 8458; Vetter 1953:330 ⟨360e⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:268-9 ⟨XXXVII,ii⟩; Rix *ET* Fa 2.24. ***Transcription:*** Garrucci *SIL* 819 (reproduced in Deecke 1888 Taf. III, *CIL* XI.6706,9, *CIL* I^2.476,9, *CIE* 8458).

458. Scratched on a small vase.

ca·e**sa

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet (?). The text is given as ⅂A·E⅄hSΛ: the first letter is probably a reversed *c*, perhaps indicating a woman's name (cf. §11.2.5.*3*); Deecke read it as a *t*. The second word is unclear (*e[z]psa* Deecke, *ex̣sa* Herbig).

Bibliography: Garrucci *SIL* 821 (*autopsy*); Deecke 1888:208 ⟨75⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.6706,10.2; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.476,10.2; Herbig *CIE* 8460; G. Giacomelli 1963:269 ⟨XXXVIII,i⟩. ***Transcription:*** Garrucci *SIL* 821 (reproduced in *CIE* 8460).

459. Scratched on a small vase.

au cau
panur

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. *Au* and *cau* are praenomina; Deecke suggested that *panur* is a slave-name *panur(co)* = Πανοῦργος, cf. *N. Munitor Panurcus* in *CIL* XI.3166 from Falerii Novi.

Bibliography: Garrucci *SIL* 1882 (*autopsy*); Deecke 1888:217 ⟨103⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.6706,8; Lommatsch *CIL* I^2.476,8; Herbig *CIE* 8461; G. Giacomelli 1963:268 ⟨XXXVIII,ii⟩. ***Transcription:*** Garrucci *SIL* 1882 (reproduced in *CIL* XI.6706,8, *CIL* I^2.476,8, *CIE* 8461).

460. Scratched in a small vase.

tif

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. *Tif* is often connected with Etruscan *Tiφile*, Latin *Tifilius* '*Δἰφιλος*' (Deecke and Briquel), but may represent **Tif(eri-)* or **Tif(erili-)*, the Faliscan equivalent of Latin *Tiberius* or *Tiberilius* (cf. *tiperilia* LF **229**).

Bibliography: Garrucci *SIL* 824 (*autopsy*); Zvetaieff *IIM* p.66 ⟨*g*⟩; Deecke 1888:205 ⟨71⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.6706,10.5; Conway 1897:384; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.476,10.5; Herbig *CIE* 8457; Vetter 1953:330 ⟨360f⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:268 ⟨XXXVII,i⟩; Briquel 1972:820,823. ***Transcription:*** Garrucci *SIL* 824 (reproduced in *IIM* p.66, Deecke 1888 Taf.III, *CIL* XI.6706,10.5, *CIL* I^2.476,10.5, *CIE* 8457, Briquel 1972:820 fig.7).

461. Scratched in a small vase.

tr·pe

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *e* is cursive (Ⅱ). *Tr* is probably *Trebius*, *pe* perhaps *Pe(scenni-)*, cf. *pscni* Cap **387**.

Bibliography: Garrucci *SIL* 827 (*autopsy*); Gamurrini 1880 ⟨829⟩; Deecke 1888:206 ⟨73⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.6706,10.8; Lommatzsch *CIL* 1^2.476,10.8; Herbig *CIE* 8459 (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:268-9 ⟨XXXVII,iii⟩; Briquel 1972:825. ***Transcriptions:*** Garrucci *SIL* 827 (reproduced in Deecke 1888 Taf. III, *CIL* XI p.1165, *CIL* 1^2 p.422); Herbig *CIE* p.105.

462-464. Published by Herbig in the *CIE* as "tituli inediti, qui quo anno et quibus territorii locis inventi sint nescio" (*CIE* p.105).

462. Scratched before firing on the neck of an *urceolus* (height 21 cm; letters 3-6 mm high).

p·iunio

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet (?) with Ⲛ. The *o* is ∩ (*iunią*? Herbig).

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8463 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:329 ⟨360b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:269 ⟨XL⟩; Briquel 1972: 821-2. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8463 (reproduced in Briquel 1972:822 fig.8).

463. Scratched under a saucer (height 2 cm, ∅ 12.2 cm; letters 6-7 mm high).

ueiuatia

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *a* is Ⱥ. Most editors adopt Herbig's interpretation 'Veius Vatia'. Buffa hesitatingly identified *NRIE* 991 (not in *ET*) which he read as *tei ur tin*, with this inscription.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8464 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:93 ⟨64⟩; Buffa *NRIE* 991; Vetter 1953:330 ⟨360c⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:269 ⟨XLI,i⟩; Briquel 1972:820, 822. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8464 (reproduced in Briquel 1972:820 fig.7).

464 (falsum?). Scratched under the foot of a red-varnished saucer (h. 3 cm, ∅ 7.5 cm; letters 7 mm high). According to Herbig, the saucer wore a label saying 'L'iscrizione è evidentemente falsificata dal Mancinelli che l'ha malamente ricopiata dall'altra vera no.9290' (= Cap **463**) when he saw it in 1903.

ueiuęto

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *t* is ⊤.. Herbig regarded the text as a transcription of an Etruscan **uei uetu* 'Veius Vettonius'.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8465 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:330 ⟨360d⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:269 ⟨XLI,ii⟩; Briquel 1972:820. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8465 (reproduced in Briquel 1972:820 fig.7).

465-466. Two inscriptions that were first published among a number of other finds from the necropoles of ancient Capena. Further documentation on the date and location of their discovery appears to be lacking. As Colonna notes, the writing is similar to that of the Latin *pocula deorum*, which would point to a date of *c.*300 or slightly later.

465. Scratched on a black-varnished saucer (height 5 cm, ∅ 9 cm) similar to the one of **466**.

açiuaiomesú

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *a* is cursive Λ; the *c* could also be read an *l*. The *ú* is ↓. The name is a gentilicium derived either from *Accius* (cf. *aci* Cap **395**) or from *Allius* or *Alius*, by means of a suffix /-u̯āi̯o-/ that also appears in early Latin *karkavaios CIL* I^2.2917a. The form is genitive plural, as in *[fel]ịcinatiu* LF **384** and probably in *tulom* MF **72**. For *esú* = *esú(m)* 'I am', which occurs also in Cap **389** and **404**, see §5.3.1.*5*.

Bibliography: Pollak 1906:55 (*autopsy*); Colonna 1990a ⟨a⟩; M.Mancini 1997:28. ***Drawing:*** Pollack 1906:55 (reproduced in Colonna 1990a:463).

466. Scratched on a black-varnished saucer (height 5 cm, ∅ 9 cm) similar to the one of **465**.

stasediu

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *a* is Λ; the *e* and the *u* are written upside-down: the *u* could perhaps also be a cursive *o* (with an open bottom). Probably *Sta. Sediu*: if this is a woman's name, the *-u* may well represent the Sabellic first-declension nominative singular /-ō/: see §9.3.2.

Bibliography: Pollak 1906:55 (*autopsy*); Colonna 1990a ⟨b⟩. ***Drawing:*** Pollack 1906:55 (reproduced in Colonna 1990:463).

Chapter 18

Inscriptions claimed as Faliscan or Capenate

18.1. The inscriptions claimed as Faliscan or Capenate

The inscriptions presented in this chapter constitute a mixed bag of texts that have for varying reasons been regarded as Faliscan or Capenate. I have divided them into three groups according to whether or not I consider this attribution valid; my criteria for this are discussed under each individual inscription.

The first group (§18.2, **467*-478***), are inscriptions that are *originis incertae uel ignotae* but possibly or probably Faliscan or Capenate: of these, **467*** is very probably Early Faliscan, while **468*** is an almost entirely Sabellic inscription, perhaps of Capenate origin; **469*-473*** are in all probability Middle Faliscan, and **474*** probably Middle or Late Faliscan; **475*-476*** are either Middle or Late Faliscan or Capenate; **477*-478*** are Latin inscriptions found, but probably not made, in the ager Faliscus.

The second group (§18.3, **479†-484†**) consists of the inscriptions that are probably not Faliscan or Capenate. The first group (§18.3.1) are *originis incertae uel ignotae*: **479†** is probably archaic Latin, **480†** is Sabellic ('Palaeoumbrian'), and **481†** is unintelligible. The second group (§18.3.2), **482†-484†**, are all from Ardea, and their association with Faliscan has given rise to a persistent idea that Ardeatine and Faliscan were in some way related. I do not believe that there are grounds to warrant this: the issue is discussed at the end of section §18.3.2. In the final section (§18.3.3) I discuss Lucchesi's (2005) suggestion that the Satricum-inscription *CIL* I^2.2832a is Faliscan.

18.2. Inscriptions that are probably or possibly Faliscan or Capenate

467* (Early Faliscan?). Scratched on the bottom of a bucchero cup (height 5.2 cm, ∅ rim 12.9 cm, foot 7 cm; letters 6-14 mm high) acquired in Rome in 1889 by Froehner. Sixth century.

aịṃịosioeqo

Sinistroverse. The second, third, and fourth letters are . Lejeune (1952:124) read *a[im]iosio*, considering also *aṃṃosio* and *aṇịṇiosio* (with reversed *n*). Vetter proposed *aṇạiosio*, which is adopted by Agostiniani. Lejeune and G. Giacomelli regarded the inscription as Faliscan, probably because of the genitive in *-osio*, but this is now attested also from Latium (*popliosio ualesiosio CIL* I^2.2832a from Satricum): see §4.4. The

sinistroverse ductus is found in the ager Faliscus at this date (in EF **6-10**), but not universally (sixth-century EF **1** is dextroverse). The formula *ego* OWNER$_{GEN}$ (here uniquely in the reversed order OWNER$_{GEN}$ *ego*) is as yet attested only from the ager Faliscus, Latin and Capenate inscriptions having *ego* OWNER$_{NOM}$ (§8.9.2). The name *Aemius* is known only from the ager Falicus (*eiṃoi* MLF **293**, possibly *ạ[i]ṃ* MF **89**) and from Venetic (·‹*a*›·*imo*·*i*· Le 26). Although the criteria are inconclusive, I give this inscription the benefit of the doubt and treat it as Early Faliscan.

Bibliography: Lejeune 1952b:120-6 (*autopsy*); Pisani 1953:320; Vetter in Knobloch 1954:40; Pisani 1955:320; G. Giacomelli 1963:66 ⟨56⟩; Pisani 1964:342; Agostiniani 1982:155 ⟨603⟩; Lejeune 1989:67. ***Photographs:*** Lejeune 1952b pl.XV-XVI. ***Drawings:*** Lejeune 1952b:121; Lejeune 1989:67.

468* (Sabellic, but of Capenate origin?). Scratched inside a black-varnished cup, according to Buonamici from South Etruria.

pa‹qu›isblaisiís

Dextroverse. The third and fourth letters, and , have usually been read as *l* and *p* respectively, but they differ from the other *l* () and *p* (), and Marinetti rightly reads them as an upside-down *u* (cf. the similar *u* in **477**†) and a *q* (cf. the similar *q* in **482**†). Since there are no names in *Pauq-*, Marinetti proposes to read *paụq-* as an error for *paqu-* (cf. Latin *Paquius*, Oscan πακ͜ηις Lu 40); this attractive solution also accounts for the unexpected use of *q* before *i*. The last letters of this word are and have been read as *is* (G. Giacomelli, Arena, Briquel) or *s* (Colonna), or as *r* (*palpr* Buonamici) or *e* (*palpe* Vetter), which is impossible. The penultimate letter of the second word, , is usually read as an *o*, but its square form is odd: Buonamici, comparing the *h* in EF **1**, read *blaisihs*. Marinetti gave the sign the value *í* it has in the South Picene alphabet, and this interpretation is now supported by Rix's (1992:249-50) reading of in **477**† as *í*.

Buffa, who read *pa(canml) aisiθs*, called the text Faliscan without giving any reasons for this attribution. Vetter, too, regarded the inscription as Faliscan, because of shape of the *e* in his untenable reading *palpe*, , which he compared to the in MF **146** and in Lat **482**† from Ardea (but regarded as Faliscan, see §18.3.2). According to Arena, the inscription looked Faliscan or Greek "was die sprachliche Eigentümlichkeiten betrifft" (1967:115 n.1), unfortunately without elaborating this. Such arguments as there are seem to speak against a Faliscan connection. The shape of the *l*'s and the use of *b* are un-Faliscan, while the 'square *í*' is South Picene, although possibly originating in South Etruria or the ager Capenas (Briquel 1972:830-6, Rix 1992:249-51). The *Endsilbensynkope* is likewise Sabellic, not Faliscan, and so are the names.

Bibliography: Buonamici 1928:605-6 (*autopsy*); Buffa *NRIE* 981; Vetter 1953:359 ⟨513⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:262 ⟨VI⟩; Arena 1967:114-5; Briquel 1972:831-3; Colonna 1980b:67-8 ⟨38⟩ (*autopsy*); Marinetti 1982b; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.2917c. ***Photograph:*** Colonna 1980b pl. 18.4 (reproduced in Marinetti 1982 tav.LVIIa). ***Drawings:*** Buonamici 1928:606 (reproduced in Briquel 1972:832 fig.10); Buffa *NRIE* tav.XII; Colonna 1980b:67 fig. 11 (reproduced in Marinetti 1982:365); Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.2917c.

469* (Middle Faliscan). Scratched inside a black-varnished cup (height 5.7 cm, ∅ rim 11.3 cm, foot 5.6 cm; letters 12-20 mm) acquired in Naples in 1900 by Froehner.

uolti:catinei

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. Froehner (quoted in Lejeune 1952b:115-6) regarded the inscription as Etruscan, but in that case the use of *o* and of *u* instead of *v* would be surprising (cf. *vultasi* Etr **XLII**). Lejeune and G. Giacomelli both regard the inscription as Faliscan. This is probably correct, the arguments in favour being both epigraphical (the form of the *t*, ⊦, and the sinistroverse ductus, which at this date is regular in the ager Faliscus), and onomastical (the praenomen *Voltius*, which occurs with some frequency in Faliscan inscriptions, but is very rare elsewhere). The form is probably a genitive, although the possibility of an abbreviated nominative cannot be excluded (§8.8.1).

Bibliography: Lejeune 1952b:115-20 (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:66 ⟨55⟩. ***Photographs:*** Lejeune 1952b pl. XIII-XIV. ***Drawing:*** Lejeune 1952b:116.

470* (Middle Faliscan). Painted carefully on the underside of the foot of a small vase in the shape of a rooster (height 20.5 cm, letters 0.5 cm high) in the Steinhardt Collection, New York. No information is provided about the provenance of the object, but in view of the fabric and the ornamentation, there can be no doubt that it is of Faliscan origin, as is the inscription. Mid- or late fourth century.

oufilo:clipeaio:letei:fileo:met:facet

Sinistroverse. The alphabet is the usual Faliscan alphabet of the period, except for the *l* in *oufilo*, which according to Wallace "appears to be a character in the shape of an *upsilon*; traces of a left oblique bar are visible." (2005:176). *Clipeaio* is probably an error for *clipea‹r›io*, cf. *clipiaṛ[io* LF **230**, *clipeaṛ[io* LtF **231,** and *cl[i]peario* LtF **233** from S. Maria di Falleri. The praenomen *oufilo* is attested from several sites in the ager Faliscus (see §7.7.1.*12*). The name of the father, in the genitive *letei*, is unattested elsewhere. Wallace hesitatingly compares Greek Λήταος and Etruscan *leθae* (2005:178), but I think *letei* may well be the Faliscan genitive of **Letaeus*, a Latinization of the Etruscan name *leθaie* in Etr **XLVIII** from Mazzano Romano.

The inscription provides several points of linguistic interest. The perfect *facet*, parallelled in *faced* MF **471***, shows a perfect stem /fak-/: see §5.3.1.*6*. The third person singular perfect ending with *-et* instead of *-ed* (cf. *faced* MF **471***) was already known from *keset* in LF **242**. *Met* is the only attestation of the accusative of the pronoun of the first person singular in Middle Faliscan (Lat **268** is an import), although *med* was known already from Early Faliscan EF **1** and **9**. I am inclined to view the *t* in this form as an error due to the fact that *-d* was already disappearing in the nouns and pronouns, and was replaced in the verbal endings by *-t*: see §3.5.7*c*. For the formula, see §8.9.2.

Bibliography: Wallace 2005 (*autopsy*); Poccetti 2005; De Simone 2006. ***Photographs:*** Wallace 2005:175-6 figs.1-2.

471* (Middle Faliscan). Painted on the body of a small column crater (height 31.5 cm, ∅ rim 21.5 cm, foot 12.5 cm; letters 1,5-3 cm high), acquired in 1997 in Basle by the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. Late fourth to mid-third century.

cauiosfrenaiosfaced

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The praenomen is undoubtedly Faliscan (§7.7.1.25); the gentilicium is not attested elsewhere. The only parallel for word-final *-s* after a short vowel being written is *cauios* Cap **382**. Berenguer & Luján draw attention to the conservation of *ai*, for which cf. *uoltaia* MF **196** and *latinaio* MLF **210**: see §3.7.6 and G. Giacomelli 1962. The Middle Faliscan perfect *faced* has a parallel in *facet* MF **470*** (*quo vide*). Linguistically, it is interesting to find the ending *-ed* more or less contemporary with *facet* in MF **470***. For the formula, see §8.9.2.

Bibliography: †Olmos Romera 2003; Olmos Romera 2004; Berenguer & Luján 2004; Berenguer & Luján 2005; Wallace 2005; Poccetti 2005; De Simone 2006. ***Photographs:*** Berenguer & Luján 2004 :213, 222.

472* (Middle Faliscan). Scratched on the outer side of a pottery fragment (letters 10-13 mm high) of Faliscan make (Stanco, with references). Late fourth or early third century.

marci:anel[i ?---]

Sinistroverse. The ductus, the shapes of the letters, and the names are in accordance with the Faliscan provenance of the piece. *Marci* is probably a genitive; alternatively, it could be an abbreviated nominative of *Marcius*. In both cases, the gentilicium is to be restored as *anel[i*. It seems unlikely that any more text followed this.

Bibliography: Stanco 2001 (*autopsy*). ***Photograph:*** Stanco 2001 tav.LVc. ***Drawing:*** Stanco 2001:483.

473* (Middle Faliscan). Painted in black under the foot of a Genucilia-plate (∅ 14,5 cm; letters *c.*12 mm high), auctioned in 2002 in Paris. Late fourth or early third century.

cauio:petroneo

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. The *a* is Я for *a*, another instance of the confusion of Я and Я (§11.2.4).[291] The gentilicium is so damaged as to have almost disappeared: Briquel restores *pe[troneo]*, probably rightly.

Bibliography: *Tajan* 2002:59 ⟨436⟩; Briquel 2002 (*autopsy*). ***Photographs:*** *Tajan* p.59; Briquel 2002 tav. XXXVI*a-b*. ***Drawings:*** Briquel 2002:402.

474* (Middle or Late Faliscan or Capenate?). Engraved along two sides of the upper surface of a triangular bronze statuette base (length of the sides 9.7 cm, letters 13 mm high). Ritschl ascribed the inscription to Praeneste, but Mommsen & Henzen (*CIL* I

[291] "Inscription en alphabet étrusque peinte sous le pied: «CRVIO : G...» ... Inscription effacée en fin de mot sinon complet." (*Tajan* 2002:59).

p.255) claimed that "elementorum quorundam forma et interpunctio duplex a Latina consuetudine abhorrent", and Garrucci ascribed it to Falerii, where it was reported to have been found by Sebastiniani. The object, lost after Garrucci's death, was rediscovered by Lejeune in the Froehner Collection in Paris.

caui:tertinei:\posticnu

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. In Ritschl's and Garrucci's drawing, the top of the *o* is interrupted for the foot of the statuette. *Caui : tertinei* is genitive of Gavius Tertineius *vel sim.* (thus Lejeune, reviving the interpretation of Bronisch and Tambroni), not an Etruscan nominative (thus Herbig, Vetter, and Pisani[292]). *Posticnu* has been interpreted variously as an Etruscan nominative or genitive (Lejeune): it is in fact a Sabellic first-declension nominative with a lexical parallel in South Picene *ombriíen : aḳren : postiknam ... dúnoh : defia :* CH.2. The meaning 'statue', which has been suggested for the South Picene word, would fit both contexts: see §6.3.*57* and §9.3.2.

Bibliography: Ritschl 1859:382-3; Ritschl 1862:30; Mommsen & Hensen *CIL* 1 p.255; Garrucci 1864:69 (*autopsy*); Fabretti *CII* 2440*ter*; Garrucci *SIL* 809; Zvetaieff *IIM* 66; Zvetaieff *III* 68; Schneider 1886:107 ⟨28⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.3157; Deecke 1888:197-8 ⟨63⟩; Bronisch 1892:85; Conway 1897:381-2 ⟨xli.*a*⟩; Von Planta 1897:588 ⟨322⟩; Tambroni 1903:217; Herbig 1910:105-10 ⟨19⟩; Jacobsohn 1910:5 ⟨33⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8339; Buonamici 1913:78-80 ⟨50⟩; Lejeune 1952b:114-20 (*autopsy*); Vetter 1953:308 ⟨319⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:67-8 ⟨58⟩; Pisani 1964:345 ⟨147⟩. ***Photograph:*** Lejeune 1952b pl.XII. ***Drawings:*** Ritschl 1862 tab.XXXVI,B (whence *CIL* 1 p.255); Garrucci 1866 tav.IV.2 (reproduced *CII* tab.XLIII, *IIM* tab.VII.2, *CIE* 8339).

475* (possibly Middle Faliscan or Capenate?). Scratched on a small one-eared cup in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (Hamburg). Vetter (1953) assumed Capenate provenance, as several pieces from the excavations at Contrada S. Martino had ended up in the Museum by way of the Sammlung Reimer (cf. Ballheimer 1909).

iunai

Dextroverse. The *n* is . Vetter's reading *iunae*, on which he assigns the inscription to the second century, is a misreading of Von Mercklin's drawing, which shows the last letter as . The dextroverse ductus is not Middle or Late Faliscan, but could be Capenate. The form *iunai* can be either genitive or dative (§8).

Bibliography: Von Mercklin 1930:92 (*autopsy*); Von Mercklin 1935:317-8 ⟨15⟩; Vetter 1942:220; Vetter 1953:328 ⟨359b⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:262-3 ⟨VII⟩. ***Photograph:*** Von Mercklin 1935 tav. XLV.15. ***Drawing:*** Von Mercklin 1930:92 (reproduced in Von Mercklin 1935:317).

476* (possibly Middle or Late Faliscan or Capenate?). Scratched on a vessel bought in Rome by Garrucci. "Puto originis esse sabinae et fortasse Capenatem" (Garrucci *SIL* 817, without giving any reasons for this assumption).

setorio

[292] Pisani erroneously rendered *caui tertinei* as 'Vibia Tertinia'.

Sinistroverse. The *s* is given by Garrucci as ƹ, the *t* as ⊤, and the *r* as Я. Ductus and letter-shapes, as well as the omission of word-final *-s* (§3.5.7*d*) and syllable-final *r* (§3.5.7*b*), are all compatible with a Capenate or Faliscan provenance; cf. *Praecilia Setoriana* in *CIL* XI.3181 from near Fabbrica di Roma (?).

Bibliography: Garrucci *SIL* 817 (*autopsy*); Gamurrini 1880 ⟨828⟩; Zvetaieff *IIM* p.66 ⟨*h*⟩; Deecke 1888:204 ⟨70⟩; Bormann *CIL* XI.6706,11a; Conway 1897:384; Herbig *CIE* 8462; Buonamici 1913:92 ⟨63⟩; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.476,11; Vetter 1953:329 ⟨360a⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:269 ⟨XXXIX⟩; Briquel 1972:820-1. ***Transcription:*** Garrucci *SIL* 817 (reproduced in *IIM* p.66, *CIE* 8462, Deecke 1888 Taf.III, *CIL* XI.6706,11a, *CIL* I^2.476,11, Briquel 1972:820 fig. 7).

477* (Latin). Scratched before firing on a Megarian bowl. Late third or early second century (Siebourg).

l·quinti

Sinistroverse, Latin alphabet. The *l* is ⅃, the *t* ⊤. The form is either a genitive (Siebourg) or an abbreviated nominative (§8.8.1). Fiorelli and Bormann gave the provenance as Montefiascone, Contrada S. Lorenzo: Bormann, however, identified the bowl with one in the Museo Municipale in Arezzo, whose provenance is given as *S. Maria di Falleri* by Gamurrini[293] (in *CIL* XI.6704,6), as *Civita Castellana* by Siebourg, and as *Civita della Chiana* by the inventory of the Museo (thus G. Giacomelli). They are clearly bowls from the same mould, as G. Giacomelli suggested: this would explain why Siebourg described 'his' bowl as unpublished. Whether this bowl is from the ager Faliscus is unclear. For an object at Arezzo, Civita della Chiana is a more likely provenance than the ager Faliscus. Even if the bowl is from the ager Faliscus it is not necessarily a local product. The sinistroverse ductus and the shape of the *n* are Faliscan rather than Latin, but the alphabet, *qu* and the rendering of /nkt/ as *nt* are non-Faliscan (cf. *cuicto* **310**).

Bibliography: **(I)** Fiorelli 1883:434 (*autopsy*); – **(II)** Siebourg 1897:47-8 ⟨13⟩ (*autopsy*); – **(III)** Bormann *CIL* XI.6704,6 (*autopsy*); Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.424; Safarewicz 1955:185; G. Giacomelli 1963:263 ⟨VIII⟩. ***Photograph:*** Siebourg 1897:46. ***Drawing:*** Siebourg 1897:46.

478* (Latin). Scratched before firing on a Megarian bowl. "Fundort nicht bekannt. Jetzt in Arezzo im Museo municipale" (Siebourg 1891); "ex Civita Castellana [comparavit GAMURRINIUS et collocavit in museo Arretino]" (Bormann *CIL* XI.6704,2*e*). Similar bowls from the same workshop were found near Corchiano (**295-296**). *c.*230-150 (Baudrillart 1889:288-9).

[c·]popili

Dextroverse, Latin alphabet. The *p* is ⊦, the *l* lı; the *o* is open at the bottom. Genitive or abbreviated nominative (thus Siebourg).

Bibliography: Siebourg 1897:44 ⟨5⟩ (*autopsy*); Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.419*e*; Bormann *CIL* XI.6704,2*e*. ***Drawing:*** Siebourg 1897:42.

[293] Lommatzsch and G. Giacomelli erroneously ascribed this autopsy to Garrucci.

18.3. Inscriptions that are probably not Faliscan or Capenate

18.3.1. ***Inscriptiones originis incertae uel ignotae.*** The following inscriptions are of unknown and uncertain origin and probably not Faliscan.

479† (the 'Vendia-inscription', probably early Latin). Scratched on the lower part of the body of an impasto pithos (height (incomplete) 35 cm, ∅ shoulder 45 cm; letters 15-25 mm high). Late seventh to mid-sixth century.

ecournatitauendiasmamaṛ[cos 6-9 m]ẹḍẏḥe[ked]

Dextroverse, with reversed *s* (ƨ). The alphabet shows no specifically Faliscan letter-forms; the use of *vh* rather than *f* is non-Faliscan. *Tita uendias* is often interpreted as a very early instance of a woman's name consisting of praenomen and gentilicium (or patronym?), in which case the lack of an ending in *tita* presents a problem. Pallottino (1951:399) and Colonna (1980c:52) assumed a *Gruppenflexion*, the name being declined as a unit *tita-uendia-* (as happens in Etruscan) but if the text is some form of Latin, this is difficult. Lejeune took the words as a genitive, *tita(s) uendias*, but this assumes a very early omission of *-s*, and after a long vowel, too (§3.5.7*d*).[294] I am inclined to take *tita* as the adjective */tito-/ 'propitious, prosperous' posited by Combet Farnoux (1980:150-60),[295] though perhaps in a less ponderous sense. I cannot take serious Pisani's interpretation of the text as a jocular claim that the urn is a teat (*tita*) providing Vendia with wine, or Knobloch's idea that an *urna tita* is a piggy-bank (with an onomatopoetic adjective *tita* – at a time when minted coin had yet to be invented). Following this, Pallottino read *mamar[c* 'Mamerci (filiae/uxoris)' (erroneously *mamarc[* 1951:398; *mamar[c* first Pallottino in Pisani 1953b:425). The letter before the lacuna is similar to the *d* in *uendia*, which lead Pisani (1953b:425) to read *mamad[eded* 'Mama dedit' (adopted by Pallottino 1954; *mamaḍ[*****]ḍẹ*** G. Giacomelli), but the *r*, maintained by Peruzzi (*mamaṛ[ce*), is confirmed from autopsy by Colonna (*mamar[cos*).

After a lacuna of ten to twelve letters, the text continues as . The first trace is the top of an *e* or a *v*; if the appendage of the following letter also belongs to this letter, it can also be read as *n*. The second letter is a *d* (Pisani, Peruzzi, G. Giacomelli) rather than an *r* (Pallottino), the third is an *e* (Pallottino, G. Giacomelli) or a *v* (Peruzzi, Colonna, Prosdocimi, Agostiniani; Pisani's *f* is a different transcription of the same sign). This is followed by an *h* and a trace that is the upper left-hand corner of an *a*, an *e*, a *d*, an *m*, an *n*, a *v*, or perhaps an *h*, a *p*, or an *r*. Pisani read *fifico]ndfẹi*[* 'finxerunt

[294] G. Giacomelli erroneously ascribes this interpretation to Pallottino (1951).

[295] In *saluetod tita* from Osteria dell'Osa, *tita* is certainly a name (Colonna 1980c:52), but this does not constitute an argument against the simultaneous existence of an adjective */tito-/.

Fi...', but this requires assuming a very early instance of 𐌅 for *f* and the *ei* being written as 𐌄𐌉 = 𐌄𐌉, whereas all the other letters are written quite distinctly. Peruzzi's *m]ęḍẏḥe[ked* 'me fecit' has rightly been adopted by all editors, although Hartmann is doubtful and considers also *]ęṛęḥą[* or *]ṇḍfęi[* as possible alternatives. Combined with his *mamar[ce* or Colonna's *mamar[cos*, this still leaves leaves six to nine letters to be restored, which perhaps constituted the name of a second potter, as in *mama z[e]xtos med f[.f]ḳod* EF **1**. I have considered reading *mamaṛ[ce* or *mamaṛ[cos med fifik]ęd*, but this would leave the following *ęḥ*[---]* or *ẏḥ*[---]* unexplained. Hartmann notes that the *d* in what is usually read as *m]ęd* is in fact 𐌌𐌄, which could also be read as an *f* (𐌅), although he rightly concludes that this does not mean that the inscription is Faliscan.

Since two of the shards were found by Mengarelli and were in the Museo di Villa Giulia before 1936 (the others were acquired independently by the Principe Massimo), Pallottino gave the provenance of the vase as Cerveteri, where Mengarelli had worked in the first quarter of the century. When Lejeune regarded the inscription as Faliscan, this attribution was adopted by Pisani (1953b) and Pallottino (1954), the latter now giving several arguments *against* his former attribution (the vase represented a type found throughout South Etruria; the clay was different from that used at Cerveteri) and in favour of the Faliscan attribution (Mengarelli had worked at Falerii as well; other pieces in the Principe Massimo's collection were of Falisco-Capenate provenance). Not everyone adopted this attribution, however: Cerveteri is still the provenance given in Cristofani 1990, while for Colonna, both the vase and the inscription are from Latium.

Lejeune's arguments for the attribution, namely the occurrence of *tita*, which he connected with *titias* EF **2**, and the omission of *-s* in this word, are inconclusive: names of the *tita*-group are widely attested, and the omission of *-s* in Early Faliscan is uncertain, however frequent it may be in Middle and Late Faliscan (cf. §3.5.7*d*). Peruzzi, like Colonna, regarded the language of the inscription as South Etrurian Latin. The dextroverse ductus is, at this date, both Faliscan and Latin (§11.2.3); the form of the *s*, 𐌔, and the use of *c* before *o* are attested in Faliscan texts only from the fifth century onwards (cf. §11.2.3-4). Note that the recently published Middle Faliscan perfect forms *facet* MF **470*** and *faced* MF **471*** make it very unlikely that the Early Faliscan form was *ẏḥe[ked*. All in all, the evidence for the inscription being from the ager Faliscus, let alone Faliscan, is very slight indeed.

Bibliography: Pallottino 1951 (*autopsy*); Lejeune 1952b:120-1; Pisani 1953a:328; Pisani 1953b; Scherer 1953: 116; Pallottino 1954; Knobloch 1958:137-8; G. Giacomelli 1963:261 ⟨I⟩; Peruzzi 1963a; Pisani 1964:349; Colonna 1980c:51-2 (*autopsy*); †Prosdocimi 1981; Agostiniani 1982:149, 242-3 ⟨587⟩; Prosdocimi 1983:LXV; Cristofani 1990:101 ⟨4.4⟩; Silvestri 1993:106; †Solin 1999:385: †Urbanová 1999:478; Hartmann 2005:29-32, ***Photographs:*** Pallottino 1951:399 figs.1-5; Colonna 1980c tav.X.3-6; Cristofani 1990:101; Hartmann 2005:29-33 Abb.27-32. ***Drawing:*** Pallottino 1951:398 (reproduced in Peruzzi 1963a:90).

480† (Sabellic, probably Palaeoumbrian?). Scratched on the handle of a bucchero krater (height 28 cm, ∅ rim 24 cm, shoulder 27.5 cm; letter height 4-12 mm) from tomb

XVII of the Il Ferrone necropolis in the La Tolfa area (cf. Colonna 1983:574 n.2, with literature). The inscription was added after firing, but appears to have been planned beforehand, as the other handle was decorated, while the one with the inscription was left blank. Date: *c.*560.

setums : míom* | *face

Dextroverse. Rix's reading, which is followed here, is clearly preferable to Colonna's *mośm : smutes* | *face*, and shows that the language of the inscription is undoubtedly Sabellic: in *ST* it is classed as a Palaeo-Umbrian text. *Setums*, reflecting Proto-Italic */septomo-/, shows the Sabellic *Endsilbensynkope* and a complete disappearance of /p/ before /t/, as occurred later in Umbrian (Rix 1992:247-8). *Míom*, too, is clearly Sabellic: Faliscan has *med* or *met*, whereas *míom* has similar formations only in the Sabellic languages: South Picene *tíom* TE.5 (nom.?), Umbrian *tiu TI* IIa.25 etc., and Oscan *tiú* Sa 31 and *siom TB* I.5 etc. The perfect stem in *face* has parallels in the Sabellic languages in, among others, the Umbrian future perfects *fakust TI* IV.31, *fakurent TI* Ib.34, and *facurent TI* VIIa.43: it is now also attested for Faliscan in the recently published Middle Faliscan inscriptions *oufilo : clipeario : letei : fileo : met : facet* **470*** and *cauios frenaios faced* **471***: see §5.3.1.*6*. For the formula, see §8.9.2. The only reason for connecting this inscription with the Faliscan corpus is the shape of the *f*, ↑, but the use of this sign was not constricted to Faliscan: see §11.2.2-3.

Bibliography: Colonna 1970:668 n.6; Colonna 1983a; De Simone 1983; Bakkum 1992:2; Rix 1992a; Rix *ST* Um4. ***Photographs:*** Colonna 1983a tav.CVIII-CIX. ***Drawings:*** Colonna 1983a:576 fig.3, 578 fig.5 (repoduced in Rix 1992:243 fig.1).

481†. Cut in a strip of sandstone (letters *c.*3.5 cm high), originally probably part of the ledge between two loculi, now set in the wall of the church of S. Serena at Foglia, near Magliano Sabino. The use of local stone implies that the inscription was made locally.

[---]çi̯u̯ifahls[?---]

Sinistroverse. The first letter is ⋟, probably a *c*, although an *x* does not seem impossible. According to Firmani, the letters *iu* (VI) could be read together as *n* (И). From his drawing it is not clear whether the inscription ended with the *s*. I doubt if the text is Faliscan, as Firmani suggested. The only Faliscan feature is the shape of the *f*, ↑, but the use of this sign was not limited to Faliscan: see §11.2.2-3. The sequence *ah* looks Umbrian rather than Faliscan: cf. *cavies : uhtav[---]* Etr **XLV** from Lucus Feroniae, but see also §3.5.7*c*.

Bibliography: Firmani 1977:116 (*autopsy*); Firmani 1979:119. ***Drawing:*** Firmani 1977:115 fig.30*e* (reproduced in Firmani 1979 p.118 fig.2,f).

18.3.2. The 'Faliscan' inscriptions from Ardea. The following inscriptions are from the necropoles of Ardea, but have, for various reasons, been regarded as Faliscan. This question is addressed at the end of this section.

482†. Scratched under a bucchero vase (∅ 9 cm; letters 5-15 mm) found on the site of Pasqui's necropolis *a* (cf. Barnabei 1882:71, Pasqui 1900:54-6) at Ardea.[296] Seventh or early sixth century according to Briquel and Colonna (1976a), although Colonna later (1980b) ascribed it to the second half of the sixth century.

eqokaṇaios

Dextroverse, with reversed *s* (𐌟, a very slender 𐌢). The *n* is 𐌍: Prosdocimi (in Agostiniani) suggests *kaṷiaios* (with upside-down *u*). Wachter's suggestion *Cavidios* (i.e., *kauidios*) is impossible: the letter following the *n* is certainly an *a*.

Dressel's interpretation 'ego K(aeso) Annaeus' long remained unchallenged, although already Mommsen (in Dressel) and Gamurrini (1894) doubted the likelihood of such an abbreviated praenomen at this date. Since Colonna (1980b) raised this point again, *kaṇaios* has become the established reading. For the Latin formula *ego* OWNER$_{\text{NOM}}$, see below *ad fin.* and §8.8.2: Wachter's interpretation of *kaṇaios* as a possessive adjective ("'ich (bin) ein zur Familie ... gehöriges Gefäß'") is interesting in the light of what has been said in §4.4.11: see Colonna 1983b:55-7.

Herbig regarded the ductus, the use of *q* to render /g/, and the spelling of *aṇaios* (= 'Annaeus') with a single *n*, as Faliscan elements. The dextroverse ductus occurs also in several early Latin graffiti (see below), *q* for /g/ is also found in *eqo CIL* I^2.479 and 2917*c*, and Colonna (1980b) has plausibly connected *kaṇaios* with (Latin) names in *Can-*. There is no reason to assume that the inscription is Faliscan.

Bibliography: Barnabei 1882 (*autopsy*); Dressel 1882 (*autopsy*); Fiorelli 1882:273-4; Mommsen *CIL* X.8336,1 (*autopsy*); Gamurrini 1887a:62; Gamurrini 1894:340; Herbig 1910:184,192; Diehl 1911:64 ⟨621⟩; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.474; Ryberg 1940:121 ⟨31⟩; Lejeune 1952b:123; Vetter 1953:331-2 ⟨363⟩; Cencetti 1957:195-6; Ernout 1957:53 ⟨112⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:261 ⟨II⟩; Untermann 1964:178; Briquel 1974:37; Colonna 1976a:372; Colonna 1980b:66 ⟨36⟩; Agostiniani 1982:152 ⟨596⟩; Colonna 1983b: 55-7; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.474 *add.*; Wachter 1987:92-3; Silvestri 1993:107-8. ***Photograph:*** Colonna 1980b:174 pl.18.3. ***Drawings:*** Barnabei 1882:71 (reproduced in Fiorelli 1882:273, *CIL* X.8336,1, *CIL* I^2.474, Cencetti 1957:195 fig.13); Lejeune 1952b:122; Colonna 1980b:66 fig.10.

483†. Scratched under a red-varnished cup on a high foot (height 8.5 cm, ∅ rim 10.5 cm) found together with **484†** in the third-century tomb *q* of necropolis *c* (Pasqui 1900:54-6). Vetter (1955:3 n.3) dated the tomb one or two generations earlier, on the basis of his earlier dating of **484†**.

titoio

Sinistroverse. The *t* is 𐌕. The inscription was without argumentation regarded as Faliscan by Herbig (and Jacobsohn), presumably on account of the form of the *t* and the sinistroverse ductus, both normal in contemporary Faliscan inscriptions, but then unparallelled in Latin inscriptions apart from the occurrence of sinistroverse ductus in **484†**. Herbig interpreted *titoio* as a nominative after Etruscan *tituie* in an inscription

[296] Ernout (1957:53) erroneously gave the provenance as Falerii.

published by Buonamici (1931:410); cf. also Etruscan *titui* Pe 1.622-624, 627. Pisani and Dirichs interpreted *titoio* as a genitive in *-oio* /-oi̯o/ ← *-osio* /-osi̯o/ (§4.4.10). For those who (unlike Pisani) regarded the genitive in *-osio* as exclusively Faliscan, this interpretation provided an additional argument for a connection between Ardeatine and Faliscan, though not for regarding the inscription itself as Faliscan, as there the genitive was *-i* at this time (thus e.g. Safarewicz and Wachter). As discussed in §4.4.5, the possible existence of a genitive in *-oio* in Latin or Faliscan is at best extremely questionable, and in my view untenable. The possibility that *titoio* is a possessive adjective *titoio(m)* (as has been suggested by Vetter and Hamp) can be excluded at this date. Hamp in fact curiously suggests that Ardeatine preserved the genitive in *-osio* (an assumption based exclusively on the traditional interpretation of *titoio* as a genitive in *-oio*), but that under the influence of the surrounding areas where *-i* was used, this was adapted to "a less startling adjectival *-o-io(m)*" (Hamp 1981:231).

Bibliography: Pasqui 1900:59 (*autopsy*); Herbig 1910:181, 184 ⟨21⟩ (*autopsy*); Jacobsohn 1910:6 ⟨48⟩; Pisani 1933:624 n.1; Pisani 1934:295; Dirichs 1934:22; Lejeune 1952b:124-5; Safarewicz 1953:246; Vetter 1953:332 ⟨364a⟩; Pisani 1955:322; Vetter 1956:1-2; G. Giacomelli 1963:261-2 ⟨III⟩; Pisani 1964:342-3 ⟨146D⟩; Devine 1970:22; Hamp 1981:230; Lejeune 1989:68. ***Photograph:*** Lejeune 1989 between pp.64-5.

484†. Scratched on the bottom of a red-varnished plate (height 5 cm, ∅ 15 cm; letter height 3-6 mm in Thulin's drawing), found together with **483†** in tomb *q* of necropolis *c*, dated to the third century by Pasqui (1900:54-6). Vetter (1955:3 n.3) dated the inscription one or two generations earlier because of the letters, the double interpunct, and the sinistroverse ductus.

neuen:deiuo

Sinistroverse; the first *e* is 𐌄, the others 𐌅 (thus Thulin; Pasqui's and Lommatzsch's transcripts give all *e*'s as 𐌄). Thulin treated the inscription as Faliscan (with *neuen* as a form of Latin *Naevenna* = Etruscan *Cnevne*), probably on account of the form of the *e*, parallelled only in MF **146**. The attribution was adopted by Herbig and Jacobsohn, and by Lommatzsch, who interpreted 'ne ven(das); deivo(m)'. This interpretation was in turn adopted by Diehl and Warmington (who, however, translated 'for a god', apparently regarding *deivo* as a dative), and still considered by G. Giacomelli. Lommatzsch later even discarded the text from the *CIL* because it was Faliscan (*CIL* I^2.455 *add.*); later editors have regarded the inscription, with various degrees of hesitation, as Latin. Pisani's interpretation (1943:259) of the text as a dedication to the *di novensides* has been adopted by virtually all later editors, especially when it was elaborated by Vetter (1956); only Weinstock still maintained Thulin's interpretation.

Bibliography: Pasqui 1900:59 (*autopsy*); Thulin 1907:308 ⟨64⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig 1910:194; Jacobsohn 1910:6 ⟨49⟩; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.455+*add.* p.714; Diehl 1930:79 ⟨754⟩; Lommatzsch *CIL* I^2.455 *add.*; Warmington 1940:74-5 ⟨57,x⟩; Pisani 1943:259; Weinstock 1952:155; Vetter 1953:332-3 ⟨364b⟩; Safarewicz 1954:102-3; Safarewicz 1955:185; Vetter 1956; G. Giacomelli 1963:262 ⟨IV⟩; Pisani 1964:346 ⟨149⟩; Camporeale 1967:70; Hamp 1981:228-30; Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* I^2.455 *add.*; Wachter 1987:99, 374. ***Drawing:*** Thulin 1907:308.

Although the attribution of these three inscriptions to Faliscan has been rejected in each individual case by more than one author, the impression that Ardeatine and Faliscan are in some way related or 'close' seems to persist independently. I therefore review here again the possible arguments for an Ardeatine-Faliscan connection, mainly those proposed by Wachter (1987:99).

First, there are the epigraphical similarities between the inscriptions from Ardea and the Faliscan inscriptions. In the case of *eqo kaṇaios* **482**†, Wachter noted that it has a dextroverse ductus, like the Early Faliscan inscriptions, whereas the contemporary Latian inscriptions are sinistroverse. His point of comparison, however, are the longer, partly 'official' early Latin inscriptions *CIL* I^2.1, 4, 2658, 2832a, 2833, and 2833a. Leaving aside the fact that even in this group there are two instances of dextroverse ductus (*CIL* I^2.2832a and 2833a), it seems to me that better material for comparison is provided by the contemporary Latin *Besitzerinschriften*, where dextroverse ductus is quite common (e.g. *CIL* I^2.479, 2830, 2832, 2916g,*d*,*e*,*i*, 2916k,*a*,*c*,*d*, 2917a, and 2917b). Another argument might be the shape of the *s*, which is (Wachter gives it as) and seems to have parallels in the ager Faliscus (EF **1** and **4**, cf. §12.2-3) but apparently not in Latium.

Titoio **483**† and *neuen : deiuo* **484**†, too, contain epigraphical features associated with the ager Faliscus rather than Latium. The most striking is probably the sinistroverse ductus, which is without clear parallels in contemporary Latin inscriptions, although it should be noted that among the Faliscan inscriptions themselves there is a small amount of inscriptions where the ductus is dextroverse instead of the usual sinistroverse (§11.1.5). Interesting, too, are the form of the *t* in **483**†, , which is the normal form in the contemporary Faliscan alphabet, but is rare or absent in the Latin alphabet, and the form of the first *e* in **484**†, , paralleled only in MF **146**. The epigraphical correspondences between the Ardeatine and the Faliscan inscriptions are therefore undeniable, but their implications are unclear: I rather suspect that if the inscriptions had surfaced without the circumstances of their finding being known, they would have been ascribed *on epigraphical grounds* to the ager Faliscus.

The *linguistic* arguments for a 'Faliscan-Ardeatine connection' are even fewer:

(1) The occurrence of *eu* in *neuen* **484**†. If the interpretation of *neuen* as a dialectal form of *nouem* is correct, this word would appear to show a retention of PIE */eu/. This presupposes that the merging of PIE */eu/ with */ou/ did not occur at the Proto-Italic stage, as is usually assumed, but took place later and separately in the various Italic languages – or indeed dialects (§3.2.5). Wachter points out that *eu* is found also in Early Faliscan *euios* in **1** and *ieuotenosio* in **3** (as he reads it), while on the other hand early Roman has *ou* in *iouxmenꞁta* and *iouestod* in *CIL* I^2.1, and in *iouesat* in *CIL* I^2.4. Faliscan and Ardeatine, in his view, both retained /eu̯/ longer than Roman.[297] Even if

[297] Note that *iouestod* and *iouesat* may go back to an old o-grade */iouos-/ (*DÉ* s.v. *iūs*), and that in G. Giacomelli's (1963:41-44) interpretation of EF **1**, which Wachter appears to follow,

this were true, however, the comparison between the two is fairly slight, for even if in *Early* Faliscan /eu̯/ was retained until later than the Roman inscriptions *CIL* I^2.1 and 4, by the third century it had certainly merged with /ou̯/ and thence monophthongized to /ō/ (§3.7.2). Vetter (1953:333) in fact quoted the inscriptions *neuna · fata CIL* I^2.2846 and *neuna · dono CIL* I^2.2845 from Lavinium as parallels for the *neuen*, and not a Faliscan inscription. Wachter's comparison would show nothing more than that /eu̯/ was rounded at different times in the different Latin dialects, but thist is not an argument in favour of a specific connection between Faliscan and Ardeatine – rather the opposite.

(2) The possibility that *titoio* **483**† is a genitive in /-oi̯i̯o/ ← /-osi̯o/. This interpretation is extremely debatable, to say the least (§4.4.10); if it is adopted, it should be noted that in the contemporary Faliscan inscriptions the ending of the genitive is *-i*, and that any connection between Ardeatine and Faliscan based on an Ardeatine genitive *titoio* must therefore be diachronic. In that case, an Ardeatine genitive *-oio* /-oi̯i̯o/ ← /-osi̯o/ is an argument for a specific connection between Ardeatine and Faliscan *only* if /-osi̯o/ is regarded as exclusively Faliscan, and the argument goes back to a time when this was the prevalent opinion (§4.4.1). If /-osi̯o/ was at any one time the (general) Latin ending, the fact that a reflex of this ending is found both in Ardeatine and in Faliscan cannot in any way constitute an argument for an Ardeatine-Faliscan connection: and the occurrence of *-osio* in the inscription from Satricum (*CIL* I^2.2832a) indicates precisely this.

(3) The omission of word-final consonants in *titoio* in **483**† and *deiuo* in **484**†. The omission of word-final *-s* and *-m*, although virtually universal in Middle Faliscan inscriptions (cf. §3.5.7*d,a*), occurs too often in Latin inscriptions from other locations to count as a criterion.

From an epigraphical point of view, there are similarities between these inscriptions from Ardea and those from the ager Faliscus. From a linguistic point of view, I see no indications for a specific connection between the two, apart from the general similarities between what are, in my view, dialects of the same language.

18.3.3. The Satricum-inscription as Faliscan. In a recent article, Lucchesi (2005) has suggested that the Satricum-inscription (*CIL* I^2.2832a) may itself be Faliscan. Her arguments (and my objections) are the following:

(1) Publius is attested in the form *Poplios* only in Faliscan inscriptions. This is true (except, of course, for the Satricum-inscription itself), but this is probably due to the fact that Faliscan is the only Latin dialect that provides a large number of relatively early inscriptions. The argument, of course, depends on the way the name is derived: if there was a (real or perceived) connection with *populus*, or a connection with Etruscan,

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euios is a Greek loan (Εὔιος) and therefore can provide no information about the Italic development of PIE */eu/.

where the pronomen is attested as *puplies* Vs 1.29 etc. (§7.7.1.*51*), there is a very good chance that the contemporary Latin spelling of the name was likewise *Poplios*. Lucchesi makes no reference to the fact that in the ager Faliscus, the name is not attested for Early Faliscan and is in fact attested *for men* only in MLF **316** and perhaps in MLF **317**, and in abbreviated form in LF **337**, Lat **250**, and Cap **409** and **462**. Its popularity as a man's name therefore appears to be late, and perhaps due to Latin influence. The name is certainly not a typical Faliscan name (cf. §7.7.2), and occurs also in Latin and Etruscan. Note that this is an onomastic argument rather than a linguistic one.

(2) The *gens Valeria*, or at least P. Valerius Publicola, is of Faliscan origin. This argument depends on the identification of the *popliosio ualesiosio* of the Satricum-inscription with P. Valerius Publicola, suggested by Versnel (1980) at a time when the genitive in *-osio* was still regarded as exclusively Faliscan by many scholars, as well as on the likelihood of P. Valerius Publicola being a Faliscan, for which Lucchesi only refers to very indirect evidence (the myth of 'Valeria Luperca' in [Plut.] *Vit. Min.* 35). Note that in spite of the large number of gentilicia attested for the ager Faliscus and Capenas, there is no attestation of *Valerius* or its pre-rhotacist predecessor *Valesios*. The argument is, again, not a linguistic one.

(3) The inscription is dextroverse, like the Early Faliscan inscriptions, while the early Latin inscriptions are sinistroverse. This, however, is true only for the earliest Early Faliscan inscriptions (EF **1-4**): the others (EF **6-10**, **467***, and EF/Etr **385**) show that the change to a sinistroverse ductus was already under way during the sixth and early fifth centures, not "perhaps in the 5th or at the beginning of the 4th" (p.263).

(4) Steterai is assumed to be Faliscan, apparently because it is a reduplicative perfect that is not attested for Latin. I do not quite understand why it would then be Faliscan, since this perfect is likewise unattested for Faliscan: this is in fact an illustration of the problems of synchronic comparison for the early periods discussed in §10.1.2. Or is it Faliscan because Faliscan had other reduplicative perfects that Latin did not have, such as *fefiked* EF **9** / *fl.fḷiqod* EF **1**? Interestingly, Lucchesi does not discuss the ending of *steterai*, which is most certainly *not* attested for Faliscan, where only *fl.fḷiqod* EF **1** shows, not a perfect ending, but an aorist ending: a difference that is usually regarded as one of the major features *separating* Faliscan from Latin (§5.2.4.*5*, §10.1.2-3).

(5) -osio is not a possessive genitive: this harks back to the criticism of Untermann (1964) on the assumption that a genitive in *-osio* was replaced by a genitive in *-i*, which I discussed in §4.4.9. I do not see how this could be an argument for or against the Satricum-inscription being Faliscan.

(6) The greatest obstacle against a Faliscan attribution of the Satricum-inscription, is, of course *suodales*, since this is usually derived from PIE */sued^{h_1}h$_1$-/, which would give **suefales* or **suofales* as the expected Early Faliscan form. Lucchesi shows that *suodales* can also be derived from PIE */sued-/, which would remove this obstacle, and

I think that this is possible. In that case, however, the form *suodales* might just as well be Latin instead of Faliscan.

(7) The circumstances of the find show that the inscription may have come from another location. This, of course, is true: the stone of the Satricum-inscription was later reused in the Satrican temple of Mater Matuta, and its original location is unknown. Unless, of course, it is assumed that the stone was dragged all the way from Falerii (or any other location), I do not see how this could be an argument for the language of the Satricum-inscription being anything else than (local) Latin.

(8) The fictile decoration of the Satrican temple may be related stylistically to that of the Faliscan temples. I see no reason to doubt this, but all that this argument does is suggest contact between the Satrican and the Faliscan area. I am quite happy to assume that such contacts existed, but I can see no linguistic traces of it in the Satricum-inscription.

In my view, all these arguments amount to very little more than a 'it is possible that ...'. Unfortunately, so are a lot of things. If the Satricum-inscription is anything else than (local) Latin, there must be some positive, preferably linguistic, argument on which to base this assumption. In fact, if the inscription were anything else than local Latin, the first candidate would probably be Volscian, as was suggested by Coleman (1986:120-2): see note 67. It is unfortunate that Lucchesi's suggestion has been embraced rather enthusiastically by R. Giacomelli (2006:25-7 *et alibi*).

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Chapter 19

The Etruscan inscriptions

19.1. The presentation of the Etruscan inscriptions

Although the Etruscan inscriptions from the agri Faliscus and Capenas fall outside the primary scope of this investigation, they cannot be omitted, as Etruscan was one of the languages spoken and written in the area (cf. §9.2). This chapter contains the forty-four Etruscan inscriptions from the ager Faliscus and Capenas (Etr **I-XLIV**), together with seven inscriptions that are *originis incertae vel ignotae* (Etr **XV-LI**). Inscriptions that I regard as Faliscan or as possibly Faliscan are not presented here, but in the corresponding sections of chapters 12-18: references to these inscriptions are given in the introductions to the relevant sections of this chapter. The Etruscan inscriptions are presented in the same way as the Faliscan, except that epigraphic and interpretational discussions have been kept to a minimum, as the material is presented as an addition to the corpus presented in chapters 12-18.

19.2. Narce and the south-western ager Faliscus

The south-western ager Faliscus, with its centre at Narce (near Calcata), yields the largest number of Etruscan inscriptions (Etr **I-XXIV**) from any single area within the area of the ager Faliscus (24 out of a total of 44-51). Virtually all these inscriptions are from the archaic period: at the same time, the area yields no Faliscan inscriptions at all. This is of course understandable in the light, first, of the role of Narce as the dominant Etruscan town of the area until the sixth century, closely connected to Veii, and, second, of the early Latinization of the area after the founding of a colony at Nepete (modern Nepi) in the early fourth century (see §2.5.2 and Cristofani 1988:16-7). For the excavations at Narce, see Barnabei 1894a:21-6, Cozza 1894, and Potter 1976:7-16).

I-II. Scratched under the body of an impasto cup (height 11 cm, ∅ rim 13.1 cm; letters 5-14 mm high) from tomb 7/LVIII of the necropolis at Contrada Morgi, Narce (Pasqui 1894:516 with plans fig. 204 and Barnabei 1894a fig. 3,O). Mid-seventh century.

abcdevzḥθik

ara

Dextroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The *h* is ⊞ (cf. Rix 1992:25), while the *θ* is ⊗. For the *b* and the order of the letters, which occurs also in Etr **XLIV** from Capena, see Bundgård and especially Pandolfini & Prosdocimi.

Bibliography: [Pasqui 1894:521 (*autopsy*)]; Gamurrini 1894:321-2, 327-41 ⟨1⟩ (*autopsy*); Lattes 1895: 498-501; †Lattes 1908:310 ⟨9⟩; Herbig CIE 8414 (autopsy); [Weege in Helbig 1913:377 (autopsy)]; [Della Seta 1918:96 (*autopsy*)]; Neppi Mòdona 1926:502-3; Buonamici 1932:111-2; G. Giacomelli 1963:270 ⟨XLV⟩; Bundgård 1965:27-29 ⟨2⟩; Cristofani 1988:21 ⟨1⟩; Pandolfini & Prosdocimi 1990:21-2 ⟨I.2⟩; Rix *ET* Fa X.3=Fa 9.1+0.1; Rix 1992:251. ***Photographs:*** Montelius 1904 pl.328,5 (reproduced in Buonamici 1932 tav.IV fig.7); Neppi Mòdona 1926:502 fig.6; Bundgård 1965:27,29 figs.13-15; Cristofani 1988 pl.I*a-b*; Pandolfini & Prosdocimi 1990 tav.II-III; ***Drawings:*** Gamurrini 1894:321 fig.165 (reproduced in *CIE* 8414), 322 fig.165*a*; Herbig *CIE* 8414; Pandolfini & Prosdocimi 1990:22.

III-VII. The following inscriptions are from tomb 2/LX of the third necropolis south of Pizzo Piede, Narce (Pasqui 1894:474-5 with plans fig.196 and Barnabei 1894a fig.3,J).

Fig.19.1. Gamurrini's and Nogara's drawings of the middle part of Etr IV.

left: Gamurrini's drawing (from Gamurrini 1894:325-5 fig.167*b*).

right: Nogara's drawing (from *CIE* 8415).

III-IV. Scratched, **III** on the neck, **IV** on the body of an impasto oenochoe (height 21 cm, ∅ body 12.3 cm; letters 3-8 mm high). Third quarter of the seventh century.

miqutunlemausnasranazuzinace

erunaletaseruepninaitaleṭạm*(*)upesitatatuθacetu[5-6]ḷaθine[?---]

Dextroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The *s* is ⋚: in **IV**, it is reversed in *erunaletas* (but not in *ṭạm*(*)upes*). The *a* and the *u* of *lemausnas* (*lemnesnas* Gamurrini and Lattes; *lemnasnas* Torp) are written very close together and have been treated by some editors as a ligature. In **IV**, Herbig, G. Giacomelli, and Pallottino read *epninaṛtale* after Nogara's drawing, instead of *epninaitale*. Following this is the damaged part reproduced in fig.19.2. The first three letters are probably *ṭạm*; what follows has been read as *e*u* (Gamurrini, Rix), *ẹiu* (Torp, Pallottino), *eiṇ* (Cristofani), or *ẏiu* (Herbig and G. Giacomelli). Nogara's drawing shows a trace on the edge of the first lacuna in **IV**, shaped like the top of a *t*, or perhaps a *z*. For the word *qutun*, cf. the discussion on Early Faliscan *quto* in EF **3** (§6.2.*30*, §12.3).

Bibliography: [Pasqui 1894:476 (*autopsy*)]; Gamurrini 1894:322, 342-3 ⟨3⟩ (*autopsy*); [Karo 1896:5]; Lattes 1896:33-38 ⟨7-8⟩; Torp 1906:8-10 ⟨2⟩; Cortsen 1908:84, 86-7; †Lattes 1909:64 ⟨4⟩; Bugge/Torp 1909:24; Danielsson 1910:98-101; Herbig *CIE* 8415*a-b* (*autopsy*); [Weege in Helbig 1913:377

(*autopsy*)]; [Della Seta 1918:96 (*autopsy*)]; Goldmann 1928:217; Stoltenberg 1956:30-1 ⟨IX*a-b*⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:270 ⟨XLVI*a-b*⟩; Pallottino *TLE* 28*a-b*; De Simone 1968:109; Colonna 1974:140; Colonna 1975a:181-4; Agostiniani 1982:68 ⟨87⟩; Colonna 1987:62 n.48; Cristofani 1988:22 ⟨4⟩; Colonna 1990:125; Rix *ET* Fa X.1=Fa 2.1+6.2+0.2. ***Drawings:*** Gamurrini 1894:325-6 fig.167 (reproduced in Montelius 1904 pl. 328,3*a*, *CIE* 8415), fig.167*a* (reproduced in Montelius 1904 pl.328,3*b*, *CIE* 8415), fig.167*b* (reproduced in Montelius 1904 pl.328,3*c*, *CIE* 8415); Nogara *CIE* 8415.

V. Scratched under the foot of a plate (∅ rim 27 cm, foot 7.6 cm; letters 16-26 mm high). Second half of the seventh century.

misaza

Dextroverse, Etruscan alphabet with reversed *s*. For *z* = [^{t}s] or [^{t}ʃ] (Agostiniani), cf. *lazi* Etr **XI-XV** = *larti* and *lazia* Etr **XVII** = *lartia*.

Bibliography: Pasqui 1894:477 (*autopsy*); Gamurrini 1894:343 ⟨4⟩ (*autopsy*); Lattes 1895:501-3 ⟨2⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8416 (*autopsy*); [Weege in Helbig 1913:377 (*autopsy*)]; [Della Seta 1918:96 (*autopsy*)]; G. Giacomelli 1963:270 ⟨XLVII⟩; Agostiniani 1982:68 ⟨86⟩; Colonna 1983b:53-4; Cristofani 1988:22 ⟨5⟩; Rix *ET* Fa 2.2. ***Drawings:*** Gamurrini 1894:327 fig. 168; Herbig *CIE* 8416.

VI-VII. Scratched on a fragment of the rim of a plate similar to that of **V** (letters 12-14 mm high).

her

Dextroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The *h* is □: *oed* Gamurrini.

Together with this, Herbig published a second plate (height 5.8 cm, ∅ 14.7 cm) with the same inscription scratched around its foot (letters 10-14 mm high).

her

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The *h* is □. The provenance of this plate is not given; the inventory numbers suggest they were not found together. Cf. *hermana* MF **265**.

Bibliography: Pasqui 1894:477 (*autopsy*); Gamurrini 1894:343-4 ⟨4⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8417-8418 (*autopsy*); [Weege in Helbig 1913:377 (*autopsy*)]; G. Giacomelli 1963:270 ⟨XLVIII,i-ii⟩; Colonna 1990: 125. ***Photograph:*** Colonna 1990:142 tav.II*a*. ***Drawings:*** Gamurrini 1894:328 fig.169; Herbig *CIE* 8417-8418.

VIII. Scratched *c.*3½ times around the foot of an impasto cup (letters 7-13 mm high) from tomb 38/LIV of the necropolis of Monte Cerreto, Narce (Pasqui 1894:505-7 with plans fig.201 and Barnabei 1894a fig.3,M). Mid-seventh century.

mialiqu:auvilesialeṣpuraθeṇnalθia:inpein:mlerusi:ateri:mlaχutaz:iχuχe:mlaχta:anaz:inace

Dextroverse, Etruscan alphabet with reversed *s* (ϟ). Of the letters between *auvilesi* and *pura*, only the tops have been preserved: they have been read as *al .. :* (Gamurrini). *aḷa* Torp, *alat :* (Lattes), *ales* (Herbig, Goldmann, G. Giacomelli), *: ales* (Cristofani) and *ales* (Rix). The third letter of *θe*nalθia* is ⊦ and has been read both as an *a* (Gamurrini, Lattes, and Torp) and as a *v* (Herbig, Goldmann, G. Giacomelli, and Pallottino).

Bibliography: [Pasqui 1894:509 (*autopsy*)]; Gamurrini 1894:322-4, 341-2 ⟨2⟩ (*autopsy*); Lattes 1896: 10-25 ⟨5⟩; Torp 1905:32-3; Torp 1906:8; Bugge/Torp 1909:24; Herbig *CIE* 8413 (*autopsy*); [Weege in Helbig 1913:377 (autopsy)]; [Della Seta 1918:95 (*autopsy*)]; Goldmann 1928:216; Stoltenberg 1956:30 ⟨VIII⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:270 ⟨XLIV⟩; Pallottino *TLE* 27; Pfiffig 1969:199, 235; Colonna 1975a:181-4; Agostiniani 1982:68 ⟨85⟩; Cristofani 1988:21 ⟨2⟩; Colonna 1990:125 n.57; Rix *ET* Fa X.2=Fa 3.1+6.1. ***Photographs:*** Cristofani 1988 pl.II*a-c*. ***Drawings:*** Barnabei 1894b:255 fig.117*a*; Gamurrini 1894:323 fig.166 (reproduced in Montelius 1904 pl. 328,1*a*, *CIE* 8413), 324 fig.166*a* (reproduced in Montelius 1904 pl.328,1*b*); Herbig *CIE* 8413.

IX-X. The following inscriptions are from the necropolis of Monte in Mezzo ai Prati, Narce (Pasqui 1894:540-5 with plans fig.210 and Barnabei 1894a fig.3,V).

IX. Scratched on the rim of a bucchero kylix (height 12.8 cm, ∅ 27 cm; letters 6-10 mm high) from tomb 1/LXIII. Last quarter of the seventh century.

[---]ḳalikeapạninikara

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The text starts with the bottom half of a *k* (thus first Gamurrini).[298] The letter preceding *mini* is ꟾ, which Rix reads as *a*.

Bibliography: [Pasqui 1894:542 (*autopsy*)]; Gamurrini 1894:324-7, 344 ⟨6⟩ (*autopsy*); Lattes 1896:2-10 ⟨4⟩; [Ghirardini 1900:175,187,190]; Thulin 1908:258; [Grenier 1912:385]; Herbig *CIE* 8411 (*autopsy*); [Della Seta 1918:97 (*autopsy*)]; G. Giacomelli 1963:269 ⟨XLII⟩; Pallottino *TLE* 26; Agostiniani 1982:68 ⟨88⟩; Cristofani 1988:22 ⟨6⟩; Rix *ET* Fa 3.3. ***Drawings:*** Gamurrini 1894:329-30 fig.170 (reproduced in Montelius 1904 pl.328,4*a*, *CIE* 8411), fig.170*a* (reproduced in Ghirardini 1900:185-6 fig.60), fig.170*b* (reproduced in Montelius 1904 pl.328,4*b*); Herbig *CIE* 8411.

X. Scratched two times around the foot of a bucchero cup (height foot 6 cm, ∅ foot 12.7 cm; letters 3-13 mm high: the words *·i·pas· ·i·ka·m·* are written smaller) from tomb 15/LXX. Late seventh or early sixth century.

·i·pas· ·i·ka·m·
a·rmunaturaniriasekaseletakalemθasvainiastaa·χavisu·r·a·lχuname·a·χaχuname
iθavusvaka·i·tasemlecivaθeneikania

Dextroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The interpuncts are given in various ways, especially by the earlier editors. In the case of the *a*'s in *a·rnuna*, *a·χavisu·r·*, and *a·lχuname*, the interpuncts stand underneath rather than between the letters.[299] In *iniasta*, the *s* is ϒ (*x* Gamurrini, Torp; *i* (i.e., ꟾ. = *·i·*) Herbig, G. Giacomelli).

Bibliography: [Pasqui 1894:545 (*autopsy*)]; Gamurrini 1894:344-6 ⟨7⟩ (*autopsy*); Lattes 1896: 25-33 ⟨6⟩; Torp 1906:4-8 ⟨1⟩; Bugge/Torp 1909:120-1; Herbig *CIE* 8412 (*autopsy*); [Weege in Helbig 1913:378 (*autopsy*)]; [Della Seta 1918:98 (*autopsy*)]; Vetter 1926:279; Vetter 1939b:160-1; Buonamici 1942:296-8; Durante 1953; Slotty 1955:195; G. Giacomelli 1963:269-70 ⟨XLIII⟩; Pallottino *TLE* 29; Cristofani 1988:22 ⟨7⟩; Colonna 1990:125 n.57; Rix *ET* Fa 0.4. ***Photographs:*** Montelius 1904 pl.328,2; Herbig *CIE* 8412 (reproduced in Buonamici 1932 tav.XLVIII fig.83); Cristofani 1988 pl.III*b*. ***Drawings:*** Gamurrini 1894:332 fig.171 (reproduced in *CIE* 8412, Colonna 1990:124 fig.5), 333 fig.171*a*; Buonamici 1942: 296-8 figg.22-27.

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[298] The trace is omitted altogether by Cristofani, who read *[---]alike*.

[299] Rix also punctuates the *i* of *iθavusvaka* (and erroneously reads *aθeneicania* with a *c*).

XI-XV. Scratched under five Etrusco-Campanian plates (∅ 18, 17.5, 13, 12.5, and 8 cm respectively) from tomb 18 of the Il Cavone necropolis at Monte Li Santi, Narce (Pasqui 1894:456 with plans fig. 192 and Barnabei 1894a fig. 3,G). Fifth century.

laziveiane·s·

laziveiạne·s·

laziveiane·s·

laziveiane·s·

laziveiạnes·

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The second *a* in **XII** is 𐌀. In **XV**, the *s* has only one interpunct. For *zi* = [ᵗs] or [ᵗʃ] (Cristofani), cf. *lazia* Etr **XVII** = *lartia*, and *mi saza* Etr **V**.

Bibliography: [Pasqui 1894:461 (*autopsy*)]; Herbig 1910:194-5 ⟨35⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8419-8423; Buonamici 1913:77 ⟨47⟩; Buonamici 1935:343; Vetter 1939b:160; Buonamici 1942:299-300; Slotty 1955:28 ⟨48⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:271 ⟨L⟩; Cristofani 1988:22 ⟨8⟩; Rix *ET* Fa 2.6-10. ***Drawing:*** Herbig *CIE* 8419-8422 (reproduced in Buonamici 1942:299 fig.28).

XVI. Scratched inside a red-varnished cup (height 6.8 cm, ∅ 17.5 cm; letters 8-20 mm high) from Narce. Second half of the fifth century.

velθarusvelanas

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The letters are carelessly written: the first *v* is 𐌅, the second 𐌅, first *e* 𐌄, the second 𐌄. The *θ* is diamond-shaped, without central point. The only parallels for the *a* in *velθarus* are *velθạr[nal]* AT 1.71 and *velθaruσa* Cr 1.22: in all other instances of this name, it is *velθur* or *veltur* (more than 125 attestations in *ET*): cf. *velθurusi* in Etr **XIX**.

Bibliography: Buonamici 1941 (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:271 ⟨LIV⟩; Cristofani 1988:22 ⟨9⟩; Rix *ET* Fa 2.12. ***Drawing:*** Buonamici 1941:370 fig.3.

XVII. Scratched in a black-varnished saucer (∅ 18 cm) found in a cistern during Mengarelli's excavations in 1933 in the habitation at Pizzo Piede, Narce. First half of the third century.

ṇitafinalaziavilianas

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. Of the first letter, the last branch is left (*ṇi*, not Pallottino's and Cristofani's *[m]i*). The *f* is 𐌚, as in Etr **XXXVI**. The form *tafina* occurs also in *tafina* Etr **XXXVI**: elsewhere, it is always *θavhna*/*θahvna*, *θafna*, or *θapna* (attestations are given under Etr **XXXVI**). For *lazia* = [ᵗs] or [ᵗʃ] (Cristofani 1988:16), cf. *lazi* Etr **XI-XV** = *larti*, and also *mi saza* Etr **V**.

Bibliography: Buonamici 1935:341-2 (*autopsy*?); Vetter 1940:135; Slotty 1955:195; G. Giacomelli 1963:270 ⟨XLIX⟩; Pallottino *TLE* 30; Colonna 1974:133-6 ⟨7⟩; Agostiniani 182:69 ⟨89⟩; Cristofani 1988:23 ⟨10⟩; Rix *ET* Fa 2.14. ***Drawing:*** Buonamici 1935:341.

XVIII. Scratched inside the rim of a bucchero oinochoe (height 20.8 cm) from Narce. *C.*550-520.

micipaχ

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The reading of the *CVA* is *mi cilaχ*, but the drawing in Gran-Aymérich & Briquel seems to support their reading *cipaχ*. *Cipaχ* recalls the Etruscan toponymic adjectives in *-aχ*: Briquel, comparing *zilaχ : zilaθ*, tentatively suggests a connection between *cipaχ* and *cepen/cipen*, so that *cipaχ* may have had a meaning 'sacred', 'consecrated'.

Bibliography: *CVA* Louvre 23 p.91; Gran-Aymérich & Briquel 1997 ⟨50⟩. ***Photograph:*** *CVA* Louvre 23 pl. 36,8. ***Drawing:*** Gran-Aymerich & Briquel 1997:429.

XIX. Painted in white around the body of an ovoid crater of red impasto (h. 21 cm, ∅ body 12.3 cm) from tomb 98 of the Principe Del Drago's excavation of the necropolis on the northwest side of Monte Soriano, near Mazzano Romano (cf. Pasqui 1902b:612). Third quarter seventh century.

Fig.19.2. Pasqui's drawing of the damaged part of Etr XIX (enlarged).

(From Pasqui 1902b:613 fig.9.)

mimulularicesip[....]ṃḷ[...]*s**naiesiclinsivelθurusilar*sruvries

Dextroverse, Etruscan alphabet. *Mulularice* is an error for *mulu‹v›a‹n›ice*. Pasqui read the middle as *p*[..]*mlạpi[..]svunaiesi*. Other readings are *p*-(-)**ṃḷ*pi-*sẏṇaiesi* (Herbig), *p*...*ml*pi...s**naiesi* (Pallottino), *p*( )**ṃḷ*( )sẏṇaisesi* (G. Giacomelli), *p[ ]si[...]naiesi* (Cristofani), and *p[----]ṃ ḷ[---]-s--naiesi* (Rix). The trace in *lar*s* as given in Pasqui's drawing may be the bottom half of an *a*. Why Cristofani reads *c[li]nsi* and *lar[...]:uvries* I do not know: the letters *clinsi* and *lar*sruvries* appear to be certain.

Bibliography: Pasqui 1902b:613-5 (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8426; G. Giacomelli 1963:271 ⟨LI⟩; Pallottino *TLE* 32; Agostiniani 1982:69 ⟨90⟩; Cristofani 1988:22 ⟨3⟩; Colonna 1990:125 n.57; Rix *ET* Fa 3.2. ***Drawings:*** Pasqui 1902b:613 fig.9 (reproduced in Montelius 1904 pl.330,14, *CIE* 8426), 614 fig.10 (reproduced in *CIE* 8426); Nogara in *CIE* 8426.

XX. Stamped on a tile fragment (letters 3.9-4.5 cm high) found close to a tomb near the Minchione Bridge over the Fosso dell'Isola, *c.*8-9 km from Nepi (cf. Polidori 1977:296).

micusulpuiunal

Dextroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The *m* is ⋀, the *n* ⋁.
Bibliography: Polidori 1977 ⟨27⟩ (*autopsy*); Rix *ET* Fa 1.6. ***Photograph:*** Polidori 1977 tav.XLV. ***Drawing:*** Polidori 1977:297.

XXI-XXIII. The following vessels were found in tomb I of a group of tombs excavated in 1889 at Vigna Pentriani ('Villa Pentriani' *CVA* Italia 3 p.24), località S. Paolo, Nepi.

XXI. Scratched under the foot of an Attic kylix, black-figured within and red-figured without (height 14 cm, ∅ rim 32.5 cm, foot 12 cm; letters 11 mm high). *C.*520.

cẹncu

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. Of the *e*, only the end of the lowest bar is preserved.
Bibliography: [Della Seta 1918:107 (*autopsy*)]; *CVA* Italia 3 pp.23-4; [Beazley 1963:67 ⟨5⟩]; Colonna 1972b:445-6 ⟨56⟩ (*autopsy*); Rix *ET* Fa 2.4. ***Photographs:*** *CVA* Italia 3 tav.46,1-3; Colonna 1972b tav.LXXIX. ***Drawing:*** Colonna 1972b:445.

XXII-XXIII. Scratched under the foot of an Attic red-figured kylix by the Euaion Painter (height foot 0.5 cm, ∅ foot 11 cm; letters 10 mm high). Mid-fifth century.

umu cacas

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. Both words are probably names: Colonna rightly rejected a connection of *umu* with *umom* EF **3**.
Bibliography: [Della Seta 1918:108 (*autopsy*)]; [Beazley 1963:792 ⟨56⟩]; [Zanker in Helbig/Speier 1969:679 ⟨2759⟩ (*autopsy*)]; Colonna 1972b:444-5 ⟨55⟩ (*autopsy*); Rix *ET* Fa 2.11a-b. ***Photograph:*** Colonna 1972b tav.LXXIX. ***Drawing:*** Colonna 1972b:444.

XXIV. Scratched under the foot of an Attic black-varnished skyphos (height 9.5 cm, ∅ foot 7.5 cm; letters 7-10 mm high) from Nepi, località Fosso del Cardinale. *C.*475-450.

veka

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet.
Bibliography: Beranger & Fortini 1978 ⟨108⟩ (*autopsy*); Rix *ET* Fa 0.5. ***Photograph:*** Beranger & Fortini 1978 tav.LXVI. ***Drawing:*** Beranger & Fortini 1978:355.

19.3. Civita Castellana (Falerii Veteres)

Judging from the number of inscriptions, Etruscan does not seem to have played an important role at Civita Castellana itself. According to the most generous count, Civita Castellana yields only 17 inscriptions that can be regarded as Etruscan, against *c.*200 Faliscan inscriptions. Of these 17, I regard three as Faliscan (*[---]ạltai i* MF **107,** *[---]nθia* MF **138**, and *titias* MLF **205**) and four as at possibly Faliscan (*eitam* EF/Etr **5**, *a·r·n* MF/Etr **37**, *ulties* MF/Etr **64**, *aie** MF/Etr **108**). Three others (*u**al*onu*(*)s* MF/Etr **61**, *namureska* MF/Etr **66**, *tuconu* MF **85**) are incomprehensible. Of the seven that I do consider Etruscan, five (Etr **XXV**, **XXVII-XXVIII**, **XXX-XXXI**) were

inscribed by the craftsmen who fashioned the objects and may have been written elsewhere. This leaves the dedication Etr **XXIX** and possibly also the *Besitzerinschrift* Etr **XXVI** as the only certainly Etruscan inscription that were certainly written at Civita Castellana:[300] to these might be added EF/Etr **5** and MF/Etr **108**, and perhaps also MF/Etr **61**.

XXV. Engraved on a carneole scarab (148×106×96 mm) depicting Hercules attacking Cycnus with his club, from Civita Castellana. First half of the fifth century.

herkle kukne

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. *Herkle* is written upside down.
Bibliography: Babelon 1899:32-3 ⟨85⟩; De Simone 1968:71, 86; Zazoff 1968:40 ⟨41⟩; Rix *ET* Fa G.1a-b. ***Photographs:*** Babelon 1899 pl.VI,85; Zazoff 1968 Taf. 13,41.

XXVI. Scratched after firing on the inside of a small red-varnished bowl (∅ rim 16.5 cm, height 4.5 cm) allegedly from the Le Colonnette necropolis. Fifth or fourth century.

cnav**es mi

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet with reversed *n* and *m*. The *a* is 𐌀; Gulinelli draws attention to a similar *a* in *CIE* 626 from Chiusi (not in *ET*?). The damaged part can be read as "forse una *i* o ad una doppia *i* o ad una *e* in seguito corretta dallo scriba".
Bibliography: Gulinelli 1995a (*autopsy*). ***Photograph:*** Gulinelli 1995a tav.XL. ***Drawing:*** Gulinelli 1995a:319.

XXVII. Engraved on a mirror (∅ 16.5) from Civita Castellana, depicting Alcestis and Admetus embracing. Fourth century.

alcestei atmite

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet.
Bibliography: [Gerhard/Klügmann & Körte 1897:217 ⟨9⟩ (*autopsy*)]; Richter 1915:278-80 ⟨802⟩ (*autopsy*); Buffa *NRIE* 972; Mansuelli 1947:57; De Simone 1968:14-5,29; Rix *ET* Fa S.1. ***Photograph:*** Richter 1915:279. ***Drawing:*** Gerhard/Klügmann & Körte 1897:217.

XXVIII. Engraved in the border of a mirror (∅ 19 cm), in all probability from (near) Civita Castellana (Borie 1898:51), depicting Hercules and Minos beside the slain Minotaur, with Ariadne, Iolaus, and Minerva standing by. Fourth century.

θevrumines hercle ariaθa vile menrva mine

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. De Simone (1968:74) erroneously read *herc[le]*.
Bibliography: Borie 1898 (*autopsy*); Körte 1900; Buffa *NRIE* 1049; Pallottino *TLE* 755; De Simone 1968:24, 66, 74, 81, 95; Rix *ET* Fa S.2. ***Drawing:*** Borie 1898 pl. I-II; Körte 1900:165.

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[300] Etr **XLVII**, published by Rix (*ET* Fa 6.3) as from Civita Castellana, is *originis incertae*.

XXIX. Cut along two sides of a small peperino base (3.5×3.5×13 cm according to Herbig) from the area of the Tempio Maggiore at Colle di Vignale, Civita Castellana (see §14.1.1). Fourth or third century.

anaelauv\|cies

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. Most editors read *[l]auvcies* with Herbig, but the left half of the *l* appears to be visible (*lauvcies* Rix). The *v* is 𐌅, as in Etr **XXXIV** and **XLI**.

Bibliography: Herbig 1910:192 ⟨32⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8029; G. Giacomelli 1963:66-7 ⟨57⟩; Moscati 1983:87; Comella 1986:171 ⟨29⟩ (*autopsy*); Cristofani 1988:13; Rix *ET* Fa 0.6. ***Photographs:*** Comella 1986 tav.58*b-c*. ***Drawings:*** Thulin in *CIE* 8029; Herbig *CIE* 8029; Comella 1986 tav.58*b-c*.

XXX. Scratched on a ceramic applique (height 18.5 cm, letters 9 mm high) found in tomb CXXXIII of the Le Colonnette necropolis. Dated to *c.*325-250 by Michetti.

evrs·ci

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The interpretation is unclear: Maras suggests a possible connection with Greek names in Εὐρυ-.

Bibliography: [*FI* II.2 p.211 (*autopsy*)]; Michetti 2003:255-258 ⟨658⟩ (*autopsy*); Michetti & Maras 2003 ⟨79⟩ (autopsy). ***Photographs:*** Michetti 2003 tav.XII, tav.CXXXVIII; Michetti & Maras 2003 tav.XXXIV. ***Drawings:*** Michetti 2003:378 fig.47 ; Michetti & Maras 2003:378.

XXXI (*falsum*?). Engraved on a mirror (∅ 10 cm) with handle, depicting Mercury and Jupiter standing beside a seated Apollo, reputedly found in 1910 in a tomb at Civita Castellana. Noll regarded the mirror as a bad copy of a silver mirror described by Ducati (1927:448, with photograph tav.213 fig.524). Late fourth or early third century.

turṃṣ tinia apulu

Sinistroverse, but *apulu* dextroverse; Etruscan alphabet. *Turṃṣ* is apparently badly engraved: Deonna (1915:321 n.3) read 𐌕𐌖𐌓𐌖𐌍𐌔 *Turuns*.

Bibliography: Deonna 1915:321 (*autopsy*); [Deonna 1919:137]; Noll 1932:159-60; De Simone 1968:21. ***Photograph:*** Deonna 1915:322 fig.14 (reproduced in Deonna 1923 pl.43, Noll 1932:160-1 figs.101-102).

19.4. Corchiano and the northern ager Faliscus

Most Etruscan inscriptions from the Middle Faliscan period originate from the north-western ager Faliscus, especially its centre at Corchiano. Apart from those given here, possibly Etruscan are *hermana* MF **265** and the largely illegible MF/Etr **289**; sometimes included, too, but in my view rather Faliscan with Etruscan features (§9.2.2-3), are *arute macena* | *morenez* MF **269** and *larise : marc\|na : citiai* MF **270** from Corchiano, as well as the purely Faliscan inscription *pupiias* MLF **304** from Vignanello. Significantly, the Etruscan inscriptions from Corchiano include several sepulcral inscriptions

(Etr **XXXIV-XXXV**) and roadside inscriptions (Etr **XXXVIII-XXXIX**) that are unlikely to have been written anywhere else. The roadside inscriptions are particularly interesting, as they show that Etruscan could be used in what were apparently inscriptions on public works (§11.1.4.5). On the whole, Corchiano not only yields a relatively large number of Etruscan inscriptions, but also, quite frequently, Etruscan features within Faliscan inscriptions. This material has been the subject of studies by Cristofani (1988) and Peruzzi (1990): see §9.2.3.

XXXII. Scratched on the outside of a fragmentary bucchero vessel ("a forma di scodello" Cozza 1886:155; "[tazza] a calice" *FI* II.2 p.252), from tomb 11 of the first necropolis of Il Vallone, Corchiano. Late sixth century (Colonna).

larisazuχus

Sinistroverse. The gentilicium *zuχus* occurs in its Faliscan adaptation in *zuconia* MF **271**, also from Corchiano, and perhaps in *zu[con]leo* MF **56** (from Civita Castellana.

Bibliography: Cozza 1886:155 (*autopsy*); Herbig 1910:185 ⟨22⟩ (*autopsy*); Herbig *CIE* 8382; G. Giacomelli 1963:63 ⟨45⟩; Peruzzi 1964c:227; *FI* II.2 p.252 (*autopsy*); Cristofani 1988:23 ⟨11⟩; Colonna 1990:120; Peruzzi 1990:278; Rix *ET* Fa 2.15. ***Transcription:*** Cozza 1886:155 (reproduced in *CIE* 8382).

XXXIII. Engraved on a bronze mirror (∅ 16.6 cm), depicting Aias and Achilles, from tomb 22 (Benedetti's tomb C or 3) of the 'third necropolis of Il Vallone' at Corchiano. From the same tomb are *cęsit : fere* MF **264** and *hermena* MF **265**. Fourth century.

aχle aivas

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. *Aχle* is written upside down.

Bibliography: [Weege in Helbig 1913:379 (*autopsy*)]; Della Seta 1918:84 (*autopsy*); Mansuelli 1943:501-3 ⟨6⟩ (*autopsy*); Mansuelli 1947:50; De Simone 1968:12,34 (*autopsy*); *FI* II.2 p.276 (*autopsy*); Rix *ET* Fa S.3. ***Photograph:*** Mansuelli 1943 tav. XXXV. ***Drawing:*** Mansuelli 1943:502 fig.4.

XXXIV. Scratched on a tile from tomb 7 (Benedetti's tomb IX) of the first necropolis of S. Antonio at Corchiano. Known only through apographs by Helbig and Manzielli, and Nogara's copy of the apograph in the Museo di Villa Giulia inventory. From the same tomb are *poplia : calitenes* | *aronto : cesies* | *lartio : uxor* MF **265** and *ueltur · tetena* | *aruto* MF **266**.

larθ : ceises
velusa

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The *s*'s are reversed (Ϛ). In Manziell's apograph the *e* has the form 𐌒, which also occurs in *arθ[3-5]rę* MF **268** from Corchiano: see §11.2.5. The first letter of the second line is 𐌉 in Manzielli's apograph and 𐌅 in Helbig's and Nogara's: editors used to read as *celusa* (interpreted as a cognomen by Herbig, who

compared the Latin cognomen *Gelussa*), and Buonamici), but *velusa*, first suggested by Gamurrini (in Lignana 1887a:201), has become the accepted reading since Rix (1963:162 n.32). A similar *v* occurs in Etr **XXIX** and **XLI**.

Bibliography: Lignana 1887a:201; Deecke 1888:188-9 ⟨58⟩; Conway 1897:527 ⟨29*⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8389; Buonamici 1913:74-5 ⟨41⟩; Vetter 1953:319 ⟨336⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:102 ⟨134⟩; Rix 1963:162 n.32; Peruzzi 1964c:229-30; *FI* II.2 p.288 (*autopsy*); Cristofani 1988:23 ⟨15⟩; Peruzzi 1990:280,282; Rix *ET* Fa 1.3. ***Drawing:*** Deecke jr. (from Manzielli) in Deecke 1888 Taf. III (reproduced in *CIE* 8389).

XXXV. Scratched on a tile found *in situ* in tomb 11 of the first necropolis of S. Antonio, Corchiano. Known only through apographs by Manzielli and the author of the *FI* description, and Nogara's copy of the apograph in the Museo di Villa Giulia inventory.

larθ
urtcsnas

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The *θ* is O. Herbig's *urχosna*, after Deecke jr.'s copy of Manzielli's apography, has been adopted by most editors (still *urχosnas* in *ET*). Cristofani and Colonna rightly read *urtcsnas* with *FI*: cf. Nogara's *urtssnas*. For the name, cf. *ortecese* MLF **339** (thus Colonna, probably rightly): the name may be derived from a toponym **Ortica* or **Orticum* (see §7.8.1.*108* and §6.5.*11*).

Bibliography: Deecke 1888:189 ⟨59⟩; Pauli 1891:105-6; Conway 1897:527 ⟨30*⟩; Herbig *CIE* 8390; Buonamici 1913:74 ⟨40⟩; Vetter 1953:323 ⟨342a,1⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:102 ⟨135⟩; *FI* II.2 p.290 (*autopsy*); Cristofani 1988:23 ⟨14⟩; Colonna 1990:135-6; Rix *ET* Fa 1.4. ***Drawings:*** Deecke jr. (from Manzielli) in Deecke 1888 Taf.III; *FI* II.2 p.290 (reproduced in Colonna 1990:136 fig.15).

XXXVI. Scratched inside a black-varnished saucer (height 6.5 cm, ∅ 18.3 cm; letters 14-20 mm high) from tomb 19 of the first necropolis of S. Antonio. *C.*350-310.

tafina

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The *f* is 𐌚, as in Etr **XVII**. Also scratched inside the cup are *t v*, *t f*, and a cross (*FI* mentions only the cross, placing it under the foot). *Tafina* occurs only here and in Etr **XVII**: elsewhere, it is *θavhna* (Cr 2.5), *θahvna* (Cr 2.6, 2.20, 2.29), *θafna* (Cr 2.51, Vs 2.7, AV 2.5, Cl 2.26) or *θapna* (Vc 2.52, Po 2.21, Co 3.1).

Bibliography: [*FI* II.2 p.295 (*autopsy*)]; Colonna 1990:118-20 (*autopsy*). ***Photograph:*** Colonna 1990 after p.140 tav.I*a*. ***Drawing:*** Colonna 1990:119 fig.2.

XXXVII. Scratched after firing on a shard of the bottom of a black-varnished cup purported to have been found at Corchiano (Fondo Crescenzi). Third or second century.

arnθialuṛ[4-5]

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The *θ* is O. Of the gentilicium, only a *u* and the lower

part of an *r* are preserved, followed by a lacuna that contained 4 or 5 letters. Gulinelli compares North-Etruscan *urinate*; I would rather point to *larθ* | *urtcsnas* Etr **XXXV** from Corchiano. Perhaps this inscription is connected with *arθ[3-5]rẹ* MF **267**, also from Corchiano, in which case the text could be *arnθial urẹ[e +3?]* (*arnθial urẹ[es mi]*?).

Bibliography: Gulinelli 1995a:320-1 ⟨4⟩ (*autopsy*). ***Photograph:*** Gulinelli 1995a tav. XL. ***Drawing:*** Gulinelli 1995a: 320.

XXXVIII. Cut, *c.*4 m above the ground, *c.*24 m past the church of S. Egidio, on the left-hand side of the Via di S. Egidio, a cutting leading down to the ancient crossing of the Rio Fratta near Corchiano (cf. Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:116-7 with fig.17, Quilici 1990:208-19 with figs.3-4). Dini *et al.* give the length as 1.80 m, but as they describe only the last five letters, it may be up to twice as long. Fourth or third century.

[u]elturθanae

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. Cristofani's and Rix's *[---]θ anae* is based on the incomplete edition by Dini *et al.*; Quilici reads ******turθanae*, and his photograph appears to show also the *l* and the *e*. A gentilicium *Θanae* is not attested elsewhere.

Bibliography: Dini *et al.* 1985:69; Cristofani 1988:23 ⟨16⟩; [Colonna 1990:120 n.40]; Quilici 1990:212 (*autopsy*); Rix *ET* Fa 0.8. ***Photograph:*** Quilici 1990 tav.V*b*. ***Photograph:*** Dini *et al.* 1985:69 fig.48.

XXXIX. Cut, about halfway up the road (letters 33-36 cm high according to Dennis and Ward Perkins & Frederiksen, but 42 cm high according to Buglione di Monale), on the right-hand side of the Via della Cannara, a cutting leading up from the ancient crossing of the Rio Fratta near Corchiano (see Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:116-7 with map fig.17, Quilici 1990:208-19 with map fig.4). Fourth or third century.

larθvelarnies

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. This inscription is assumed to have been the model for the *falsum CIE* 8380, *larθ velarnies* (with an *r* of the shape , apparently based on the Faliscan Я?), on a kantharos reputedly from Civita Castellana. Colonna (1997) has now published an inscription of unknown origin that appears to be contemporary with Etr **XXXIX** and also reads *larθ velarnies*, but has the normal Etruscan ꟻ.

Bibliography: Dennis 1848:155-6 (*autopsy*); Dennis 1878:119; Buglione di Monale 1887a:27 (*autopsy*); Buglione di Monale 1887b; Deecke 1887; [Deecke 1888:156]; Herbig *CIE* 8379 + *add.*; Buonamici 1913:73 ⟨39⟩; Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957:116-7 (*autopsy*); G. Giacomelli 1963:72 ⟨64⟩; Peruzzi 1964c:228; Moscati 1980:93; *FI* II.2 p.217 n.32 (*autopsy*); Dini e.a. 1985:69-71; Cristofani 1988:23 ⟨17⟩; Quilici 1990:208-9,217-9 (*autopsy*); Rix *ET* Fa 0.7. ***Photographs:*** Ward Perkins & Frederiksen 1957 pl. XXX*b*; Moscati 1980 p.112 fig.78; ***Drawings:*** Dennis 1848:156 (reproduced in Dennis 1878:119); Nogara in *CIE* 8379 *add.*

XL. Scratched under the foot of a yellow saucer (height 6 cm, ∅ 16.5. cm) from tomb 2 at Contrada Lista, *c.*2 km north of Corchiano. Fourth century. From the same tomb is *la* MLF/Etr **286**.

mialsi*ismi

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The unidentified letter is ⊣, probably a *t*, perhaps a *p* or an *n*. The name *alsiṭis* could be toponymic and connected to *Alsium*.

Bibliography: Bendinelli 1920:30 (*autopsy*); Diehl 1930:78 ⟨737⟩; Buonamici 1932:83; Buffa *NRIE* 980; Vetter 1953:326-7 ⟨355⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:63 ⟨44,I⟩; Pallottino *TLE* 31; Agostiniani 1982:69 ⟨91⟩; Cristofani 1988:23 ⟨13⟩; Rix *ET* Fa 2.16. ***Drawing:*** Bendinelli 1920:30.

XLI. Engraved on a badly corroded bronze mirror (∅ 17 cm), depicting Aphrodite and a bearded man embracing, with Hephaestus and a naked youth standing by, found probably in tomb 6 of a group of tombs to the southeast of Corchiano, explored in 1893 by Benedetti (cf. *FI* II.2 pp.313, 318). Fourth or third century.

uslẹ*es turan acaviser setlans

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The name of the youth is almost illegible in Mansuelli's drawing: he compared him to the assistant of Hephaestus on the mirror in Gerhard/Klugmann & Körte (1897, Taf.49), who is there called *tretu* (Ta S.8). Ambrosini suggests reading *usleṭes* or *usleθes*: her drawing also shows that *acaviser* (with *v* of the shape ⟩, as in Etr **XXIX** and **XXXIV**), not *aχviser* (*ET*), is the correct reading

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE sub* 8412 (*autopsy*); Buffa *NRIE* 971; Mansuelli 1943:504-6 ⟨7⟩ (*autopsy*, erroneously describing it as unpublished); *FI* II.2 p.318; Rix *ET* Fa S.4; Ambrosini 1995 (*autopsy*); Maras 2002 (*autopsy*). ***Drawings:*** Mansuelli 1943:505 fig.5 (reproduced in Ambrosini 1995:182 fig.1); Ambrosini 1995:183 fig.2; Maras 2002:468.

XLII. Scratched in large letters on the bottom of a red-varnished cup from a well in the habitation at Vignanello (Giglioli's pozzo 1). Fifth to third century.

vultasi

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. *Vulta-*, occurring only here, is the Etruscan rendering of the Faliscan name *Volta* (§7.7.1.*84*). The form *vultasi* may provide an argument in favour of interpreting the Faliscan forms in *-ai* and *-oi* as datives: see §8.7.1.

Bibliography: Giglioli 1924:249 (*autopsy*); Cristofani 1988:24 ⟨19⟩; Rix *ET* Fa 3.4. ***Drawing:*** Giglioli 1924:249.

19.5. The southeastern ager Faliscus and the ager Capenas

The Etruscan inscriptions from the south-eastern ager Faliscus and the ager Capenas are very few in number. To those published here, some editors add *tulate tulas urate* EF/Etr **385** from Fiano Romano, which may be Etruscan, and *larise uicina* MLF **371** and *larise* | *uicina* MLF **372** from Rignano Flaminio, *[fel]ịcinatiu* LF **384** from Civitella S. Paolo, all of which I regard rather as Faliscan, as well as *apa* Cap **459**, reputedly from the ager Capenas, which may equally well be Faliscan or Latin. The only certainly Etruscan inscription from the ager Capenas dating from after its colonization early in

the fourth century (cf. §2.5.2) is Etr **XLV**, which appears to show Sabellic influences.

XLIII. Painted in red on a fragmentary tile (letters 12-17 cm high) from tomb 1 of the group of tombs excavated in 1912 on the south-east side of Monte Casale, near Rignano Flaminio. Fourth or third century. From the same tomb are *[iu]na : upreciano* MLF **363**, *[---] upreciano* MLF **364**, *[---]are·*[---]* MLF **365**, and *[---]uinu[---]* MLF **366**.

umrie

Sinistroverse, Faliscan alphabet. I regard this inscription as Etruscan because of the non-Faliscan *mr*: forms in *-ies* also occur as in otherwise Faliscan inscriptions (§9.2.2.2).

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8432; Gabrici 1912b:75-6 (*autopsy*); Buonamici 1913:80-1 ⟨52⟩; [Della Seta 1918:104 (*autopsy*)]; Vetter 1953:324 ⟨343c⟩; G. Giacomelli 1963:107-8 ⟨145,III⟩ (*autopsy*); Rix *ET* Fa 1.7. ***Drawings:*** Nogara in *CIE* 8432; Gabrici 1912b:76 fig.3.

XLIV. Scratched on the body of a small amphora (height 35 cm, ∅ body 7.5 cm; letters 9-25 mm high) found in 1907 at Monte Laceto, near modern Capena. Seventh century.

abçḍevzhθiḳsi*p*qχfu

Dextroverse, with reversed *s*. The *u* is placed under the end of the line. Several of the letters have unusual forms: see fig.19.4. Pandolfini regards the alphabet not as Etruscan, but rather as comparable to that of several other early inscriptions such as Sab **480**† and the inscription of Poggio Sommavilla. She notes that the shape of the *f* and of the *u* also occur in the Early Faliscan, but not in the contemporary Etruscan inscriptions. Although this is undoubtedly correct, the alphabet is certainly not Faliscan because of the presence of *b*, *v*, *θ*, and *χ*; also, the shape of the *d* and of the *h* are certainly not those of the Faliscan alphabet. The alphabet may be representative of the time when the alphabets of the Lower Tiber basin were still developing: see §11.2.2.

Bibliography: Herbig *CIE* 8547 (*autopsy*); †Paribeni 1913:69-70; Neppi Mòdona 1926:503; Buonamici 1932:112-5; Vetter 1953:329; Briquel 1972:815-6; Pandolfini & Prosdocimi 1990:90-4 ⟨App.1⟩; Rix *ET* Fa 9.2. ***Photographs:*** †Paribeni 1913:70 figs.1-2; Neppi Mòdona 1926:503 fig.7; Buonamici 1932 tav.V fig.8; *CVA* Roma (Museo Preistorico L. Pigorini) fasc.1 tav.X; Pandolfini & Prosdocimi 1990 tav.XLVI. ***Drawings:*** Herbig *CIE* 8547; Pandolfini & Prosdocimi 1990:91.

XLV. Scratched inside a small black-varnished cup from the votive depot discovered in 1952 at the temple of Lucus Feroniae. Third century.

cavies:uhtav[---]

Uhtav[---] (not Moretti's *VHTA]/[ies]*) shows a Sabellic *ht* ← */kt/: Colonna pointed to the occurrence of the name at Perugia (*uhtave* Pe 1.638, 1.639, 1.891, *uhtaves* Pe 1.817, 1.1267, *uhtavial* Pe 1.115; *uθavi* Pe 1.756, *uθavis* 1.1264).

Bibliography: Moretti 1975:145-7 ⟨142⟩; Colonna 1976c; Cristofani 1988:13; Rix *ET* Fa 2.25. ***Photograph:*** Moretti 1975 tav. 36.

19.6. Etruscan inscriptions *incertae uel ignotae originis*

The attribution to the ager Faliscus of the following inscriptions is probable only in the case of Etr **L-LI**, part of the painted decoration of a vase of Faliscan workmanship, and possible in the case of Etr **XLVIII**. The provenance of **XLVII** is uncertain. There appears to be no reason why Etr **XLVI** and **XLIX** should be ascribed to the ager Faliscus.

XLVI. Scratched on the shoulder of a bucchero aryballos (height 5.8 cm, ∅ 4.5 cm according to Buonamici, but height 5 cm, ∅ 4 cm according to Buffa in Buonamici 1935:356, 1938:319). Third quarter of the seventh century.

mlakasśe·laśaskamieleivana

Dextroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The *s* is Ϟ in *mlakas* and *aska*, but Ϩ in *se·la*, a variation occurring also in EF **1** and Etr **IV** (cf. §11.2.2).

Bibliography: Fabretti *CII* 2614 *quater* (*autopsy*); Bugge/Torp 1909:134; Cortsen 1935:152; Buonamici 1935:356-7; Buonamici 1938; Poupé 1963:245-7 ⟨32⟩; Pallottino *TLE* 762; De Simone 1968:27; Maggiani 1972; Agostiniani 1982:140 ⟨32⟩; Rix *ET* Fa 2.3. ***Photographs:*** Buonamici 1938 tav. LX1,1-4; Poupé 1963 pl.XXV,3; ***Drawing:*** Buffa in Buonamici 1935:356.[301]

XLVII. Scratched on a bucchero aryballos (height 6.5 cm). The provenance is unclear: "genannt werden die Umgebung (wohl im weiteren Sinn) von Civita Castellana und von Bagnorea; nach einer Notiz von Nogara stammt es aus Grotte S. Stefano (Station an der Eisenbahnlinie Viterbo-Attigliano, 10 km von der Station Montefiascone)" (Herbig 1913a:165). Maggiani (1980:404) quoted a letter of 21.X.1908 in the archives of the Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana, where the provenance is given as "Fidene, sul territorio di Fiano romano o meglio Leprignano". *C.*630-620.

miaraθialeziχuχe

Dextroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The *θ* is ⊗.

Bibliography: Nogara 1909:196; Herbig 1913a:165-8 (*autopsy*); Buffa *NRIE* 734; Poupé 1963:244-5 ⟨31⟩; Pallottino *TLE* 278; De Simone 1970b:124; [Bonamici 1974:39 ⟨45⟩]; Colonna 1975a:181-4; Maggiani 1980; Agostiniani 1982:106 ⟨328⟩; Rix *ET* Fa 6.3. ***Photographs:*** Herbig 1913a Taf.I,1-4; Poupé 1963 pl.XXV,2; Bonamici 1974 tav.XXII*a-c*.

XLVIII. Scratched on the handle belonging to a bucchero kantharos or kyathos, now in a private collection in Rome, reputedly found near Mazzano Romano. *C.*570-560?

leθaiemulvanicemi·nehvulve·s·

Sinistroverse, Etrucan alphabet. Naso reads *hvulve·s*, but his drawing clearly shows a

[301] Buonamici 1938:318 fig.4 only reproduces Fabretti's transcription.

second point following this letter. For *hvulve·s·* (Latin *Fulvus*), cf. *hvuluves* Ve 3.9 and *hvuluveš* Ve 3.30, and also *vhulvenas* Vs 1.100. *Leθaie* is probably the same name as the Faliscan genitive *letei* in MF **470***: on this name, see also Vetter 1948:67-8.

Bibliography: Naso 1993. ***Photograph:*** Naso 1993 tav.XLVI. ***Drawing:*** Naso 1993:263.

XLIX. Scratched on a loomweight. Known only through apographies by Pfister (see Garrucci 1860:243, Buonamici 1940:397-8). The only reason for including the inscription among those of Faliscan origin (as do G. Giacomelli and Rix in *ET*) is that Garrucci quoted it as a parallel for the reversed *s*'s in Faliscan inscriptions. Sixth century (?).

veleliasmistaslarv

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. The *s*'s are reversed (ƨ). Most editors read *velenas*, with ᚺ read as *n*, but as the *m* is ᛖ, the use of ᚺ for *n* is unexpected, and Rix is probably right in reading *li* instead. The *v* at the end may have been a monogram.

Bibliography: Garrucci 1860:243; Buonamici 1940:397-9; G. Giacomelli 1963:271 ⟨LIII⟩; Rix 1963:39, 257; Pallottino *TLE* 33; Agostiniani 1982:70 ⟨93⟩; Rix *ET* Fa 2.5. ***Drawing:*** Conestabile (?) in Buonamici 1940:398 fig.1.

L-LI. Painted in white on a Faliscan stamnos (height 31.6 cm, ∅ rim 20 cm), **L** on the front near a running Perseus, **LI** on the back between two Gorgons. Mid-fourth century.

φerse

c[e]ṛṵr : purφiunạs

Sinistroverse, Etruscan alphabet. **LI** is badly damaged. Pfiffig read *c*ṛ[u]ṛ· purφiụn[ạ]s* '*cerur* ['Werke, Gebilde'] des Purphiuna' (*cẹṛ[u]ṛ: purφ--n-s* Rix). The use of *cerur* in this formula is apparently unique: the usual word is *acil*.

Bibliography: *WeltGr* p.50 ⟨3⟩ (*autopsy*); [Brommer 1956:159 ⟨A.3⟩[302]]; Schauenburg 1960:49-50; *CVA* Heidelberg 2 pp.29-30 (*autopsy*); [Brommer 1980:282]; Pfiffig 1965; Rix *ET* Fa 7.1a-b. ***Photographs:*** Schauenburg 1960 Taf. 22,1-2; *CVA* Heidelberg 2 Taf. 67,2-3. ***Drawing:*** *CVA* Heidelberg 2 p.29 (reproduced in Pfiffig 1965: 102 fig.54a, 103 fig.52b).

[302] From the data given by Brommer I am not certain that this is indeed the same vase.

Dutch summary

Nederlandse samenvatting

Het onderhavige proefschrift bestaat uit een editie (deel 2) en een taalkundige analyse (deel 1) van het epigrafisch materiaal daterend van vóór de eerste eeuw voor de christelijke jaartelling uit het gebied dat in de oudheid bekend stond als de *ager Faliscus*, rond de stad Falerii, het tegenwoordige Civita Castellana (ong. 50 km ten noorden van Rome). Centraal hierbij staat de vraag of de taal die in deze inscripties wordt aangetroffen en wordt aangeduid als 'Faliscisch', ook daadwerkelijk als een aparte taal binnen de Italische tak van de Indo-Europese taalfamilie dient te worden beschouwd, of als een dialect van het Latijn.

Voor het volgende is het nodig om hier de periodisering van de Faliscische inscripties te noemen: *Vroegfaliscisch* (Early Faliscan of EF), d.w.z. alle inscripties in Faliscisch alfabet van voor de vierde eeuw voor de christelijke jaartelling; *Middenfaliscisch* (Middle Faliscan of MF), d.w.z. alle inscripties in Faliscisch alfabet die toegeschreven kunnen worden aan de periode tussen het begin van de vierde eeuw en de oorlog van 241-240 voor het begin van de christelijke jaartelling; *Laatfaliscisch* (Late Faliscan of LF), d.w.z. alle inscripties in Faliscisch alfabet die toegeschreven kunnen worden aan de periode ná de oorlog van 241-240 voor het begin van de christelijke jaartelling; *Middel- of Laatfaliscisch* (Middle or Late Faliscan of MLF), d.w.z. alle inscripties in Faliscisch alfabet waarvan niet duidelijk is of ze Middelfaliscisch dan wel Laatfaliscisch zijn; *Latinofaliscisch* (Latino-Faliscan of LtF) en *Capenatisch* (Capenate of Cap), d.w.z. alle inscripties in Latijns alfabet die wél taalkundige kenmerken tonen die in overeenstemming zijn met die van de Faliscische inscripties; *Latijns* (Latin of Lat), d.w.z. alle inscripties in Latijns alfabet die geen taalkundige kenmerken tonen die in overeenstemming zijn met die van de Faliscische inscripties; en tenslotte *Etruscisch* (Etruscan of Etr), d.w.z. alle inscripties die duidelijk in het Etruscisch geschreven zijn.

In **hoofdstuk 1** (*Introduction*, pp.1-18) worden allereerst (1.1, pp.1-3) drie algemene redenen gegeven die het Faliscisch tot een interessant onderwerp van taalkundige studie maken : *(1)* het is met het Romeins en het Praenestinisch het best-geattesteerde Latijnse dialect; *(2)* de epigrafische documenten voor het Faliscisch zijn relatief oud; *(3)* het gebied waar het Faliscisch gesproken werd lag tussen gebieden waar respectievelijk Etruscisch, Latijn, en Sabellische talen werden gesproken, en is als zodanig een interessant onderwerp van studie vanuit het oogpunt van taalcontactstudies. Aan het Faliscisch zijn daarom in de loop van de laatste 120 jaar meerdere grotere publicaties gewijd. Een overkoepelende studie van het Faliscisch waarin betoogd wordt dat het Faliscisch een dialect van het Latijn is, ontbrak echter tot op heden.

Vervolgens (§1.2) worden enkele methodologische punten besproken met betrekking tot de definitie van het begrip 'dialect' zoals die gehanteerd kan worden bij het onderzoek naar fragmentarisch bewaarde dode talen zoals het Faliscisch. Allereerst wordt deze definitie in tweeën gesplitst in *(1)* de strict *sociolinguistische* definitie, waarbij vooral naar buitentalige factoren wordt gekeken, en het criterium voor het taal/dialect-onderscheid vooral benaderd wordt vanuit de beleving van de sprekers zelf en van groepen waarmee zij regelmatig in contact staan, en *(2)* de *structurele* definitie, waarbij vooral naar binnentalige factoren wordt gekeken en het voornaamste criterium de mate van verschil in de taalstructuur zelf is. De sociolinguistische benadering is *ipso facto* niet toepasbaar op talen waarvoor de buitentalige gegevens zo schaars zijn als voor het Faliscisch.

Met betrekking tot de structurele benadering wordt opgemerkt dat deze op haar beurt opgedeeld kan worden in een strict *synchronische* benadering, gebaseerd op synchronische geolinguistische vergelijking (traditioneel resulterend in een isoglossenkaart), en een *diachronische* benadering gebaseerd op een diachronisch 'stamboommodel' van de betrokken talen. Bij deze laatste benadering worden vooral gevallen van gemeenschappelijk of afzonderlijk behoud van aspecten van de taal, en van gemeenschappelijke of afzonderlijke vernieuwing van aspecten van de taal tegen elkaar afgewogen. Betoogd wordt dat bij een fragmentarisch bewaarde dode taal een combinatie van de synchronische en de diachronische benadering het beste resultaat oplevert, onder het voorbehoud dat de synchronische benadering altijd een vergelijking tussen meer dan twee talen of dialecten dient te omvatten, en dat binnen de diachronische methode de verschillende gevallen van behoud of vernieuwing ten opzichte van elkaar 'gewogen' dienen te moeten worden.

Verdere methodologische punten (§1.3) hebben betrekking op taalcontactsituaties in het oude Italië. Gesteld wordt dat in de studie van de talen van het oude Italië het verschijnsel taalcontact nog te veel *ad hoc* gebruikt worden om hinderlijke anomaliteiten te verklaren, en te weinig als zelfstandig punt van taalkundige studie. Het bestaan van een Italische *Sprachbund* zoals voorgesteld door bv. Pisani en van een Faliscisch-Latijnse diglossie zoals voorgesteld door R. Giacomelli wordt sterk in twijfel getrokken, en in deze studie verder niet gebruikt. In dit kader worden tevens de begrippen 'interferentie' (*interference*) en ontlening (*borrowing*) besproken in de context van fragmentarisch bewaarde talen, en drie factoren die van invloed zijn op ontlening: *(1)* de structurele verschillen tussen de betrokken talen, *(2)* de ontleningshiërarchie (*borrowing hierarchy*), en *(3)* buitentalige (sociolinguistische) factoren. Voorgesteld wordt hierbij onder andere dat de ontleningshiërarchie een zodanig sterk gegeven is dat deze in de studie van fragmentarische talen ook in voorspellende zin kan worden gebruikt, zodat aanwijsbare gevallen van ontlening op de dieper gelegen niveau's van de taal als indicatie kunnen dienen van ontlening op de minder diep gelegen niveau's zelfs als deze niet in het materiaal geattesteerd is.

Vervolgens (§1.4) worden een aantal punten besproken met betrekking tot het Faliscische epigrafische materiaal. Dit materiaal bestaat uit 535 inscripties, waarvan ong. 355 bruikbare taalkundige gegevens opleveren.. Het merendeel bestaat uit grafinscripties; de overige inscripties staan vooral op aardewerk. (Het materiaal wordt uitgebreider besproken in hoofdstuk 11, zie hieronder.) De datering van het materiaal is bijzonder moeilijk: de grafcultuur van het gebied, met kamertombes die soms eeuwen achtereen in gebruik waren en in later tijden dikwijls gebruikt werden als stal of schuur, zorgt ervoor dat veel inscripties niet aan dateerbare grafgiften te koppelen zijn. Dit maakt ook een datering op epigrafische of orthografische gronden moeilijk. Als oplossing voor dit probleem wordt in deze studie een verdeling gebruikt die gebaseerd is op periodisering naar vindplaats en op het gebruikte alfabet (zie hierboven). Voorts wordt betoogd dat het indelen van inscripties op taal niet mag worden uitgaan van het gebruikte alfabet, aangezien dit geen taalkundig argument is. Tenslotte wordt een kort woord gewijd aan de betrouwbaarheid van het materiaal. Slechts enkele inscripties (inscripties 335, 464, XXXI, en een inscriptie besproken onder XXXIX) zijn als falsificaties te beschouwen. Wel kan de archeologische context betwijfeld worden: dit hangt samen met het zgn. 'Villa Giulia-schandaal' uit de jaren 1898-1907. Dit lijkt echter niet van doorslaggevende invloed te zijn op het onderwerp van deze studie.

Hoofdstuk 1 sluit af met een kort overzicht van de geschiedenis van de studie van het Faliscisch (§1.5). Aanvankelijk was niet meer bekend dan de opmerking van Strabo (*Geographica* 5.2.9): *ἔνιοι δ'οὐ Τυρρηνούς φασι τοὺς Φαλέριους, ἀλλὰ Φαλίσκους, ἴδιον ἔθνος· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τοὺς Φαλίσκους πόλιν ἰδιόγλωσσον* ('Sommigen zeggen dat de inwoners van Falerii geen Etrusken zijn, maar Falisken, een eigen volk: sommigen ook dat de Falisken een stadstaat zijn met een eigen taal'). Hoewel verschillende inscripties al vroeg werden opgetekend (inscripties 205-210, waarvan een afschrift bekend is uit 1676) of zelfs gepubliceerd (inscriptie 79, gepubliceerd in 1726), begint de daadwerkelijke studie van het Faliscisch in 1860 met de publicatie van een aantal grafinscripties uit de omgeving van Falerii Novi (nrs. 220-233).

In de daaropvolgende 150 jaar kunnen de volgende richtingen in het denken over de taalkundige positie van het Faliscisch onderscheiden worden: *(1)* het Faliscisch was taalkundig onafhankelijk van het Latijn en sterk beinvloed door de Sabellische talen (Deecke, *Die Falisker,* 1888); *(2)* het Faliscisch stond taalkundig dichterbij het Latijn maar was sterk beinvloed door het Etruscisch (Herbig, *Corpus inscriptionum Etruscarum* II.2.1, 1912); *(3)* het Faliscisch stond taalkundig dichtbij het Latijn, maar was een aparte taal en geen dialect (G. Giacomelli, *La lingua falisca*, 1963). In recentere werken wordt het Faliscisch in toenemende mate als taalkundig zeer dichtbij het Latijn staand beschouwd, hoewel de meeste wetenschappers de term 'dialect' niet willen gebruiken: de belangrijkste publicatie binnen deze richting is het artikel van Joseph & Wallace, 'Is Faliscan a local Latin *patois*?' (*Diachronica* 8 (1991), pp.159-186). Deze recente visies worden besproken in hoofdstuk 10 (zie hieronder).

Hoofdstuk 2 (*The ager Faliscus and its inhabitants*, pp.19-52) bestaat uit een bespreking van het historiografisch en archeologisch bronnenmateriaal dat betrekking heeft op de ager Faliscus en de bewoners ervan.

Allereerst (§2.1) wordt de fysieke omvang van het gebied vastgesteld. Aan de oostkant wordt het gebied begrenst door de Tiber, aan de noord- en noordwestkant door de Monti Sabatini, en aan de zuidwestkant door de Monti Cimini. Aan de zuidkant lijkt de belangrijkste natuurlijke grens de bergrug die de Monti Cimini verbindt met Monte Soratte aan de zuidoostkant van het gebied. Deze rug zou mogelijk de oude grens van het gebied kunnen zijn geweest. In de loop van de vijfde eeuw echter breidde de macht van de Etruscische stad Veii zich echter uit ten noorden van deze rug en lag de grens van de ager Faliscus meer naar het noorden. De steden in de ager Faliscus die genoemd worden door auteurs uit de oudheid zijn de hoofdstad Falerii, gelegen op de plaats van het moderne Civita Castellana, maar tegen het einde van de tweede eeuw voor de christelijke jaartelling vervangen door een Romeinse stad met dezelfde naam die ong. 5 km meer naar het westen lag, bij het huidige S. Maria di Falleri, en Fescennium, dat vermoedelijk geidentificeerd dient te worden met het huidige Narce.

Belangrijk voor de studie waren de routes door het gebied. Vanwege de vele steile ravijnen waren deze beperkt en volgden een duidelijk patroon, waarbij vele van de wegen samenkwamen bij Falerii. Directe routes naar het noorden waren er niet of nauwelijks: het gebied was open naar het zuiden, richting de Etruscische stad Veii en de Latijnse stad Rome, en had slechts één route naar het westen, tussen de Monti Sabatini en de Monti Cimini door, en één route naar het oosten, die de Tiber overstak bij het tegenwoordige Gallese en vandaar verder landinwaarts liep naar de gebieden van de Sabijnen en de Umbriërs. Deze ligging was van zowel economisch belang (gezien de handelsroutes langs de Tiber en naar het binnenland) en van strategisch belang: na de verovering van Veii door Rome aan het begin van de vierde eeuw voor de jaartelling lag het gebied op cruciale niet door Rome gecontroleerde routes door en uit Zuid-Etrurië.

In de hierboven aangehaalde passage uit Strabo wordt gesteld dat de Falisken een 'eigen volk' en een 'stadstaat met een eigen taal' vormden. Gezien de context dient deze uitspraak relatief te worden geïnterpreteerd als 'anders dan de rest van Etrurië'. In het kader van deze studie worden de Falisken gezien als een *ethnos* (§2.7), hetgeen gedefiniëerd wordt als 'een groep die historische banden heeft met het gebied dat zij bewoont, een min of meer identificeerbare eigen taal en cultuur heeft, en hun eenheid en verschil van andere groepen erkent door een bewustzijn van hun eigenheid dat tot uitdrukking komt in een volksnaam'. Vervolgens wordt kort geschetst hoe de Falisken aan deze definitie voldoen. Het belang van een dergelijke definitie voor deze studie ligt vooral in het feit dat ethniciteit niet een absoluut, maar een relatief gegeven is, en dat hoe deze ethniciteit gedefiniëerd werd kon verschillen afhankelijk van de periode en de andere groepen waarmee de Falisken in contact stonden. Een korte bespreking volgt van de moeilijkheden bij de implementatie van een dergelijke definitie van identiteit.

Vervolgens (§2.3) wordt geprobeerd een aantal van de factoren in te vullen die relevant kunnen zijn geweest voor een Faliscische identiteit. Onder de archeologisch definiëerbare factoren wordt allereerst genoemd de kenmerkende grafcultuur van in de rotsen uitgehouwen kamertombes die dienden als soms eeuwen achtereen in gebruik zijnde familietombes. Voorts worden aspecten van de structurering van de maatschappij, de inrichting van het bestuurssysteem, en de religie besproken: in veel gevallen blijkt het moeilijk om concrete uitspraken te doen, hoewel de historische en epigrafische bronnen zeker gegevens geeven op deze punten.

Hierop volgt een vrij uitgebreide bespreking van de geschiedenis van de ager Faliscus (§2.4-6). Gesuggereerd wordt dat in de zesde en vijfde eeuw voor de christelijke jaartelling de ager Faliscus onder een zekere druk moet hebben gestaan van de opkomende Etruscische stad Veii. De grootste Faliscische nederzetting van die tijd, Narce, lijkt geheel en al Etruscisch te zijn geworden, zonder dat dit echter de eigen identiteit van de ager Faliscus bedreigde. Voor de volgende eeuwen wordt grotendeels de beschrijvingen van de Romeinse en Griekse geschiedschrijvers gevolgd, m.n. Livius. Falerii en de ager Faliscus komen hierin in beeld vanaf het einde van de vijfde eeuw voor de christelijke jaartelling, wanneer Rome in oorlog raakt met Veii, waarvan Falerii dan een bondgenoot is. Na de val van Veii wordt ook Falerii door de Romeinen bedwongen (in 392 voor de christelijke jaartelling?): vanaf die tijd blijft het gebied een bondgenoot van de Romeinen die zich echter bij meerdere gelegenheden samen met andere steden van Zuid-Etrurië, vooral Tarquinii, tegen Rome keert. Desondanks wordt Falerii door de Romeinen keer op keer opmerkelijk coulant behandeld.

Hierin komt verandering in 241-240 voor de christelijke jaartelling, als de Romeinen aan het einde van de Eerste Punische Oorlog de ager Faliscus nogmaals aanvallen. Na deze Romeinse overwinning wordt de ager Faliscus in twee helften verdeeld, waarvan er een direct door de Romeinen bestuurd wordt, vanuit het kort daarop gebouwde nieuwe Romeinse Falerii. Gekoppeld aan het vrijwel geheel verdwijnen van alle grote Faliscische nederzettingen (Falerii en Corchiano), de versnippering van het gebied, en de toestroom van Latijnstalige immigranten, moet dit grote gevolgen hebben gehad voor de samenstelling van de bevolking. Vanaf deze tijd loopt het aantal Faliscische inscripties terug: de laatste (inscriptie 214) dateert vermoedelijk van ong. 150 voor de christelijke jaartelling.

Aansluitend (§2.7) worden een aantal sociolinguistische factoren besproken die van invloed zijn geweest, en wordt geprobeerd een inschatting te maken van de mate van invloed die elk van deze factoren gehad heeft op het voortbestaan van het Faliscisch. Hierbij wordt gekekeken naar de economische status van het gebied, de status van de eigen taal, functionele distributie van de verschillende talen, de bevolkingsgrootte (die geschat wordt op maximaal 20.000-22.500), de verdeling van de bevolking over het gebied, en tenslotte de rol van de familie en huwelijksbanden buiten de eigen groep.

Tenslotte (§2.8) wordt een korte samenvatting gegeven waarin betoogd wordt dat het voortbestaan van het Faliscisch in de tijd van de uitbreiding van de Etruscische cultuur wellicht toe te schrijven was aan de gunstige ligging van het gebied dat enerzijds tamelijk ontoegankelijk was vanuit het westen en het noorden, maar anderzijds gelegen was op een cruciaal kruispunt van handelsroutes, en dat het verdwijnen van het Faliscisch na de Romeinse verovering in 241-240 voor de christelijke jaartelling welhaast onvermijdelijk was gezien de ingrijpende sociale veranderingen die deze verovering met zich meebracht.

Hoofdstukken 3-8 zijn monografisch vormgegeven hoofdstukken over het Faliscisch beschouwd vanuit diverse deelgebieden van de taalkunde: de fonologie, de morfologie van naamwoorden, voornaamwoorden, en werkwoorden, het lexicon, het onomasticon, en de syntaxis. Elk van deze hoofdstukken bestaat uit een bespreking van voor dat deelgebied relevante methodologische kwesties en problemen, een analyse van het Faliscische materiaal, en een deelconclusie.

Hoofdstuk 3 (*Phonology*, pp.53-116) begint met enkele methodologische punten (§3.1), waarin met name gesproken wordt over de aannames op het gebied van de reconstructive van het Proto-Indo-Europees en van de stamboom van de Italische talen. In deze studie wordt uitgegaan van een tamelijk strict divergerend stamboom-model, waarbij de eerste fase van de ontwikkeling van de Italische talen gezien wordt al seen Proto-Italisch stadium waaruit zich vervolgens een Proto-Latijn en een Proto-Sabellisch ontwikkelen. Een belangrijk punt voor de vraagstelling van deze studie is waar het Faliscisch zich op deze stamboom bevindt: ontwikkelde het zich als een zelfstandige taal *naast* het Proto-Latijn en het Proto-Sabellische, ontwikkelde het zich als een zelfstandige taal uit het Proto-Latijn, of kan het als dialect van de Latijnse groep beschouwd worden? De rol van convergentie wordt in de discussies in dit hoofdstuk zoveel mogelijk geminimaliseerd.

Vervolgens (§3.2) worden de ontwikkelingen in de Proto-Italische fase besproken, zoals bv. de ontwikkeling van de laryngalen, het samenvallen van */eu̯/ met */ou̯/, en de vroegste ontwikkelingen van de Proto-Indo-Europese stemhebbende geaspireerde occlusieven, die zich gedurende deze periode ontwikkelen tot (stemhebbende of stemloze) spiranten. De aanname is dat Faliscisch als behorende tot de Italische taalfamilie op dit punt in geen opzicht afwijkt van de andere Italische talen, en deze aanname blijkt gerechtvaardigd.

Hierna worden de ontwikkelingen binnen het Proto-Latijn besproken (§3.3), waarbij de aanname is dat het Faliscisch waar er verschil is tussen de ontwikkelingen van het Proto-Latijn en het Proto-Sabellisch zich aansluit bij het Proto-Latijn. Hoewel deze aanname in veel gevallen gerechtvaardigd blijkt, is dit niet het geval waar het de verdere ontwikkelingen van de stemhebbende geaspireerde occlusieven betreft. Hier

toont het Faliscisch een ontwikkeling die eerder identiek lijkt te zijn aan die in de Sabellische talen, waarbij de Proto-Indo-Europese fonemen */b^h d^h/ zich in word-interne positie ontwikkelden tot een foneem dat weergegeven werd als *f* (vermoedelijk [ɸ] of [β]), terwijl in het Latijn deze fonemen in dezelfde positie uiteindelijk samenvielen met /b d/. Dit moet als een van de belangrijkste verschillen tussen het Faliscisch en het Latijn worden beschouwd, is het enige duidelijk aantoonbare verschil tussen beiden in de diachronie van de fonologie, en leidt tevens tot een belangrijk verschilpunt in de synchronische vergelijking van de fonemische en fonotactische systemen van beiden. Hoewel dikwijls wordt aangenomen dat eenzelfde ontwikkeling zich voordeed in andere dialecten van het Latijn, zoals het Praenestinisch, blijkt daarvoor nauwelijks een bewijs te bestaan: de zeldzame gevallen van een word-interne *f* in (dialect-)Latijn kunnen net zo goed worden toegeschreven aan interferentie of ontlening van woorden uit een Sabellische taal.

Een complicerende factor is voorts de ontwikkeling van het Proto-Indo-Europese fonemen */$ǵ^h$ g^h/, die in alle andere Italische talen zich in woord-interne positie ontwikkelden tot een foneem dat weergegeven werd als *h* (vermoedelijk [x]), maar in het Faliscisch lijkt te worden weergegeven *k*, *q*, of *c*, een notatie die eerder op een occlusief (/g/) dan op een spirant lijkt te wijzen. Een dergelijke ontwikkeling zou echter niet alleen tegengesteld zijn aan de Faliscische ontwikkeling van woord-interne */b^h d^h/ (maar wel in de lijn liggen van de Latijnse ontwikkeling van woord-interne */b^h d^h/ tot /b d/), maar ook anders dan de ontwikkeling van word-interne */$ǵ^h$ g^h/ in alle andere Italische talen. Het materiaal laat geen duidelijke conclusie toe.

Een synchrone vergelijking van de fonemische systemen van Faliscisch en Latijn in de derde eeuw voor de christelijke jaartelling (§3.4) laten enkele verschillen zien, waarvan de belangrijkste zijn de zeldzaamheid van /b/ en de grotere frequentie van /f/ in woord-interne positie in het Faliscisch, en de verdwijning van de tweeklanken als gevolg van monoftongisering, een proces dat zich in het Faliscisch eerder voltrok dan in het Latijn.

Vervolgens wordt een overzicht gegeven van de ontwikkeling van de Faliscische medeklinkers gedurende de Vroeg-, Middel-, en Laatfaliscische periodes (§3.5). Enkele belangrijke deeldiscussies betreffen:

(1) de realisatie van /f/ aan het woordbegin als [h], een verschijnsel dat zowel uit de epigrafische als uit diverse literaire bronnen bekend is, maar zich niet tot het Faliscisch alleen lijkt te hebben beperkt, aangezien er ook voorbeelden zijn uit andere Latijnse dialecten, en (in een latere periode) in het Etruscisch;

(2) het wel of niet plaatsvinden van woord-intern rhotacisme in het Faliscisch: de twijfels in de literatuur ten aanzien van een Faliscisch rhotacisme blijken grotendeels op een misinterpretatie van lettervormen te berusten;

(3) de mogelijke palatalisaties van consonanten gevolgd door /i/ of /i̯/: suggesties in deze richting in de literatuur worden grotendeels in twijfel getrokken;

(4) het weglaten van medeklinkers aan lettergreep- of woordeinde: betoogd wordt dat de schrijvers van het Faliscisch een grote neiging hadden tot het weglaten in het schrift van nasalen aan het lettergreep- en woordeinde, en een nog grotere neiging tot het weglaten van /s/ aan het woordeinde, doch dat het in beide gevallen eerder gaat om variatie in de geschreven weergave van fonetische realisaties dan van fonemische ontwikkelingen. Geopperd wordt dat het vrijwel consequent weglaten van /s/ aan het woordeinde na een korte klinker (in ong. 97% van alle gevallen) wellicht een orthografische regel van het Faliscisch is geweest, dat dan in dat opzicht verschilde van het Latijn.

Eenzelfde overzicht van de ontwikkeling van de Faliscische medeklinkers en tweeklanken gedurende de Vroeg-, Middel-, en Laatfaliscische periodes (§3.6-7) levert de volgende belangrijker deeldiscussies op:

(1) in het systeem van de klinkers vond een toenadering tussen /e/ en /i/ plaats, waarbij beide waarschijnlijk werden gerealiseerd als [ɪ]: voor een vergelijkbare toenadering van /o/ en /u/ zijn minder sterke aanwijzingen;

(2) in tegenstelling tot wat gewoonlijk in de literatuur wordt aangenomen, toont het Faliscisch wel degelijk gevallen van verzwakking of sluiting van woord-interne klinkers die toe te schrijven zijn aan een (prehistorische) beginklemtoon;

(3) alle korte tweeklanken van het Faliscisch verdwenen al tijdens de Middelfaliscische periode door monofthongisatie, hetgeen leidde tot een synchronisch verschil tussen de fonemische systemen van het Faliscisch en van het Latijn, waar de tweeklanken grotendeels pas later gemonoftongiseerd werden: in deze vroege monofthongisatie lijkt het Faliscisch op het Umbrisch en het Volscisch;

(4) een opvallende ontwikkeling is die van de tweeklank /ou̯/ tussen twee labialen tot /oi̯/ (bv. *loifi̯rtato* in inscriptie 31, = Lat. *libertatis*): deze ontwikkeling moet ook hebben plaatsgevonden in het Latijn, maar vond niet plaats in de Sabellische talen;

(5) er zijn aanwijzingen voor een tweeklank *-ui* in de dativus enkelvoud van de vierde declinatie, wellicht gevormd naar analogie van de (lange) tweeklanken *-ai* en *-oi* in de dativus enkelvoud van de eerste en tweede declinatie.

Als voornaamste conclusie van hoofdstuk 3 (§3.8) wordt gesteld dat de diachronische ontwikkeling van de fonologie van het Faliscisch op zeer veel punten overeenkomt met die van het Latijn, en dat het Faliscisch over het algemeen aansluit bij het Latijn op die punten waar er verschil bestaat tussen het Latijn en de Sabellische talen. Verschillen tussen Faliscisch en Latijn zijn over het algemeen van recente datum en hebben betrekking op fonetische of fonemische tendensen die zó universeel zijn dat de betekenis er van gering is. De grote uitzondering hierop is de ontwikkeling van de stemhebbende geaspireerde occlusieven in woord-interne positie in het Faliscisch: op dit punt toont het Faliscisch een vroege afwijking van het Latijn en een ontwikkeling die overeenkomt met die in de Sabellische talen.

Hoofdstuk 4 (*The nominal and pronominal inflections*, pp.117-154) behandelt de morfologie van de naamwoorden en de voornaamwoorden. Methodologische kwesties die aan de orde komen (§4.1) betreffen de mate waarin Etruscische namen wel of niet aangepast werden aan de morfologie van het Faliscisch, en de meerduidigheid van veel (contextloze) Faliscische vormen.

Vervolgens wordt de morfologie van de eerste (§4.2) en tweede (§4.3) declinatie behandeld. Deze levert weinig verrassingen op: de morfologie van het Faliscisch sluit nauw aan bij die van het Latijn, ook op punten waar het Latijn verschilt van de Sabellische talen zoals de nominativus enkelvoud van de eerste declinatie (Faliscisch en Latijn *-a* , Sabellische talen *-o*) en de nominativus meervoud van beide declinaties (Faliscisch en Latijn *-ai* en **-oi* (Middelfaliscisch *-e*), Sabellische talen *-as* en *-os*). Een discussiepunt is de genitivus van de eerste declinatie: hoewel de literatuur het er over eens is dat het Faliscisch hier de uitgang *-as* kende, is men over het algemeen niet bereid de (meerduidige) Faliscische vormen op *-ai* als genitivus te interpreteren. Hier wordt gesteld dat een dergelijke interpretatie wel degelijk mogelijk is, en dat het Faliscisch waarschijnlijk eenzelfde vervanging van de uitgang *-as* door *-ai* heeft gekend als het contemporaine Latijn. In de tweede declinatie valt de dativus op *-oi* op, die voor het Latijn wel verondersteld mag worden, maar niet eenduidig geattesteerd is. Bovendien wordt betoogd dat sommige van de Faliscische vormen op *-oi* wellicht geïnterpreteerd kunnen worden als genitivus.

Het belangrijkste punt van de morfologie van de tweede declinatie is echter ongetwijfeld de genitivus enkelvoud (§4.4). Al tientallen terug werd vastgesteld dat het Faliscisch toonde van een genitivus op *-osio*, een voortzetting van de Proto-Indo-Europese uitgang */-osi̯o/, terwijl uit het Latijn alleen de genitivus op *-i* bekend was, waarvan de oorsprong omstreden is. (In de Sabellische talen was de oorspronkelijke uitgang van de genitivus enkelvoud van de tweede declinatie al tijdens de Proto-Sabellische periode vervangen door de uitgang van de derde declinatie.) De aanname was dat dit een morfologisch punt was waarop Faliscisch en Latijn duidelijk van elkaar verschilden, en leidde tot de al genoemde aanname dat Faliscisch in de eerste declinatie geen genitivus op *-ai* kende, die immers gevormd was naar analogie van de genitivus op *-i*. De publicatie van de Vroeglatijnse Satricum-inscriptie (*CIL* I^2.2832a) in 1978 toonde echter aan dat ook het Latijn aanvankelijk een genitivus op *-osio* had, en dat de vervanging van *-osio* door *-i* betrekkelijk recent moest hebben plaatsgevonden in zowel Faliscisch als Latijn.

De verschillende theorieën ten aanzien van de relatie tussen *-osio* en *-i*, de manier waarop en de redenen waarom *-osio* vervangen werd door *-i* worden uitgebreid besproken. Met name wordt scherp stelling genomen tegen het idee dat *-i* een directe fonologische ontwikkeling van *-osio* zou zijn geweest: in plaats daarvan wordt ervan uitgegaan dat *-i* teruggaat op een Proto-Indo-Europees */-iH/, waarbij gesuggereerd wordt dat dit */-iH/ misschien gelijk te stellen is met de nominativus onzijdig meervoud

*/-i̯h̯₂/ van de bijvoeglijk naamwoorden op */-i̯os/ en derhalve teruggaat op de collectieve vorm van een bezittelijk bijvoeglijk naamwoord (bv. */tulli̯h̯₂/ → */tullī/ 'de Tullische zaken'). Ook aan deze verklaring kleven echter grote bezwaren. Als onderdeel van deze discussie wordt ook al het relevante materiaal uit de andere talen van het oude Italië besproken: hierin wordt ook het materiaal uit de niet-Italische talen zoals Venetisch, Lepontisch, Messapisch, Siculisch, en Elymisch betrokken, aangezien hier in de literatuur argumenten aan zijn ontleend. Sommige van deze talen lijken een vergelijkbare ontwikkeling te hebben doorgemaakt als het Faliscisch en het Latijn.

In de bespreking van de overige declinaties (§4.5-6) zijn de volgende deeldiscussies van belang:

(1) de genitivus enkelvoud van de derde declinatie toont ook in de Middelfaliscische inscripties nog een duidelijk onderscheid tussen de consonant-stammen, waar de uitgang *-o(s)* is, en de i-stammen, waar de uitgang *–e(s)* is: hierbij wordt gesteld dat ook in het contemporaine Latijn de uitgang bij de consonant-stammen zeer waarschijnlijk *-os* was;

(2) de dativus enkelvoud van de vierde declinatie gaat uit op *-ui:* deze uitgang is op geen enkele manier in overeenstemming te brengen met wat bekend is van de corresponderende uitgangen in de overige Italische talen en is waarschijnlijk binnen het Faliscisch gevormd door analogie met de uitgangen *-ai* en *-oi* van de eerste en tweede declinaties.

De voornaamwoorden (§4.7-9) zijn slecht gedocumenteerd, met uitzondering van de persoonlijk voornaamwoorden (§4.7). Het Faliscisch toont daarbij *eco* en *med* (later ook *met*) als nominativus en accusativus van het persoonlijk voornaamwoord van de eerste persoon enkelvoud en komt daarin overeen met het Latijnse *ego* en *med*, terwijl de Sabellische talen weliswaar een nominativus */egō/ kunnen hebben gehad, maar in ieder geval een anders gevormde accusativus /mēom/ hadden (thans geattesteerd in het Vroegumbrische (?) *míom*).

Een bijzonder problematisch punt is het persoonlijk voornaamwoord van de tweede persoon meervoud, dat in het Vroegfaliscisch verschijnt als *ues* in inscriptie 4. Het e-vocalisme is moeilijk te verklaren naast het Latijnse *uos* (en het bijbehorende bezittelijk voornaamwoord *uoster*, dat zich later ontwikkelde tot *uester*). Dit lijkt het enige grote verschil tussen Faliscisch en Latijn te zijn op het punt van de morfologie van de voornaamwoorden, maar eenzelfde eigenaardigheid doet zich ook voor binnen de Sabellische talen, waar het Paelignische *uus* staat naast het Umbrische bezittelijk voornaamwoord *uestra* (waar het e-vocalisme niet terug kan gaan op een ouder o-vocalisme). Het probleem van deze vormen lijkt onoplosbaar: gesuggereerd wordt dat de Proto-Italische vorm mogelijk */u̯ĕs/ en */u̯estros/ zijn geweest, waarnaast vormen met een o-vocalisme ontstonden die gevormd zijn naar analogie van de voornaamwoorden van de eerste persoon meervoud, */nŏs/ en */nostros/.

In **hoofdstuk 5** (*The verb*, pp.155-176) wordt de morfologie van de werkwoorden besproken. Hierbij zijn geen belangrijke methodologische problemen (§5.1).

Een bespreking van de morfologie van het werkwoord (§5.2) toont enerzijds duidelijk dat het Faliscisch tot de Italische talen behoort en dat het op cruciale verschilpunten overeenkomsten vertoont met het Latijn en niet met de Sabellische talen, maar dat het anderzijds ook een aantal verschilpunten had met het Latijn. Allereerst toont het Faliscisch een systeem van vier conjugaties en verschilt daarmee niet van de overige Italische talen. In de manier waarop het futurum gevormd wordt toont het Faliscisch overeenkomsten met het Latijn waar dit van de Sabellische talen verschilt (Fal. *f*-futurum = Lat. *b*-futurum, tegenover Sab. *s*-futurum). In de vorming van de wijzen valt geen verschil aan te wijzen met de andere Italische talen.

In de werkwoordsuitgangen komt het Faliscisch ook weer overeen met het Latijn waar dit verschilt van de Sabellische talen, m.n. op het gebied van de uitgang van de eerste persoon enkelvoud van het perfectum, geattesteerd in de Vroegfaliscische vorm *pe:para[i* in inscriptie 1, en van de secundaire persoonsuitgangen van de derde persoon enkelvoud, aanvankelijk *-ed*, later vervangen door *-et*, een vervanging die ook in het Latijn plaats vond maar niet in de Sabellische talen, en van de derde persoon meervoud, *-ond*, die in de Sabellische talen vervangen was door *-ns*. Problematisch is het feit dat deze uitgang in het Vroegfaliscisch opduikt in een perfectumform: indien het Faliscisch daadwerkelijk een Latijns dialect was zou eerder een vorm als **-eri* verwacht worden. Het is echter niet duidelijk in hoeverre deze Vroegfaliscische vorm representatief is voor de perfecta in het Vroegfaliscisch. Ook de uitgangen van de gebiedende wijs II tonen anomalieën, die echter tot op zekere hoogte verklaarbaar zijn.

Vervolgens (§5.3) worden de geattesteerde werkwoordsvormen afzonderlijk besproken. Belangrijke deeldiscussies betreffen hier de volgende vormen:

(1) esú(m) 'ik ben' in inscripties 389, 404, en 465 (alle uit de ager Capenas afkomstig), een vorm die reeds bekend was uit de Sabellische talen maar ook voor het Latijn geattesteerd is, zowel in epigrafische als literaire bronnen, en wellicht tot de dialecten aan de grenzen van het Latijnse gebied behoorde;

(2) de perfectumvormen *facet* in inscriptie 470* en *faced* in inscriptie 471*, die pas sinds enkele jaren bekend zijn: in een uitgebreide bespreking van de Italische perfecta van de werkwoordsstam *fac-* wordt gesteld dat hoewel deze vorm verschilt van het Latijnse perfectum *feci*, er desondanks overeenkomsten zijn in de zin dat zowel Faliscisch als Latijn een oude aoristusstam gebruiken als perfectumstam, en dat deze vernieuwing tamelijk recent moet zijn geweest aangezien het oorspronkelijke reduplicatieve perfectum voor het Latijn nog geattesteerd is in *vhe:vhaked CIL* I2.3. Een zelfde vernieuwing is te vinden in het Umbrisch; in het Oscisch is echter het oude reduplicatieve perfectum bewaard.

(3) de Vroegfaliscische perfectumvormen *f[.f]iqod* in inscriptie 1 en *fifiked* in inscriptie 9: hier wordt stelling genomen tegen het idee dat deze vormen perfectumvormen zijn van *fac-*: ze worden beschouwd als perfectumvormen van *fi(n)g-* (de traditionele interpretatie van deze vormen). Het schijnbare verschil tussen het reduplicatieve perfectum van het Faliscisch en het Latijnse *finxi* wordt gesuggereerd dat net als in het geval van de werkwoordsstam *fac-* eeen ouder reduplicatief perfectum, dat nog geattesteerd is in het Vroegfaliscisch, later vervangen is door een aoristusstam.

(4) de vermeende werkwoordsvorm *i*ice* (*ipice*?) in inscripties 309 en 315: hier wordt gesteld dat deze vorm waarschijnlijk geen werkwoordsvorm is;

(5) de futurumvormen *pipafo* in inscriptie 59 en *‹pi›pafo* in inscriptie 60: hier worden drie mogelijke manieren besproken waarop deze vormen afgeleid zouden kunnen zijn van de praessenstam *pip-* of *pipa-*.

(6) de gebiedende wijzen *tulate* en *urate* in inscriptie 385, die tot nog toe nauwelijks enige duiding hadden gekregen.

De deelconclusie van dit hoofdstuk (§5.4) is dat veel van de verschillen tussen het Faliscisch en het Latijn op het gebied van de werkwoorden zich goed laten verklaren en in een aantal gevallen slechts schijnverschillen zijn.

In **hoofdstuk 6** (*The lexicon*, pp.177-212) wordt gekeken naar de lexicale elementen in de Faliscische inscripties. Methodologische punten die hierbij besproken worden (§6.1) zijn *(1)* de wenselijkheid om bij op vergelijking gebaseerd onderzoek naar de taalkundige positie van een taal of dialect, prioriteit te geven aan synchrone vergelijking boven diachrone woordafleiding, *(2)* het probleem van welke inscripties het Faliscisch weerspiegelen en welke die van het taalkundig zeer nabijstaande Latijn, en *(3)* het gebruik van het onomasticon als gegevensbron voor lexicale elementen.

Vervolgens (§6.2) worden alle in de inscripties geattesteerde lexicale elementen afzonderlijk geëvalueerd. Interessante deeldiscussies hierbij betreffen de woorden *efiles* (al dan niet een calque op het Latijnse *aediles*), *cela* in de betekenis 'grafkamer' (al dan niet een ontlening uit het Etruscisch), het hypothetische woord **gutto/guttom/guttor* 'schenkkan' (vorm en ontleningstraject), het hypothetische woord **putellios/putelliom* '(jong) kind' (mogelijke afleiding), het ghostword †*sorex*, en het mogelijk nog als bijvoeglijk naamwoord fungerende *titos* 'voorspoedig, welvarend'.

Evaluatie van deze lexicale elementen (§6.3) laat zien dat, hoewel de gegevens lacuneus zijn, er valt vast te stellen dat het geattesteerde Faliscische lexicon vrijwel geheel overeenkomt met het Latijnse, ook waar het Latijnse lexicon duidelijk verschilt van het Sabellische, zoals in de woorden *filius/filia* voor 'zoon'/'dochter', tegenover het Sabellische **puclom/*futer*. Woorden van andere herkomst kunnen worden toegeschreven aan recente ontlening of interferentie, zoals in de gevallen van *postigna* en *pescum*. Tevens worden lexicale subsets besproken, waarbij blijkt dat de

subset die betrekking heeft op de grafvorm het lexicon weliswaar vergelijkbaar is met het Latijnse, doch een aantal eigen betekenissen toont die in Latium, waar de grafvorm amders was dan in de ager Faliscus, niet of nauwelijks voorkomen, zoals *cella* met de betekenis 'grafkamer' en *lectus* met de betekenis 'ligplaats voor de dode'. De subset die betrekking heeft op het politieke bestuur tenslotte is vrijwel geheel aan het Latijn ontleend en weerspiegelt de door de Romeinen na de oorlog van 241-240 voor de christelijke jaartelling ingestelde bestuursstructuur.

Aparte aandacht wordt verder besteed aan de epigrafisch geattesteerde theonymen (§6.4), toponymen, potamonymen, en ethnonymen (§6.5). De theonymen komen overeen met die in het Latijn, en hebben vrijwel alle betrekking op Italische (en niet op Etruscische) goden. In de toponymen, potamonymen, en ethnonymen komen diverse geografische namen uit de directe omgeving van de ager Faliscus terug. Hierbij dient gewezen te worden op de naam *calitenes* in inscriptie 265, een naam die misschien is afgeleid van de oorspronkelijke Etruscische naam van het huidige Gallese, en de namen *ortecese* in inscriptie 339 en *urtcsnas* in inscriptie XXXV, die zouden kunnen zijn afgeleid van de oorspronkelijke Etruscische naam van het huidige Corchiano. Ten slotte (§6.6) worden de weinige glossen besproken die door Latijnse of Griekse auteurs aan de Falisken werden toegeschreven.

Hoofdstuk 7 (*The onomasticon*, pp.213-290) bestaat uit een evaluatie van het onomasticon van het gebied. Methodologische problemen hier zijn *(1)* het feit dat namen in zekere zin slechts zijdelings deel uitmaken van een taal, en zich niet in alle opzichten gedragen als lexicale elementen, waardoor bijvoorbeeld de ontlening van namen aan andere talen duidelijk gemakkelijker verloopt dan de ontlening van lexicale elementen, *(2)* het feit dat namen primair niet zozeer een lexicale betekenis als wel een symbolische functie hebben en derhalve als belangrijke markeerders van verschillende soorten identiteit kunnen fungeren, *(3)* en dat derhalve het aanpassen van een naam aan een andere taal (of, omgekeerd, het onveranderd laten van de eigen naam bij het gebruik van een andere taal) van groot belang kunnen zijn bij het vaststellen van identiteit. Gewaarschuwd wordt tenslotte voor het te gemakkelijk trekken van conclusies op grond van een achternaam die uit een bepaalde taal afkomstig is: zo is het hebben van een (in oorsprong) Etruscische achternaam zeker geen automatisch bewijs voor het feit dat een persoon met een dergelijke achternaam ook (nog) Etruscisch was of zich als Etrusk beschouwd, of zelfs maar Etruscisch sprak.

Vervolgens worden in diverse paragrafen de namen en de naamsformules uit het gebied geanalyseerd: allereerst de namen in de Vroegfaliscische inscripties (§7.2), die voornamelijk uit enkele namen bestaan (hoewel vroege voorbeelden van familienamen ook al lijken op te duiken), en uit enkele lastig analyseerbare naamsgroepen, vervolgens de Middel- en Laatfaliscische naamsformules van mannen (§7.3) en van vrouwen

(§7.4). Bij zowel mannen als vrouwen bestaat de officiële naamsformule uit voornaam + achternaam, eventueel gevolgd door een filiatie (vermelding van de vadersnaam). De officiële naamsformule wordt vooral gebruikt in grafinscripties; in bezitsinscripties op aardewerk wordt ook wel een kortere vorm van de naamsformule gebruikt, die bij mannen bestaat uit de voornaam, maar bij vrouwen eerder uit de achternaam.

Hiernaast worden nog enkele uitbreidingen en varianten besproken. Vrouwennamen konden worden uitgebreid met vermelding van de naam van de echtgenoot als 'echtgenote van …' (§7.4.2), hetgeen een toevoeging is die alleen in grafinscripties wordt gevonden, aangezien vrouwen die in het familiegraf van de echtgenoot werden begraven een andere achternaam hadden dan de rest van de overledenen aldaar. De filiatie (§7.5) kan twee vormen aannemen, nl. 'zoon/dochter van …' of door middel van een van de vadersnaam afgeleid bijvoeglijk naamwoord, een zgn. patronymicum. Het gebruik van patronymica moet zeer verbreid zijn geweest in het oude Italië, aangezien patronymica de basis vormen van veel van de Italische en Etruscische familienamen, maar alleen in de ager Faliscus blijft het patronymicum als zodanig tot ver in de historische periode in gebruik (tot in de tweede eeuw voor de christelijke jaartelling). Tenslotte wordt een kort woord gewijd aan de namen van vrijgelatenen (§7.6). De naamsformules van vrijgelatenen lijken weinig af te wijken van die van vrijgeborenen, hoewel er aanwijzing zijn dat in de ager Faliscus het Etruscische systeem van de dubbele familienaam voor vrijgelatenen ook in gebruik was.

Vervolgens volgen uitgebreide analyses van alle uit de epigrafische bronnen bekende voornamen (§7.7) en familienamen (§7.8) in het gebied, waarbij vooral gekeken is naar de herkomst van deze namen (locaal, Etruscisch, Latijns, of Sabellisch), naar de frequentie, en naar de distributie. De belangrijkste conclusies hier zijn:

(1) dat de ager Faliscus eigen voornamen kende die nergens anders voorkwamen, zoals *Iuna*, *Volta*, en *Voltius*, terwijl sommige andere namen in de ager Faliscus duidelijk vaker voorkwamen dan elders, zoals *Gavius*, *Aufilus*, en *Laevius* en *Laevilius*;

(2) dat in de ager Faliscus veel Etruscische voornamen werden gebruikt, maar dat deze stuk voor stuk niet frequent voorkomen en niet gebonden blijken te zijn aan families met (in oorsprong) Etruscische achternamen (zie hieronder over §9.2);

(3) dat in de ager Faliscus veel Etruscische achternamen werden gebruikt, maar dat deze in veel gevallen zijn aangepast aan de morfologie van het Faliscisch;

(4) en dat veel van de Faliscische achternamen en (in mindere mate) voornamen oorspronkelijk patronymica waren.

Vervolgens wordt een kort woord gewijd aan de *cognomina* of toenamen (§7.9) : deze waren slechts weinig frequent, vermoedelijk nog niet erfelijk, en nog geen vast onderdeel van de officiële naamsformule, hetgeen in overeenstemming is met het gebruik van dergelijke namen in Latium in dezelfde periode.

Tenslotte (§7.10) worden de bevindingen met betrekking tot de namen geplaatst in het kader van de vraagstelling met betrekking tot de (ethnische) identiteit. Anders dan vaak wordt aangenomen blijken de namen slechts een tamelijk diffuus beeld te geven van de ethnische samenstelling van de bevolking van de ager Faliscus. Dit blijkt vooral uit de grote mengelmoes van namen van verschillende origine in het gebied, waarbij voornamen en achternamen van verschillende herkomst zonder meer aan elkaar gekoppeld worden. Wel zijn er duidelijke aanwijzingen dat bepaalde voornamen functioneerden als markeerders van een ethnische identiteit: zo verdwijnen de specifiek Faliscische voornamen spoedig na de overname van het gebied door de Romeinen na de oorlog van 241-240 voor de christelijke jaartelling, terwijl tezelfdertijd tot dan toe afwezige of niet frequente voornamen die typerend zijn voor het Latijn zoals *Gaius* en *Marcus* hun intrede doen. Dit beeld wordt versterkt door duidelijke aanwijzingen dat bepaalde voornamen een rol speelden binnen bepaalde families (zgn. 'erfelijke voornamen').

In **hoofdstuk 8** (*Syntax and text structure*, pp.291-318) wordt ingegaan op de manier waarop in het Faliscisch zinnen en teksttypes geconstrueerd werden. Een methodologisch punt hierbij (§8.1) is de uitsluiting van de Latijnse inscripties, daar deze een zodanig andere repertoir aan teksten omvatten dat een vergelijking met de Faliscische inscripties onmogelijk is en een scheef beeld op zou leveren van het materiaal.
Een analyse van de morfosyntaxis van de naamwoorden (§8.2) en de werkwoorden (§8.3), de volgorde van de zinsdelen in de zin (§8.4) en in woordgroepen (§8.5), en coördinatie en subordinatie (§8.6) toont weinig verrassends: het Faliscisch toont op deze punten geen verschillen met de andere Italische talen. Het weinige dat te zeggen valt met betrekking tot de taaltypologie van het Faliscisch (§8.7) zou mogelijkerwijs kunnen wijzen op iets meer overeenkomsten met het Latijn dan met de Sabellische talen, maar het materiaal hiervoor is te schaars om tot duidelijke uitspraken te komen.

Veel interessanter blijkt de analyse van de verschillende teksttypes. Onder de bezitsinscripties (§8.8) worden de gebruikelijke basistypes aangetroffen (naam in de nominativus, naam in de genitivus), maar ook voorbeelden van 'sprekende inscripties' met teksten als *eco* gevolgd door een naam in de genitivus ('ik [ben] van ...'), *eco* met een vaasnaam in de nominativus en een persoonsnaam in de genitivus ('ik ben de ... van ..'), en *eco* gecombineerd met een naam in de nominativus ('ik [ben] ...'), en een naam in de genitivus gevolgd door *esú(m)* 'van ... ben ik'. Vergelijking met sprekende inscripties uit andere talen van het oude Italië toont dat de eerste drie types van Etruscische origine zijn, en het laatste type vermoedelijk ontstaan is bij vervanging van deze voornaamwoordelijke formules door Latijnse werkwoordelijke formules.

Een dergelijk beeld komt ook naar voren bij de 'signaturen' (§8.9) van pottenbakkers. Ook hier komen voorbeelden voor van een naam in de nominativus of de

genitivus, maar daarnaast worden ook voorbeelden gevonden van sprekende inscripties bestaande uit een naam gevolgd door *med fifiked* '... kneedde mij' (Vroegfaliscisch) of *met facet* '... maakte mij' (Middelfaliscisch). Interessant is dat deze formule weliswaar teruggaat op een Etruscisch voorbeeld, maar aangepast is aan de woordvolgorde van het Faliscisch. Uniek is het gebruikt, in de Vroegfaliscische vorm van deze formule, van het specifieke werkwoord *fi(n)g-* 'kneden', terwijl de vergelijkbare formules in de andere talen van het oude Italië een algemeen werkwoord 'maken' gebruiken.

De grafinscripties (§8.10) tonen een formule bestaand uit een of meer namen in de nominativus gevolgd door de woorden *hec cupat/cupant* '... ligt/liggen hier'. Vergelijkbare formules komen voor in andere talen van Centraal-Italië, maar de variatie binnen deze formules is groot, en de frequentie is aanmerkelijk lager dan in het Faliscisch, waar dit de standaardformule voor grafinscripties lijkt te zijn (met incidentele variaties zoals *cupat ifra* 'ligt hieronder' in inscriptie 40 en *lecet hec* in inscriptie 88, met een ander werkwoord voor 'liggen'). Het Etruscisch had een vergelijkbare formule met de woorden *θui cesu*, maar ook van deze formule komt de frequentie niet in de buurt van die van de Faliscische. Afgezien van deze formule wordt voorts aandacht besteed aan het verschijnen van *cursus honorum* in Latinofaliscische en Latijnse grafinscripties, hetgeen duidelijk toe te schrijven is aan Romeinse invloed, aan de problematische gevallen van grafinscripties bestaande uit twee namen, één in de nominativus en één in de dativus) en misschien te lezen als '... [maakte dit graf] voor ...', en de inscripties die refereren aan het grafrecht (*ius sepulcrale*).

De wijdingsinscripties (§8.11) bestaan uit godennamen in de nominativus of de genitivus en zijn derhalve vergelijkbaar met de bezitsinscripties. Daarnaast komt ook het meer gebruikelijke type voor waarin de godennaam in de dativus staat ('voor ...'), soms vergezeld van een naam van de schenker in de nominativus ('..., voor ...'). Het is echter mogelijk dat het relatief grote aantal inscripties waarin de godennaam in de genitivus staat verklaard moet worden door invloed vanuit het Etruscisch aan te nemen, waar een werkelijke dativus wellicht ontbrak en de functies die de dativus had in de Italische talen deels werden vervuld door de genitivus. Daarnaast wordt er minstens een voorbeeld gevonden van een wijdingsinscriptie met het woord *sacer* 'gewijd', hetgeen eerder een Italisch dan een Etruscisch gebruik lijkt te zijn: het Faliscische voorbeeld (inscriptie 127, *sacra*) is echter uniek in de zin dat de naam van de godheid niet genoemd wordt.

Op het gebied van de officiële inscripties (§8.12) tenslotte is er een duidelijk verschil tussen de eenvoudige manier waarop deze in het Faliscisch geformuleerd werden, met alleen de namen van de magistraten, en de manier waarop deze in Latijnse inscripties uit het gebied geformuleerd werden, met aanmerkelijk uitgebreider formules. Dit weerspiegelt het andere tekstrepertoir dat zijn intrede deed in het gebied met de overname door de Romeinen na de oorlog van 241-240 voor de christelijke jaartelling.

Hoofdstuk 9 (*Language contact*, pp.319-340) is gewijd aan de taalcontacten die moeten hebben bestaan tussen het Faliscisch enerzijds en het Etruscisch, de Sabellische talen, en het Latijn anderzijds. Eerst (§9.1) wordt hierbij ingegaan op het methodologische probleem van het analyseren van taalcontacten uit een beperkt epigrafisch corpus: de aard van dit materiaal maakt het niet alleen bijzonder moeilijk om onderscheid te maken tussen interferentie en ontlening, maar verschijnselen *die* aan interferentie of ontlening kunnen worden toegeschreven veronderstellen ook dat dit 'vreemde element' werd meegenomen in de *geschreven* versie van de taal waar het in terecht kwam, hetgeen een extra stap vereist ten opzichte van vergelijkbare verschijnselen in gesproken taal.

Vervolgens worden de contacten met het Etruscisch besproken (§9.2) moeten vooral in de periode tot de vierde eeuw van groot belang zijn geweest, maar het lijkt er op dat in de ager Faliscus in elke periode een deel van de bevolking Etruscisch in ieder geval als tweede taal maar wellicht ook als eerste taal beheerste. De contacten zullen daarom zowel op formeel (officieel) als op informeel (persoonlijk) niveau hebben plaatsgevonden. Opvallend zijn in dit opzicht de Etruscische inscripties XXXVIII en XXXIX: dit lijken officiële inscripties te zijn, hetgeen er op zou wijzen dat Etruscisch in voorkomende gevallen gebruikt kon worden door (locale) magistraten, zelfs al was Faliscisch vermoedelijk de eerste taal van de meerderheid van de bewoners van het gebied. Desondanks blijkt het moeilijk om daadwerkelijk Etruscische kenmerken aan te wijzen in de Faliscische inscripties. Als zodanig worden besproken :
(1) fonologische kenmerken, waarbij als enige plausibel punt wordt genoemd de mogelijkheid van een 'sterkere' Etruscische realisatie van /s/ aan het woordeinde na een korte klinker;

(2) morfologische kenmerken, die grotendeels in twijfel worden getrokken óf kunnen worden toegeschreven aan onomastische ontlening, waarbij het morfeem van de Etruscische nominativus mee ontleend wordt als onderdeel van de naam: hieronder vallen wellicht ook de 'Etruscoide' vormen op *-ies*;

(3) lexicale ontleningen, die grotendeels in twijfel worden getrokken;

(4) een syntactisch kenmerk, namelijk de verwarring van verschillende naamvallen die in sommige inscripties waarneembaar is, lijkt wél aan het Etruscisch toe te schrijven;

(5) de reeds in hoofdstuk 8 besproken tekstformules zijn ook met zekerheid aan het Etruscisch toe te schrijven.

Een aparte paragraaf (§9.2.3) is gewijd aan de mogelijke aanwezigheid van Etruscischtalige groepen of families in de ager Faliscus, die al eerder het onderwerp zijn geweest van aparte studies. Het merendeel van de grafinscripties uit Corchiano (inscripties 257-258, 265-266, en 269-272), alsmede de inscripties uit een tombe bij de Ponte Terrano in Civita Castellana (inscripties 41-43) bevatten een aantal epigrafische, orthografische, onomastische, en taalkundige kenmerken die alleen aan het Etruscisch

toegeschreven kunnen worden. De concentratie van deze kenmerken in deze inscripties is hoog, en de conclusie is daarom dan ook dat deze inscripties duidelijk aan personen toe te schrijven zijn van wie de eerste taal eerder Etruscisch was dan Faliscisch.

De contacten met de Sabellische talen (§9.3) moeten frequent zijn geweest. Gesteld wordt echter dat in ieder geval op taalkundig gebied er nauwelijks aanwijzingen zijn te vinden voor vermeende grootschalige invasies vanuit het Sabellische gebied ten oosten van de Tiber, hoewel migraties op kleine schaal niet uitgesloten kunnen worden : in dit kader wordt tevens besproken de implicaties van de *Hirpi Sorani* op de Soracte zoals beschreven door Servius en Plinius de Oudere. Epigrafische en taalkundige aspecten van de inscripties van het studiegebied die op Sabellische talen zijn terug te voeren zijn deze vrijwel geheel beperkt tot de ager Capenas, zijn deze goed verklaarbaar als interferentie, toe te schrijven aan individuen van wie de eerste taal een Sabellische taal was eerder dan Faliscisch. Bijzondere aandacht is er voor inscriptie 474* van onbekende herkomst (misschien afkomstig uit Falerii Novi) en inscriptie 431 uit het heiligdom van Lucus Feroniae in de ager Capenas: in beide inscripties wordt het voorwerp van de inscriptie zelf aangeduid met een woord dat alleeen parallellen heeft in Sabellische talen, respectievelijk *posticnu* en *pesco(m)*, terwijl de taal van de inscripties verder volledig Faliscisch of Latijn lijkt te zijn.

De contacten tussen Faliscisch en Latijn (§9.4) blijken veel moeilijker analyseerbaar, juist vanwege de grote mate van overeenkomst tussen beide. Zeker in de periode na de oorlog van 241-240 voor de christelijke jaartelling moeten deze contacten frequent en intensief zijn geweest, en op alle niveau's van taal en taalgebruik hun invloed hebben uitgeoefend. Voor zover deze contacten echter terugkeren in de Faliscische inscripties lijkt er niet zozeer sprake te zijn van kenmerken van het Latijn die in het Faliscisch doordringen, maar een volledige vervanging van de Faliscische manier waarop inscripties vorm werd gegeven door een Latijnse manier: het 'schema' of 'model' van een geschreven tekst wordt na de Romeinse overname van het gebied volgend op de oorlog van 241-240 voor de christelijke jaartelling vervangen door een nieuw schema. Dit uit zich in epigrafische, orthografische, morfofonologische, en tekstuele kenmerken die radicaal anders waren dan in de Faliscische inscripties. Hoe zich dit verhield tot de manier waarop gesproken Faliscisch beïnvloed werd door het Latijn is derhalve niet echt waar te nemen.

In **hoofdstuk 10** (*Conclusion: Faliscan as a Latin dialect*, pp.341-360) worden de analyses en deelconclusies van hoofdstukken 2-9 bijeen gevoegd en geintegreerd. Terugkerend naar de verschillende definities van dialect zoals die gegeven werden in hoofdstuk 1 (§10.2) wordt allereerst geconcludeerd dat de aanwijzingen voor een 'Faliscische identiteit' en de rol van het Faliscisch zelf daarin dermate sterk zijn dat

vanuit een strict sociolinguistisch perspectief het welhaast noodzakelijk is om het Faliscisch te beschouwen als een taal.

De conclusie wordt echter anders als de vraagstelling benaderd wordt vanuit de in hoofdstuk 1 besproken structurele benadering. Achtereenvolgens wordt het materiaal daarom besproken vanuit een zo synchronisch mogelijk perspectief en vanuit een diachronisch perspectief. Een probleem bij het synchronisch perspectief is dat de mogelijkheid tot vergelijking van het Vroegfaliscische materiaal uitgesproken beperkt is en derhalve veel vragen onbeantwoord laat: een strict synchronische vergelijking van het Faliscische materiaal met het contemporaine Latijnse en Sabellische materiaal kan eigenlijk alleen zinnig worden uitgevoerd voor de periode tussen ong. 300 en 250 voor de christelijke jaartelling, d.w.z. voor het einde van de Middelfaliscische periode. Bij een vergelijking van het materiaal uit deze periode zouden echter weer de belangrijke gegevens van het Vroegfaliscische materiaal buiten beschouwing blijven. Tevens doet dit geen recht aan de diachronische ontwikkelingen die tot deze synchronie geleid hebben.

Derhalve wordt verder uitgegaan van een meer diachrone dan synchrone benadering, die het mogelijk maakt om gegevens uit alle periodes te gebruiken en deze in een groter perspectief te plaatsen. Er wordt betoogd dat bij een dergelijke beschouwing de verschillen tussen Faliscisch en contemporain Latijn gering zijn, en dat de meeste van deze verschillen toe te schrijven zijn aan relatief recente ontwikkelingen. De verschillen tussen Faliscisch en Latijn die aparte discussie vereisen zijn de volgende:

(1) de verschillende ontwikkelingen van */b^h d^h/* in woord-interne positie: er lijkt binnen een strict structurele versie van de diachronische benadering geen verklaring te vinden waarom het Faliscisch in één vroege fonologische ontwikkeling afwijkt van het Latijn en een ontwikkeling toont zoals die plaats moet hebben gevonden in de Sabellische talen, terwijl het Faliscisch in latere ontwikkelingen zich weer wél ontwikkelt zoals het Latijn;

(2) de vorming van het Vroegfaliscische perfectum *fifiked* in inscriptie 9 en *fl.ɟiqod* in inscriptie 1 tegenover het Latijnse *finxi*, en van het Middelfaliscische perfectum *facet* in inscriptie 470* en *faced* in inscriptie 471* tegenover het Latijnse *feci* (ouder *vhe:vhaked CIL* I^2.3): dit verschil valt te verklaren door aan te nemen dat in deze werkwoorden een oorspronkelijk reduplicerend perfectum in een recente ontwikkeling werd vervangen door een oorspronkelijke aoristusvorm, hetgeen overigens niet verklaard waarom het Faliscisch in het geval van de werkwoordsstam *fac-* koos voor de aoristusstam *fac-* /fak-/ (zoals ook het Umbrisch deed) en het Latijn voor de aoristusstam *fec-* /fēk-/;

(3) het Vroegfaliscische persoonlijk voornaamwoord *ues* in inscriptie 4, dat niet in overeenstemming is met de corresponderende Latijnse vorm *uos* en *uester*: eerder werd er echter al op gewezen dat een dergelijk probleem zich ook voordoet binnen de Sabellische talen (Paelignisch *uus* tegenover Umbrisch *uestra*).

Deze problemen worden opgevat als de enige daadwerkelijk significante verschillen tussen Faliscisch en Latijn, en daarmee als de enige sterke argumenten tégen een Faliscisch-Latijnse eenheid.

Vervolgens (§10.2) worden de visies van een aantal auteurs besproken die zich in de laatste 50 jaar hebben uitgesproken over de taalkundige positie van het Faliscisch:

(1) Campanile, *Studi sulla posizione dialettale del latino* (1969), pp.85-92, die het Faliscisch zag als grotendeels een onafhankelijke Italische taal;

(2) Solta, *Zur Stellung der lateinischen Sprache* (1974), pp.45-47, die een convergentie zag van het Faliscisch met de Sabellische talen

(3) G. Giacomelli, *La lingua falisca* (1963), p.21, die zich opmerkelijk vaag uitliet over deze kwestie, maar later in 'Il falisco' in *Lingue e dialetti dell'Italia antica* (1978), pp.509-535, uitging van een sterke beïnvloeding door of convergentie met de Sabellische talen;

(4) Joseph & Wallace, 'Is Faliscan a local Latin *patois*?' (*Diachronica* 8 (1991), pp.159-186, die ontkenden dat het Faliscisch een Latijns dialect kon worden genoemd;

(5) R. Giacomelli, *Ricerche falische* (1978), p.67 en *Nuove ricerche falische* (2006), *passim*, die de verschillen tussen Faliscisch en Latijn vooral presenteert in het kader van niveauverschillen binnen wat kennelijk in wezen dezelfde taal is.

In veel gevallen blijken de argumenten van deze auteurs niet gebaseerd op een weging van de verschillende punten van overeenkomst of verschil, of gebaseerd op een onjuiste vergelijking, bv. van Vroegfaliscisch materiaal met veel later Latijns of Sabellisch materiaal. Gesteld wordt dat de taalkundige afstand tussen Faliscisch en Latijn in weerwil van de genoemde verschillen te klein is om de benaming 'taal' voor het Faliscisch op structureel taalkundige gronden te rechtvaardigen. Aan de andere kant worden de verschillen te groot geacht om als 'niveauverschil' te betitelen.

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Deel 2 (hoofdstukken 11-19) bevat de editie van het epigraphische materiaal uit de ager Faliscus en Capenas. Hierin worden alle relevante inscripties (535 in totaal, inclusief de Etruscische inscripties en de inscripties van onbekende of andere herkomst die beschouwd worden als Faliscisch) opnieuw gepubliceerd. Elke inscriptie is voorzien van een complete bibliographie, inclusief verwijzingen naar alle foto's en tekeningen.

Hoofdstuk 11 (*The epigraphic material*, pp.361-392) bestaat uit een bespreking van de epigrafische aspecten van het Faliscisch materiaal. Eerst (§11.1) worden de inscripties in de editie uitgesplitst op vier verschillende manieren: *(1)* naar herkomst (Civita Castellana (Falerii), S. Maria di Falleri, Corchiano en de noordelijke ager Faliscus, de

zuidelijke ager Faliscus en de ager Capenas, de inscripties van onbekende herkomst); *(2)* naar periode/alphabet-groep (Vroegfaliscisch, Middelfaliscisch, Middel- of Laatfaliscisch, Laatfaliscisch, Latinofaliscisch, Capenatisch, Latijn, Etruscisch); *(3)* naar type (grafinscripties, inscripties op losse voorwerpen, wijdingsinscripties, inscripties op openbare werken); *(4)* naar alfabet (Faliscisch, Etruscisch, Latijn).

Vervolgens (§11.2) wordt kort het ontstaan van het Faliscische alfabet behandeld. Een belangrijk punt daarbij is of het Faliscische en het Latijnse alfabet direct uit een Westgrieks alfabet ontstaan zijn, of uit indirect via een Zuidetruscisch alfabet. Een belangrijke rol wordt daarbij gespeeld door twee uitzonderlijke zevende-eeuwse *alfabetaria* uit Narce (*ET* Fa 9.1 = inscriptie I) en uit Capena (*ET* Fa 9.2 = inscriptie XLIV). Mogelijkerwijs vertegenwoordigen deze een vroeg Etruscisch alfabet dat ontwikkeld werd langs de benedenloop van de Tiber ('Lower-Tiber alphabet') en de basis vormde voor niet alleen het Faliscische en het Latijnse alfabet, maar ook voor het alfabet dat in diverse Vroegsabellische inscripties wordt gevonden.

Vervolgens wordt het alfabet besproken zoals het wordt aangetroffen in de Vroegfaliscische inscripties. Interessante punten hierbij zijn de schrijfrichting, die rechtsgericht is in de allervroegste inscripties maar al tijdens de Vroegfaliscische periode verandert in linksgericht, en de zgn. 'C/K/Q-conventie' (het gebruik van *c* voor *e* en *i*, van *k* voor *a*, en van *q* voor *o* en *u*). Daarna worden alfabet en orthografie van de Middel- en Laatfaliscische inscripties besproken, met speciale aandacht voor de lettervormen en hun (cursieve) varianten, en orthografische eigenaardigheden als het gebruik van *k* voor /g/ (het Faliscische alfabet had geen aparte letter voor /g/), het gebruik van *θ* en *z* in plaats van *t* en *s* (vermoedelijk toe te schrijven aan Etruscische invloed), en omgekeerde initialen in het geval van vrouwennamen.

Tenslotte wordt in het algemeen de implicaties van het gebruik van het Etruscisch en het Latijnse alfabet in Faliscische inscripties besproken (§11.3). Het Etruscische alfabet is van zeer vroege tijd af aanwezig in het gebied, maar het komt slechts zeer zelden voor dat Faliscische inscripties in Etruscisch alfabet of Etruscische inscripties in Faliscisch alfabet worden geschreven. Het Latijnse alfabet is kennelijk *niet* van zeer vroege tijd af in het gebied aanwezig: de inscripties in Latijns alfabet lijken vooral te stammen uit de periode ná 240 voor de christelijke jaartelling, wanneer de Romeinen zich blijvend in de ager Faliscus hebben gevestigd. In verband met de dateringsproblemen van de inscripties is dit echter bijzonder moeilijk hard te maken.

Hoofdstukken 12-19 bevatten de inscripties zelf, allereerst de Vroegfaliscische inscripties (hoofdstuk 12, pp.393-416), vervolgens de andere inscripties ingedeeld naar herkomst (hoofdstukken 13-14, pp.417-492: Civita Castellana = Falerii Veteres; hoofdstuk 15, pp.493-518: S. Maria di Falleri = Falerii Novi; hoofdstuk 16, pp.519-554: Corchiano en de noordelijke ager Faliscus; hoofdstuk 17, pp.555-576: de zuidelijke ager Faliscus en de ager Capenas; hoofdstuk 18, pp.577-593: inscripties van onbekende of

andere herkomst die als Faliscisch of Capenatisch zijn beschouwd; hoofdstuk 19, pp.594-608: de Etruscische inscripties uit de ager Faliscus en de ager Capenas). Alle inscripties zijn voorzien van een complete bibliografie, inclusief verwijzingen naar alle bekende foto's en tekeningen. Van belang zijn m.n. de volgende inscripties:

(1) inscriptie 214 (pp.494-497): deze inscriptie, hoogstwaarschijnlijk de jongste inscriptie in Faliscisch alphabet, is de laatste jaren het onderwerp geweest van diverse publicaties, m.n. uit het oogpunt van locale variatie binnen het Latijn;

(2) inscriptie 231 (pp.506-508): hier wordt op basis van autopsie een substantieel nieuwe lezing voorgesteld;

(3) inscripties 242-249 (pp.512-515) en 361 (pp.553-554): de lezing en interpretatie van deze inscripties, gepubliceerd in 1990, wordt op een aantal punten herzien;

(4) inscripties 470* (pp.579-580) en 471* (p.580) - Deze twee inscripties, onafhankelijk van elkaar gepubliceerd in resp. 2005 en 2003 bevatten beide de perfectumvorm *faced/facet* en zijn daardoor het onderwerp geworden van een hernieuwde discussie over de perfectumvormen van de werkwoordstam *fac-* in de Italische talen;

(5) aan het einde van hoofdstuk 18 (§18.2) worden drie inscripties uit Ardea besproken die beschouwd worden als Faliscisch. Hoewel er epigrafische overeenkomsten zijn, zijn er geen doorslaggevende taalkundige argumenten om deze inscripties als Faliscisch te beschouwen, of om een speciale band tussen Faliscisch en Ardeatisch aan te nemen. Hetzelfde geldt voor het recentelijk geopperde idee dat de Satricum-inscriptie (*CIL* I^2.2832a) Faliscisch zou zijn (§18.3).

Concordances

The numbers of my edition are presented alongside those used in Giacomelli's *La lingua falisca* (1963), Vetter's *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* (1953), Herbig's *Corpus inscriptionum Etruscarum* II.2.1 (1912), Rix's *Etruskische Texte* (1991), Lommatzsch's, Degrassi & Krummrey's *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* I^2 (1918, 1931, 1943, 1986), and Bormann's *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* XI (1888, 1901, 1925), and *vice versa*. Following these concordances is a list of the first publications of the inscriptions that have been published since the appearance of Giacomelli's *La lingua falisca* in 1963.

1. General

Bakkum	Giacomelli	Vetter	*CIE*	*ET*	*CIL* I^2	*CIL* XI
1	1	241	8079	-	-	-
2	2*a*	242A	-	-	-	-
3	2*b*	242B	-	-	-	-
4	3	243	-	-	-	-
5	22	250	8001	Fa 0.3	-	-
6	4*a*	245b	8163	-	-	-
7	4*b*	245a	8163	-	-	-
8	11*b*	257	-	-	-	-
9	11*a*	257	-	-	-	-
10	31	260	8030	-	2912	-
11	68,I	271b	8077	-	-	-
12	68,II*a-b*	271a	8076	-	-	-
13	69	272	8078	-	-	-
14	67	270	8075	-	-	7516
15	66,I	269a	8070	-	-	-
16	66,II	*sub* 269a	8071	-	-	-
17	66,III	269b	8072	-	-	-
18	66,V	269c	8074	-	-	-
19	66,IV	*sub* 269c	8073	-	-	-
20	23	251	8002	-	-	-
21	29,III	p. 294	8020	-	-	-
22	24,I	252	8003	-	-	-
23	24,II	252	8004	-	-	-
24	24,III	252	8005	-	-	-
25	24,IV	252	8006	-	-	-
26	24,V	252	8007	-	-	-
27	24,VI	252	8008	-	-	-
28	27	254b	8013	-	-	-
29	26	254a	8012	-	-	-
30	38,III	-	8294	-	-	-
31	25,I	253	8010	-	-	-
32	25,II	253	8011	-	-	-
33	30	256b	8018	-	-	-
34	28,I	255	8014	-	-	-
35	28,II	255	8015	-	-	-
36	28,III	255	8016	-	-	-
37	29,I	256a	8017	Fa 2.18	-	-

Bakkum	Giacomelli	Vetter	*CIE*	*ET*	*CIL* I²	*CIL* XI
38	29,II	256c	8019	-	-	-
39	87	288	8566	-	-	-
40	88	-	-	-	-	-
41	73,I	276a	8190	-	-	-
42	73,II	276b	8191	-	-	-
43	73,III	276c	8192	-	-	-
44	8	247	8193	-	-	-
45	9	248	8194	-	-	-
46	10	249	8195	-	-	-
47	70	273	8164	-	-	-
48	71,I	274a	8167	-	-	-
49	71,II	274b	8168	-	-	-
50	71,III	274c	8169	-	-	-
51	71,IV	274d	8170	-	-	-
52	71,VI	274f	8172	-	-	-
53	71,VII	274g	8173	-	-	-
54	71,V	274e	8171	-	-	-
55	-	-	8175	-	-	-
56	72,I	275a	8176	-	-	-
57	72,II	275b	8177	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	5,I	244a	8179	-	-	-
60	5,II	244b	8180	-	-	-
61	IX	p. 294	8178	-	-	6707,7
62	XI	*sub* 244	-	-	454	6708,13
63	6*b*	pp. 293-4	8181	Fa 2.20b	-	-
64	6*a*	pp. 293-4	8181	Fa 2.20a	-	-
65	7	246	8182	-	-	-
66	14,I	p. 294	8567	Fa 2.26	-	-
67	14,II	p. 294	8577	-	-	-
68	-	-	8569	-	-	-
69	12,I	258	-	-	-	-
70	12,II	258	-	-	-	-
71	12,III*a*	259a	-	-	-	-
72	12,III*b*	259b	-	-	-	-
73	13,II	-	-	-	-	-
74	13,I	-	-	-	-	-
75	13,III	-	-	-	-	-
76	13,VI	-	-	-	-	-
77	13,IV	-	-	-	-	-
78	13,V	-	-	-	-	-
79	77	279	8205	-	-	3160,I.6
80	79,I	281a	8207	-	-	3160,II.1
81	79,II	281b	8208	-	-	3160,II.2
82	78	280	8206	-	-	3160,I.5
83	81	282	8209	-	-	3160,I.2
84	82	283	8210	-	-	3160,I.1
85	83	284	8211	-	-	3160,I.3
86	84	285	8212	-	-	3160,I.4

Bakkum	Giacomelli	Vetter	*CIE*	*ET*	*CIL* I²	*CIL* XI
87	80	-	-	-	-	-
88	85*a*	286A	8213*a*	-	-	-
89	85*b*	286B	8213*b*	-	-	-
90	86,1*a*	287a,A	8214*a*	-	-	3162*c*,4a
91	86,1*b*	287a,B	8214*b*	-	-	3162*c*,4b
92	86,III	287c	8216	-	-	-
93	86,IV	287d	8217	-	-	-
94	86,II	287b	8215	-	-	3162*c*,3
95	86,V	287e	8218	-	-	3162*c*,5
96	86,VIII	287g	8221	-	-	3162*c*,2
97	86,VII	-	8220	-	-	-
98	86,XIII	287l	8226	-	-	-
99	86,IX	287h	8222	-	-	3162*c*,1
100	86,XI	-	8224	-	-	-
101	86,X	287i	8223	-	-	3162*c*,6
102	86,XIV	287m	8227	-	-	-
103	86,XII	287k	8225	-	-	-
104	86,XV	-	8228	-	-	-
105	86,VI	287f	8219	-	-	-
106	86,XVI	-	8229	-	-	-
107	86,XVII	-	8230	-	-	-
108	86,XVIII	-	8231	-	-	-
109	32	261	8031	Fa 2.19	-	-
110	34	263	8032	Fa 9.3	-	-
111	35	*sub* 261	8033	-	-	-
112	33	262	8548	-	-	-
113	15,I	264a	8036	-	-	-
114	15,II	264b	8037	-	-	-
115	15,III	264c	8038	-	-	-
116	15,IV	264d	8039	-	-	-
117	15,XII	264m	8047	-	-	-
118	15,V	264e	8040	-	-	-
119	15,VI	264f	8041	-	-	-
120	15,VII	264g	8042	-	-	-
121	15,VIII	264h	8043	-	-	-
122	15,X	264k	8044	-	-	-
123	15,XI	264l	8046	-	-	-
124	15,IX	264i	8045	-	-	-
125	16,I	265a	8048	-	-	-
126	16,II	265b	8049	-	-	-
127	17	266a	8050	-	-	-
128	19	266c	8052	-	-	-
129	20*a-b*	267	8053	-	-	-
130	21	268	8054	-	-	-
131	18	266b	8051	-	-	-
132	-	-	-	-	-	-
133	-	-	8564	-	-	-
134	-	-	8565	-	-	-
135	-	-	-	-	-	-

Bakkum	Giacomelli	Vetter	*CIE*	*ET*	*CIL* I^2	*CIL* XI
136	94*a*	293A	8237*a*	-	-	-
137	94*b*	293B	8237*b*	-	-	-
138	115,1*b*	311B	8281*b*	-	-	-
139	115,1*a*	311A	8281*a*	-	-	-
140	112	309	8256	-	-	-
141	113,IV	-	8260	-	-	-
142	113,V	-	8261	-	-	-
143	113,I	-	8257	-	-	-
144	100*a*	299A	8243*a*, 8280	-	-	-
145	100*b*	299B	8243*b*	-	-	-
146	97	296	8240	-	-	-
147	98	297	8241	-	-	-
148	106	305	8249	-	-	-
149	89	289	8232	-	-	-
150	90	290	8233	-	-	-
151	92	292	8235	-	-	-
152	107*a*	306	8250	-	-	-
153	110	308	8253	-	-	-
154	109	307	8252	-	-	-
155	105	304	8248	-	-	-
156	-	-	-	-	-	-
157	-	-	-	-	-	-
158	99	298	8242	-	-	-
159	91	291	8234	-	-	-
160	95	294	8238	-	-	-
161	96	295	8239	-	-	-
162	101	300	8244	-	-	-
163	102	303	8245	-	-	-
164	103	301	8246	-	-	-
165	104	302	8247	-	-	-
166	108	-	8251	-	-	-
167	113,II*a*	-	8258*a*	-	-	-
168	113,II*b*	-	8258*b*	-	-	-
169	113,VIII	310	8267	-	-	-
170	113,IX	-	8268	-	-	-
171	93	-	8236	-	-	-
172	114	-	8266	-	-	-
173	111*a*	312a	8254	-	-	7517*a*
174	111*b*	312b	8255	-	-	7517*b*
175	-	-	-	-	-	-
176	113,III	-	8259	-	-	-
177	-	-	8262	-	-	-
178	113,VI	-	8263	-	-	-
179	-	-	8263[a]	-	-	-
180	113,VII	-	8264	-	-	-
181	-	-	8265	-	-	-
182	113,X	-	8269	-	-	-
183	113,XI	-	8270	-	-	-
184	113,XII	-	8271	-	-	-

Bakkum	Giacomelli	Vetter	*CIE*	*ET*	*CIL* I²	*CIL* XI
185	-	-	8272	-	-	-
186	-	-	8273	-	-	-
187	-	-	8274	-	-	-
188	-	-	8275	-	-	-
189	-	-	8276	-	-	-
190	-	-	8277	-	-	-
191	-	-	8278	-	-	-
192	-	-	8279	-	-	-
193	115,II	-	8282	-	-	-
194	115,III	-	8283	-	-	-
195	116	313	8285	-	-	-
196	118,I	315	8287	-	-	-
197	117	314	8286	-	-	-
198	118,II	316	8288	-	-	-
199	36,I	353a	8289	-	-	-
200	36,II	353b	8290	-	-	-
201	39	354	8585	Fa 2.27	-	-
202	37	-	8291	-	-	-
203	38,I*a*	-	8292*a*	-	-	-
204	38,II	-	8295	-	-	-
205	62,I	p.310	8333	-	-	3161
206	62,II	p.310	8333	-	-	*sub* 3161
207	62,III	p.310	8333	-	-	*sub* 3161
208	62,IV	p.310	8333	-	-	*sub* 3161
209	62,V	p.310	8333	-	-	*sub* 3161
210	63	-	-	-	-	-
211	119	321	8332	-	-	3162*a*
212	LI1	-	8428	Fa 0.9	-	-
213	61	317	8343	-	-	3156a
214	59	320	8340	-	365	3081
215	60	318	8342	-	-	*sub* 3081
216	XI1	-	-	-	473	6709,26
217	XIV*a*	*sub* 320 (A)	8341*b*	-	364*a*	3078*a* = 7483*a*
218	XIV*b*	*sub* 320 (B)	8341*a*	-	364*b*	3078*b* = 7483*b*
219	X	-	-	-	1991	3073
220	121,IV	322d	8347	-	-	3159,8
221	121,I	322a	8344	-	-	3159,5
222	121,II*a*	322b,A	8345*a*	-	-	3159,2*a*
223	121,II*b*	322b,B	8345*b*	-	-	3159,2*b*
224	121,V*a*	322e,A	8348*a*	-	-	3159,7*a*
225	121,V*b*	322e,B	8348*b*	-	-	3159,7*b*
226	121,III	322c	8346	-	-	3159,1
227	121,VI1	322g	8350	-	-	3159,4
228	121,VI*a*	322f	8349*a*	-	-	3159,6*b*
229	121,VI*b*	322f	8349*b*	-	-	3159,6*a*
230	121,VIII	322h	8351	-	-	3159,3
231	121,IX	322i	8352	-	1988	3159

Bakkum	Giacomelli	Vetter	*CIE*	*ET*	*CIL* I²	*CIL* XI
232	122*a*	323A	8353*a*	-	1989	3158
233	122*b*	323B	8353*b*	-	1989	3158
234	120,I	p. 310	8335	-	-	7500*a*
235	120,II	p. 310	8336	-	-	7500*b*
236	120,IIII	p. 310	8337	-	-	7500*c*
237	-	p. 310	-	-	-	7501
238	-	p. 310	-	-	-	7502
239	-	p. 310	-	-	-	7503
240	-	p. 310	-	-	-	7504
241	41,I	-	8338	-	-	-
242	-	-	-	-	-	-
243	-	-	-	-	-	-
244	-	-	-	-	-	-
245	-	-	-	-	-	-
246	-	-	-	-	-	-
247	-	-	-	-	-	-
248	-	-	-	-	-	-
249	-	-	-	-	-	-
250	-	-	-	-	-	-
251	XIII	p. 310	8334	-	1990	3160
252	41,II	-	8354	-	-	-
253	-	-	8383c	-	-	-
254	-	-	8383d	-	-	-
255	-	-	8383g	-	-	-
256	-	-	-	-	-	-
257	138	332	8392	-	-	-
258	139	333	8393	-	-	-
259	49,1	346	8395	-	2657	8124,18
260	49,II	346	8396	-	2657	8124,18
261	48,1	345a	8394	-	-	-
262	48,II	345b	8587	-	-	-
263	42	348	8399	-	-	-
264	43	348a	8400	Fa 2.13	-	-
265	132	334	8387	-	-	7513
266	133	335	8388	-	-	-
267	-	-	-	-	-	-
268	XIX	p. 327	-	-	2437	8130,I
269	129	329	8384	Fa 1.1	-	-
270	131	331	8386	Fa 1.2	-	-
271	130	330	8385	-	-	-
272	127	328	8378	-	-	7515
273	50	349	8592	-	-	-
274	-	-	-	-	-	-
275	140,I	337a	8397	-	-	-
276	140,II	337b	8398	-	-	-
277	46,I*a*	347	8383i,*a*	-	-	-
278	-	-	8383k	-	-	-
279	46,II*a*	-	8383l,*a*	-	-	-
280	46,II*b*	-	8383l,*b*	-	-	-

Bakkum	Giacomelli	Vetter	*CIE*	*ET*	*CIL* I²	*CIL* XI
281	-	-	8383m	-	-	-
282	46,III	-	8383p	-	-	-
283	-	-	8383q,*a*	-	-	-
284	-	-	8383r,*b*	-	-	-
285	136	342a,2	8391	-	-	-
286	44,II	-	-	-	-	-
287	-	-	8400a	-	-	-
288	XX	-	-	-	-	-
289	137	342a,3	8588	Fa 1.5	-	-
290	-	-	-	-	-	-
291	XXI	-	-	-	1992	7505
292	-	-	8381b	-	-	-
293	47	344	8381e	-	-	-
294	-	-	-	-	-	-
295	-	-	-	-	419*d*	6704,2*d*
296	-	-	-	-	420*a*	6704,3*a*
297	128,I*a*	-	-	-	-	-
298	128,I*b*	-	-	-	-	-
299	128,II	-	-	-	-	-
300	128,III	-	-	-	-	-
301	128,IV	-	-	-	-	-
302	143,I	338a	-	-	-	-
303	143,II	338b	-	-	-	-
304	51	352	-	Fa 2.21	-	-
305	144,I	339a	-	-	-	-
306	144,II*a*	339b,A	-	-	-	-
307	144,II*b*	339b,B	-	-	-	-
308	144,III	339c	-	-	-	-
309	144,IV	339d	-	-	-	-
310	144,V	339e	-	-	-	-
311	144,VI	339f	-	-	-	-
312	144,VII	339g	-	-	-	-
313	144,VIII	339h	-	-	-	-
314	144,IX	339i	-	-	-	-
315	144,X	339k	-	-	-	-
316	144,XI	340a	-	-	-	-
317	144,XIII	340d	-	-	-	-
318	144,XIV	340b	-	-	-	-
319	144,XII	340c	-	-	-	-
320	-	-	-	-	-	-
321	-	-	-	-	-	-
322	-	-	-	-	-	-
323	-	-	-	-	-	-
324	125	325	8370	-	-	7514
325	XVI	327d	8374	-	-	7519
326	XVIII	327e	8375	-	-	7520
327	XV,i-ii	327a-b	8372-8273	-	-	7518-7522
328	XVII*a-b*	327c	8376-8377	-	-	7521
329	123,I	324a	8357	-	-	3162*b*,6

Bakkum	Giacomelli	Vetter	*CIE*	*ET*	*CIL* I²	*CIL* XI
330	123,II	324b	8358	-	-	3162*b*,I
331	123,IV	324d	8360	-	-	3162*b*,7
332	123,III	324c	8359	-	-	3162*b*,5
333	123,V	324e	8361	-	-	*sub* 3162*b*
334	123,VII	324g	8363	-	-	3162*b*,2
335	123,VIII	324h	8364	-	-	3162*b*,3
336	123,VI	324f	8362	-	-	3162*b*,4
337	123,IX	324i	8365	-	-	*sub* 3162*b*
338	141	341a	8401	-	-	-
339	142	341b	8402	-	-	-
340	XXIII	341e	8404	-	-	7524
341	XXII,i-ii	341c-d	8403a-b	-	-	7523*a-b*
342	-	-	8405	-	-	7526*c*
343	-	-	8406	-	-	7526*a*
344	-	-	8407	-	-	7525
345	-	-	8408	-	-	7526*b*
346	-	-	-	-	-	-
347	76,I	278a	8198	-	-	-
348	76,II	278b	8199	-	-	-
349	76,IV	278d	8201	-	-	-
350	76,VI	278f	8203	-	-	-
351	76,V	278e	8202	-	-	-
352	76,III	278c	8200	-	-	-
353	76,VII	278g	8204	-	-	-
354	74	277a	8196	-	-	-
355	75	277b	8197	-	-	-
356	65*a*	-	8598	-	-	-
357	65*b*	-	8599	-	-	-
358	-	-	-	-	-	-
359	-	-	-	-	-	-
360	126	326	8371	-	-	-
361	-	-	-	-	-	-
362	124	342	8586	-	-	-
363	145,I	343b	8430	-	-	-
364	145,II	343a	8431	-	-	-
365	145,IV*a*	343d	8429*a*	-	-	-
366	145,IV*b*	343d	8429*b*	-	-	-
367	52,I	350	8435	-	-	-
368	52,II	350	8436	-	-	-
369	52,III	350	8437	-	-	-
370	52,IV	350	8438	-	-	-
371	53,II	351a	8440	Fa 2.23	-	-
372	53,I	351b	8439	Fa 2.22	-	-
373	54,I	-	8441	-	-	-
374	54,II	-	8442	-	-	-
375	54,III	-	8443	-	-	-
376	-	-	-	-	-	-
377	-	361	-	-	2436	7762
378	-	-	-	-	-	-

Bakkum	Giacomelli	Vetter	*CIE*	*ET*	*CIL* I²	*CIL* XI
379	-	-	-	-	-	-
380	-	-	-	-	-	-
381	-	-	-	-	-	-
382	-	-	-	-	-	-
383	-	-	-	-	-	-
384	-	-	-	Fa 2.17	-	-
385	XXXVI	*sub* 259	-	-	-	-
386	-	-	8449	-	-	-
387	XXIV	356a	8449	-	476,4	6706,4
388	XXV	356b	8450	-	476,5	6706,5
389	XXVI	356c	8451	-	476,6	6706,6
390	XXVIII	358a	8453	-	476,1	6706,1
391	XXIX	358b	8454	-	476,2	6706,2
392	XXX	358c	8455	-	476,3	6706,3
393	-	-	8456	-	1987	3961*a*
394	-	-	-	-	2903*c*	-
395	XXXI,i	-	8495	-	2496,1	8124,2
396	XXXI,ii	359a	8496	-	2496,5	8124,6
397	XXXII,i	-	8497	-	2496,3	8124,4
398	XXXII,ii	-	8498	-	2496,6	8124,7
399	XXXIII	-	8500	-	2496,10*a*	8124,1*a*
400	-	-	8508	-	2496,8	8124,15
401	-	-	8511	-	-	-
402	-	-	8514	-	-	8124,11
403	XXXIV,i	359c	8515	-	2496,9	*sub* 8124
404	XXXIV,ii	359d	8516	-	2496,9	-
405	-	-	8518	-	-	8124,12-14
406	-	-	8519	-	-	8124,13
407	-	-	8520	-	-	8124,14
408	-	-	8521	-	-	-
409	-	-	8523	-	2496,2	8124,3
410	-	-	8524	-	-	8124,9
411	-	-	8528	-	-	-
412	-	-	8530	-	-	-
413	XXXV	-	8534	-	2496,7	-
414	-	-	8532	-	-	-
415	-	-	8533	-	-	-
416	-	-	8535	-	-	-
417	-	-	8538	-	-	-
418	-	-	8539	-	-	8124,8
419	-	-	8540	-	2496,4	8124,5
420	-	-	-	-	2435	-
421	-	-	-	-	2435	-
422	-	-	8541	-	-	-
423	XXVII	357	8452	-	476,7	6706,7
424	-	-	8466	-	476,10.3	6706,10.3
425	-	-	8467	-	476,10.7	6706,10.7
426	-	-	8471	-	-	-
427	-	-	8478	-	476,10.1	6706,10.1

Bakkum	Giacomelli	Vetter	*CIE*	*ET*	*CIL* I²	*CIL* XI
428	-	-	8479	-	476,I0.6	6706,I0.6
429	-	-	8480	-	476,I0.4	6706,I0.4
430	-	-	-	-	2496,I0*b*	8124,I*b*
431	-	-	-	-	2867	-
432	-	-	-	-	2868	-
433	-	-	-	-	2869	-
434	-	-	-	-	2869b	-
435	-	-	-	-	2869a	-
436	-	-	-	-	2869c	-
437	-	-	-	-	29I0	-
438	-	-	-	-	29I0a	-
439	-	-	-	-	2910b,1	-
440	-	-	-	-	2910b,2	-
441	-	-	-	-	2910b,3	-
442	-	-	-	-	2910b,4	-
443	-	-	-	-	2910b,5	-
444	-	-	-	-	29I0b,6	-
445	-	-	-	-	2910b,7	-
446	-	-	-	-	2910b,8	-
447	-	-	-	-	2910b,9	-
448	-	-	-	-	2910b,10	-
449	-	-	-	-	2910b,11	-
450	-	-	-	-	2910b,12	-
451	-	-	-	-	2910b,I3	-
452	-	-	-	-	2910b,I4	-
453	-	-	-	-	2910b,I5	-
454	-	-	-	-	2910b,16	-
455	-	-	-	-	2910b,17	-
456	-	-	-	-	3338b	-
457	XXXVII,ii	360e	8458	Fa 2.24	476,9	6706,9
458	XXXVIII,i	-	8460	-	476,I0.2	6706,I0.2
459	XXXVIII,ii	-	846I	-	476,8	6706,8
460	XXXVII,i	360f	8457	-	476,I0.5	6706,I0.5
461	XXXVII,iii	-	8459	-	476,I0.8	6706,I0.8
462	XL	360b	8463	-	-	-
463	XLI,i	360c	8464	-	-	-
464	XLI,ii	360d	8465	-	-	-
465	-	-	-	-	-	-
466	-	-	-	-	-	-
467*	56	-	-	-	-	-
468*	VI	513	-	-	2917*c*	-
469*	55	-	-	-	-	-
470*	-	-	-	-	-	-
471*	-	-	-	-	-	-
472*	-	-	-	-	-	-
473*	-	-	-	-	-	-
474*	58	319	8339	-	-	3157
475*	VII	359b	-	-	-	-
476*	XXXIX	360a	8462	-	476,11	6706,11a

Bakkum	Giacomelli	Vetter	*CIE*	*ET*	*CIL* I²	*CIL* XI
477*	VIII	-	-	-	424	6704,6
478*	-	-	-	-	419*e*	6704,2*e*
479†	I	-	-	-	-	-
480†	-	-	-	-	-	-
481†	-	-	-	-	-	-
482†	II	363	-	-	474	-
483†	III	364a	-	-	-	-
484†	IV	364b	-	-	455	-
I	XLV	-	8414	Fa 9.1	-	-
II	XLV	-	8414	Fa 0.1	-	-
III	XLVI*a*	-	8415*a*	Fa 2.1+6.2	-	-
IV	XLVI*b*	-	8415*b*	Fa 0.2	-	-
V	XLVII	-	8416	Fa 2.2	-	-
VI	XLVIII,i	-	8417	-	-	-
VII	XLVIII,ii	-	8418	-	-	-
VIII	XLIV	-	8413	Fa 3.1+6.1	-	-
IX	XLII	-	8411	Fa 3.3	-	-
X	XLIII	-	8412	Fa 0.4	-	-
XI	L	-	8419	Fa 2.6	-	-
XII	L	-	8420	Fa 2.7	-	-
XIII	L	-	8421	Fa 2.8	-	-
XIV	L	-	8422	Fa 2.9	-	-
XV	L	-	8423	Fa 2.10	-	-
XVI	LIV	-	-	Fa 2.12	-	-
XVII	XLIX	-	-	Fa 2.14	-	-
XVIII	-	-	-	-	-	-
XIX	LI	-	8426	Fa 3.2	-	-
XX	-	-	-	Fa 1.6	-	-
XXI	-	-	-	Fa 2.4	-	-
XXII	-	-	-	Fa 2.11*a*	-	-
XXIII	-	-	-	Fa 2.11*b*	-	-
XXIV	-	-	-	Fa 0.5	-	-
XXV	-	-	-	Fa G.1*a-b*	-	-
XXVI	-	-	-	-	-	-
XXVII	-	-	-	Fa S.1	-	-
XXVIII	-	-	-	Fa S.2	-	-
XXIX	57	-	8029	Fa 0.6	-	-
XXX	-	-	-	-	-	-
XXXI	-	-	-	-	-	-
XXXII	45	*sub* 330	8382	Fa 2.15	-	-
XXXIII	-	-	-	Fa S.3	-	-
XXXIV	134	336	8389	Fa 1.3	-	-
XXXV	135	342a,1	8390	Fa 1.4	-	-
XXXVI	-	-	-	-	-	-
XXXVII	-	-	-	-	-	-
XXXVIII	-	-	-	Fa 0.8	-	-
XXXIX	64	-	8379	Fa 0.7	-	-
XL	44,I	355	-	Fa 2.16	-	-
XLI	-	-	*sub* 8412	Fa S.4	-	-

Bakkum	Giacomelli	Vetter	*CIE*	*ET*	*CIL* I^2	*CIL* XI
XLII	-	-	-	Fa 3.4	-	-
XLIII	I45,III	343c	8432	Fa 1.7	-	-
XLIV	-	p. 329	8547	Fa 9.2	-	-
XLV	-	-	-	Fa 2.25	-	-
XLVI	-	-	-	Fa 2.3	-	-
XLVII	-	-	-	Fa 6.3	-	-
XLVIII	-	-	-	-	-	-
XLIX	LIII	-	-	Fa 2.5	-	-
L	-	-	-	Fa 7.1*a*	-	-
LI	-	-	-	Fa 7.1*b*	-	-

2. GIACOMELLI, *LA LINGUA FALISCA*

Giacomelli	Bakkum	Giacomelli	Bakkum	Giacomelli	Bakkum
1	1	15,VII	120	33	112
2*a*	2	15,VIII	121	34	110
2*b*	3	15,IX	124	35	111
3	4	15,X	122	36,I	199
4*a*	6	15,XI	123	36,II	200
4*b*	7	15,XII	117	37	202
5,I	59	16,I	125	38,I*a*	203
5,II	60	16,II	126	38,II	204
6*a*	64	17	127	38,III	30
6*b*	63	18	131	39	201
7	65	19	128	41,I	241
8	44	20*a-b*	129	41,II	252
9	45	21	130	42	263
10	46	22	5	43	264
I1*a*	9	23	20	44,I	XL
I1*b*	8	24,I	22	44,II	286
I2,I	69	24,II	23	45	XXXII
I2,II	70	24,III	24	46,I*a*	277
I2,III*a*	71	24,IV	25	46,II*a*	279
I2,III*b*	72	24,V	26	46,II*b*	280
I3,I	74	24,VI	27	46,III	282
I3,II	73	25,I	31	47	293
I3,III	75	25,II	32	48,I	261
I3,IV	77	26	29	48,II	262
I3,V	78	27	28	49,I	259
I3,VI	76	28,I	34	49,II	260
I4,I	66	28,II	35	50	273
I4,II	67	28,III	36	51	304
15,I	113	29,I	37	52,I	367
15,II	114	29,II	38	52,II	368
15,III	115	29,III	21	52,III	369
15,IV	116	30	33	52,IV	370
15,V	118	31	10	53,I	372
15,VI	119	32	109	53,II	371

Giacomelli	Bakkum
54,I	373
54,II	374
54,III	375
55	469*
56	467*
57	XXIX
58	474*
59	214
60	215
61	213
62,I	205
62,II	206
62,III	207
62,IV	208
62,V	209
63	210
64	XXXIX
65*a*	356
65*b*	357
66,I	15
66,II	16
66,III	17
66,IV	19
66,V	18
67	14
68,I	11
68,II*a-b*	12
69	13
70	47
71,I	48
71,II	49
71,III	50
71,IV	51
71,V	54
71,VI	52
71,VII	53
72,I	56
72,II	57
73,I	41
73,II	42
73,III	43
74	354
75	355
76,I	347
76,II	348
76,III	352
76,IV	349
76,V	351
76,VI	350
76,VII	353
77	79
78	82
79,I	80
79,II	81
80	87
81	83
82	84
83	85
84	86
85*a*	88
85*b*	89
86,I*a*	90
86,I*b*	91
86,II	94
86,III	92
86,IV	93
86,V	95
86,VI	105
86,VII	97
86,VIII	96
86,IX	99
86,X	101
86,XI	100
86,XII	103
86,XIII	98
86,XIV	102
86,XV	104
86,XVI	106
86,XVII	107
86,XVIII	108
87	39
88	40
89	149
90	150
91	159
92	151
93	171
94*a*	136
94*b*	137
95	160
96	161
97	146
98	147
99	158
100*a*	144
100*b*	145
101	162
102	163
103	164
104	165
105	155
106	148
107*a*	152
108	166
109	154
110	153
111*a*	173
111*b*	174
112	140
113,I	143
113,II*a*	167
113,II*b*	168
113,III	176
113,IV	141
113,V	142
113,VI	178
113,VII	180
113,VIII	169
113,IX	170
113,X	182
113,XI	183
113,XII	184
114	172
115,I*a*	139
115,I*b*	138
115,II	193
115,III	194
116	195
117	197
118,I	196
118,II	198
119	211
120,I	234
120,II	235
120,III	236
121,I	221
121,II*a*	222
121,II*b*	223
121,III	226
121,IV	220
121,V*a*	224
121,V*b*	225
121,VI*a*	228
121,VI*b*	229
121,VII	227
121,VIII	230
121,IX	231

Giacomelli	Bakkum
I22*a*	232
I22*b*	233
I23,I	329
I23,II	330
I23,III	332
I23,IV	331
I23,V	333
I23,VI	336
I23,VII	334
I23,VIII	335
123,IX	337
124	362
125	324
126	360
127	272
I28,I*a*	297
I28,I*b*	298
I28,II	299
I28,III	300
I28,IV	301
129	269
130	271
131	270
132	265
133	266
134	XXXIV
135	XXXV
136	285
137	289
138	257
139	258
I40,I	275
I40,II	276
141	338
142	339
I43,I	302
I43,II	303
I44,I	305
I44,II*a*	306
I44,II*b*	307
I44,III	308
I44,IV	309
I44,V	310
I44,VI	311
I44,VII	312
I44,VIII	313
I44,IX	314
I44,X	315
I44,XI	316
I44,XII	319
I44,XIII	317
I44,XIV	318
I45,I	363
I45,II	364
I45,III	XLIII
I45,IV*a*	365
I45,IV*b*	366
I	479†
II	482†
III	483†
IV	484†
VI	468*
VII	475*
VIII	477*
IX	61
X	219
XI	62
XII	216
XIII	251
XIV*a*	217
XIV*b*	218
XV,i-ii	327
XVI	325
XVII*a-b*	328
XVIII	326
XIX	268
XX	288
XXI	291
XXII,i-ii	341
XXIII	340
XXIV	387
XXIX	391
XXV	388
XXVI	389
XXVII	422
XXVIII	390
XXX	392
XXXI,i	395
XXXI,ii	396
XXXII,i	397
XXXII,ii	398
XXXIII	399
XXXIV,i	403
XXXIV,ii	404
XXXV	413
XXXVI	385
XXXVII,i	460
XXXVII,ii	457
XXXVII,iii	461
XXXVIII,i	458
XXXVIII,ii	459
XXXIX	476*
XL	462
XLI,i	463
XLI,ii	464
XLII	IX
XLIII	X
XLIV	VIII
XLIX	XVII
XLV	II
XLV	I
XLVI*a*	III
XLVI*b*	IV
XLVII	V
XLVIII,i	VI
XLVIII,ii	VII
L	XI-XV
LI	XIX
LII	212
LIII	XLIX
LIV	XVI

3. VETTER, *HANDBUCH DER ITALISCHEN DIALEKTE*

Vetter	Bakkum
pp.293-4	63
pp.293-4	64
p.294	21
p.294	61
p.294	66
p.294	67
p.310	234-240
p.310	251
p.310	205-209

Vetter	Bakkum
p.327	268
p.329	XLIV
241	1
242A	2
242B	3
243	4
244a	59
244b	60
sub 244	62
245a	7
245b	6
246	65
247	44
248	45
249	46
250	5
251	20
252	22
252	23-27
253	31-32
254a	29
254b	28
255	34-36
256a	37
256b	33
256c	38
257	8-9
258	69-70
259a	71
259b	72
sub 259	385
260	10
261	109
sub 261	111
262	112
263	110
264a	113
264b	114
264c	115
264d	116
264e	118
264f	119
264g	120
264h	121
264i	124
264k	122
264l	123
264m	117
265a	125
265b	126
266a	127
266b	131
266c	128
267	129
268	130
269a	15
sub 269a	16
269b	17
269c	18
sub 269c	19
270	14
271a	12
271b	11
272	13
273	47
274a	48
274b	49
274c	50
274d	51
274e	54
274f	52
274g	53
275a	56
275b	57
276a	41
276b	42
276c	43
277a	354
277b	355
278a	347
278b	348
278c	352
278d	349
278e	351
278f	350
278g	353
279	79
280	82
281a	80
281b	81
282	83
283	84
284	85
285	86
286A	88
286B	89
287a,A	90
287a,B	91
287b	94
287c	92
287d	93
287e	95
287f	105
287g	96
287h	99
287i	101
287k	103
287l	98
287m	102
288	39
289	149
290	150
291	159
292	151
293A	136
293B	137
294	160
295	161
296	146
297	147
298	158
299A	144
299B	145
300	162
301	164
302	165
303	163
304	155
305	148
306	152
307	154
308	153
309	140
310	169
311A	139
311B	138
312a	173
312b	174
313	195
314	197
315	196
316	198
317	213
318	215
319	471*
320	214
sub 320 (A)	217

Vetter	Bakkum	Vetter	Bakkum	Vetter	Bakkum
sub 320 (B)	218	333	258	345a	261
321	211	334	265	345b	262
322a	221	335	266	346	259-260
322b,A	222	336	XXXIV	347	277
322b,B	223	337a	275	348	263
322c	226	337b	276	348a	264
322d	220	338a	302	349	273
322e,A	224	338b	303	350	367-370
322e,B	225	339a	305	351a	371
322f	228	339b,A	306	351b	372
322f	229	339b,B	307	352	304
322g	227	339c	308	353a	199
322h	230	339d	309	353b	200
322i	231	339e	310	354	201
323A	232	339f	311	355	XL
323B	233	339g	312	356a	387
324a	329	339h	313	356b	388
324b	330	339i	314	356c	389
324c	332	339k	315	357	423
324d	331	340a	316	358a	390
324e	333	340b	318	358b	391
324f	336	340c	319	358c	392
324g	334	340d	317	359a	396
324h	335	341a	338	359b	475*
324i	337	341b	339	359c	403
325	324	341c-d	341	359d	404
326	360	341e	340	360a	476*
327a-b	327	342	362	360b	462
327c	328	342a,1	XXXV	360c	463
327d	325	342a,2	285	360d	464
327e	326	342a,3	289	360e	457
328	272	343a	364	360f	460
329	269	343b	363	361	377
330	271	343c	XLIII	363	482†
sub 330	XXXII	343d	365	364a	483†
331	270	343d	366	364b	484†
332	257	344	293	513	468*

4. HERBIG, *CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM ETRUSCARUM* II.1.2

CIE	Bakkum	*CIE*	Bakkum	*CIE*	Bakkum
8001	5	8007	26	8014	34
8002	20	8008	27	8015	35
8003	22	8010	31	8016	36
8004	23	8011	32	8017	37
8005	24	8012	29	8018	33
8006	25	8013	28	8019	38

CIE	Bakkum	*CIE*	Bakkum	*CIE*	Bakkum
8020	21	8179	59	8232	149
8029	XXIX	8180	60	8233	150
8030	10	8181	63	8234	159
8031	109	8181	64	8235	151
8032	110	8182	65	8236	171
8033	111	8190	41	8237*a*	136
8036	113	8191	42	8237*b*	137
8037	114	8192	43	8238	160
8038	115	8193	44	8239	161
8039	116	8194	45	8240	146
8040	118	8195	46	8241	147
8041	119	8196	354	8242	158
8042	120	8197	355	8243*b*	145
8043	121	8198	347	8244	162
8044	122	8199	348	8245	163
8045	124	8200	352	8246	164
8046	123	8201	349	8247	165
8047	117	8202	351	8248	155
8048	125	8203	350	8249	148
8049	126	8204	353	8250	152
8050	127	8205	79	8251	166
8051	131	8206	82	8252	154
8052	128	8207	80	8253	153
8053	129	8208	81	8254	173
8054	130	8209	83	8255	174
8070	15	8210	84	8256	140
8071	16	8211	85	8257	143
8072	17	8212	86	8258*a*	167
8073	19	8213*a*	88	8258*b*	168
8074	18	8213*b*	89	8259	176
8075	14	8214*a*	90	8260	141
8076	12	8214*b*	91	8261	142
8077	11	8215	94	8262	177
8078	13	8216	92	8263	178
8079	1	8217	93	8263[a]	179
8163	6	8218	95	8264	180
8163	7	8219	105	8265	181
8164	47	8220	97	8266	172
8167	48	8221	96	8267	169
8168	49	8222	99	8268	170
8169	50	8223	101	8269	182
8170	51	8224	100	8270	183
8171	54	8225	103	8271	184
8172	52	8226	98	8272	185
8173	53	8227	102	8273	186
8175	55	8228	104	8274	187
8176	56	8229	106	8275	188
8177	57	8230	107	8276	189
8178	61	8231	108	8277	190

CIE	Bakkum	*CIE*	Bakkum	*CIE*	Bakkum
8278	191	8357	329	8402	339
8279	192	8358	330	8403a-b	341
8281*b*	138	8359	332	8404	340
8281*a*	139	8360	331	8405	342
8282	193	8361	333	8406	343
8283	194	8362	336	8407	344
8285	195	8363	334	8408	345
8286	197	8364	335	8411	IX
8287	196	8365	337	8412	X
8288	198	8370	324	*sub* 8412	XLI
8289	199	8371	360	8413	VIII
8290	200	8374	325	8414	I
8291	202	8375	326	8414	II
8292*a*	203	8378	272	8415*a*	III
8294	30	8379	XXXIX	8415*b*	IV
8295	204	8381b	292	8416	V
8332	211	8381e	293	8417	VI
8333	205	8382	XXXII	8418	VII
8333	206	8383c	253	8419	XI
8333	207	8383d	254	8420	XII
8333	208	8383g	255	8421	XIII
8333	209	8383i,*a*	277	8422	XIV
8334	251	8383k	278	8423	XV
8335	234	8383l,*a*	279	8426	XIX
8336	235	8383l,*b*	280	8428	212
8337	236	8383m	281	8429*a*	365
8338	241	8383p	282	8429*b*	366
8339	471*	8383q,*a*	283	8430	363
8340	214	8383r,*b*	284	8431	364
8341*b*	217	8384	269	8432	XLIII
8341*a*	218	8385	271	8435	367
8342	215	8386	270	8436	368
8343	213	8387	265	8437	369
8344	221	8388	266	8438	370
8345*a*	222	8389	XXXIV	8439	372
8345*b*	223	8390	XXXV	8440	371
8346	226	8391	285	8441	373
8347	220	8392	257	8442	374
8348*a*	224	8393	258	8443	375
8348*b*	225	8394	261	8449	386
8349*a*	228	8395	259	8449	387
8349*b*	229	8396	260	8450	388
8350	227	8397	275	8451	389
8351	230	8398	276	8452	423
8352	231	8399	263	8453	390
8353*a*	232	8400	264	8454	391
8353*b*	233	8400a	287	8455	392
8354	252	8401	338	8456	393

CIE	Bakkum	*CIE*	Bakkum	*CIE*	Bakkum
8457	460	8508	400	8541	422
8458	457	8511	401	8547	XLIV
8459	461	8514	402	8548	112
8460	458	8515	403	8564	133
8461	459	8516	404	8565	134
8462	476*	8518	405	8566	39
8463	462	8519	406	8567	66
8464	463	8520	407	8569	6
8465	464	8521	408	8577	67
8466	424	8523	409	8585	201
8467	425	8524	410	8586	362
8471	426	8528	411	8587	262
8478	427	8530	412	8588	289
8479	428	8532	414	8592	273
8480	429	8533	415	8598	356
8495	395	8534	413	8599	357
8496	396	8535	416	8243*a*, 8280	144
8497	397	8538	417	8372-8273	327
8498	398	8539	418	8376-8377	328
8500	399	8540	419		

5. RIX, *ETRUSKISCHE TEXTE*

ET	Bakkum	*ET*	Bakkum	*ET*	Bakkum
Fa 1.1	269	Fa 2.20a	64	Fa 6.3	XLVII
Fa 1.2	270	Fa 2.20b	63	Fa 7.1*a*	L
Fa 1.3	XXXIV	Fa 2.21	304	Fa 7.1*b*	LI
Fa 1.4	XXXV	Fa 2.22	372	Fa 9.1	I
Fa 1.5	289	Fa 2.23	371	Fa 9.2	XLIV
Fa 1.6	XX	Fa 2.24	457	Fa 9.3	110
Fa 1.7	XLIII	Fa 2.25	XLV	Fa 0.1	II
Fa 2.1+6.2	III	Fa 2.26	66	Fa 0.2	IV
Fa 2.10	XV	Fa 2.27	201	Fa 0.3	5
Fa 2.11*a*	XXII	Fa 2.3	XLVI	Fa 0.4	X
Fa 2.11*b*	XXIII	Fa 2.4	XXI	Fa 0.5	XXIV
Fa 2.12	XVI	Fa 2.5	XLIX	Fa 0.6	XXIX
Fa 2.13	264	Fa 2.6	XI	Fa 0.7	XXXIX
Fa 2.14	XVII	Fa 2.7	XII	Fa 0.8	XXXVIII
Fa 2.15	XXXII	Fa 2.8	XIII	Fa 0.9	212
Fa 2.16	XL	Fa 2.9	XIV	Fa G.1*a-b*	XXV
Fa 2.17	384	Fa 3.1+6.1	VIII	Fa S.1	XXVII
Fa 2.18	37	Fa 3.2	XIX	Fa S.2	XXVIII
Fa 2.19	109	Fa 3.3	IX	Fa S.3	XXXIII
Fa 2.2	V	Fa 3.4	XLII	Fa S.4	XLI

6. *CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM LATINARUM* I²

CIL I²	Bakkum	*CIL* I²	Bakkum	*CIL* I²	Bakkum
364*a*	217	1988	231	2903*c*	394
364*b*	218	1989	232	2910	437
365	214	1989	233	2910a	438
419*d*	295	1990	251	2910b,1	439
419*e*	478*	1991	219	2910b,10	448
420*a*	296	1992	291	2910b,11	449
424	477*	2435	421	2910b,12	450
454	62	2436	377	2910b,13	451
455	484†	2437	268	2910b,14	452
473	216	2496,1	395	2910b,15	453
474	482†	2496,10*a*	399	2910b,16	454
476,1	390	2496,10*b*	430	2910b,17	455
476,11	476*	2496,2	409	2910b,2	440
476,2	391	2496,3	397	2910b,3	441
476,3	392	2496,4	419	2910b,4	442
476,4	387	2496,5	396	2910b,5	443
476,5	388	2496,6	398	2910b,6	444
476,6	389	2496,7	413	2910b,7	445
476,7	423	2496,8	400	2910b,8	446
476,8	459	2496,9	403	2910b,9	447
476,9	457	2496,9	404	2912	10
476,10.1	427	2657	259	2917*c*	468*
476,10.2	458	2657	260	3338b	456
476,10.3	424	2867	431	2910b,14	453
476,10.4	429	2868	432	2910b,15	454
476,10.5	460	2869	433	2910b,16	455
476,10.6	428	2869a	435	2910b,17	456
476,10.7	425	2869b	434	2912	10
476,10.8	461	2869c	436	2917c	469*
1987	393	2903*a*	420	3338b	457

7. *CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM LATINARUM* XI

CIL XI	Bakkum	*CIL* XI	Bakkum	*CIL* XI	Bakkum
3073	220	3159,3	231	3160,I.4	86
3078*a*	218	3159,4	228	3160,I.5	82
3078*b*	219	3159,5	222	3160,I.6	79
3081	214	3159,6*a*	230	3160,II.1	78
sub 3081	216	3159,6*b*	229	3160,II.2	81
3156a	213	3159,7*a*	225	3161	205
3157	215	3159,7*b*	226	*sub* 3161	206-209
3158	233-234	3159,8	221	3162*a*	211
3159	232	3160	253	3162*b*,1	332
3159,1	227	3160,I.1	84	3162*b*,2	336
3159,2*a*	223	3160,I.2	83	3162*b*,3	337
3159,2*b*	224	3160,I.3	85	3162*b*,4	338

CIL XI	Bakkum	*CIL* XI	Bakkum	*CIL* XI	Bakkum
3162*b*,5	334	6706,10.4	430	7522	329
3162*b*,6	331	6706,10.5	461	7523*a*	343
3162*b*,7	333	6706,10.6	429	7523*b*	343
sub 3162*b*	335	6706,10.7	426	7524	342
sub 3162*b*	339	6706,10.8	462	7525	346
3162*c*,1	99	6706,11a	472*	7526*a*	345
3162*c*,2	96	6707,7	61	7526*b*	347
3162*c*,3	94	6708,13	62	7526*c*	344
3162*c*,4a	90	6709,26	217	7762	378
3162*c*,4b	91	7483*a*	218	8124,1*a*	400
3162*c*,5	95	7483*b*	219	8124,1*b*	431
3162*c*,6	101	7500*a*	235	8124,2	396
3961*a*	394	7500*b*	236	8124,3	410
6704,2*d*	297	7500*c*	237	8124,4	398
6704,2*e*	363	7501	238	8124,5	421
6704,3*a*	298	7502	239	8124,6	397
6704,6	473*	7503	240	8124,7	399
6706,1	391	7504	241	8124,8	419
6706,2	392	7505	293	8124,9	411
6706,3	393	7513	266	8124,11	403
6706,4	387	7514	326	8124,12	406
6706,5	389	7515	273	8124,13	407
6706,6	390	7516	14	8124,14	408
6706,7	424	7517*a*	173	8124,15	401
6706,8	460	7517*b*	174	8124,18	260-261
6706,9	458	7518	329	*sub* 8124	404
6706,10.1	428	7519	327	8130,1	269
6706,10.2	459	7520	328		
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8. FIRST EDITIONS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS PUBLISHED SINCE 1963

The following list contains the first editions of the inscriptions first published *after* the appearance of Giacomelli's *La lingua falisca* (1963). Note that in some cases the inscribed objects themselves had been published previously, either without mentioning the inscription or without giving the text.

58 Schippa 1980:48, nr.50
132 Fortunati, *Sant* p.112
135 Colonna 1972:446, *sub* nr.56
156 Colonna 1972:446-7, nr.57
157 Colonna 1972:446-7, nr.58
175 *unpublished*
242 Renzetti Marra 1990:333-4, 339-40, P labcd
243 Renzetti Marra 1990:333, P 9
244 Renzetti Marra 1990:338, P 12
245 Renzetti Marra 1990:338, P 15
246 Renzetti Marra 1990:339, P 19
247 Renzetti Marra 1990:332-4, T 20
248 Renzetti Marra 1990:332-4, T VIb
249 Renzetti Marra 1990:333-4, T 22
250 Pulcini 1974:138
256 *FI* II.2, p.254
267 *FI* II.2, p.300
290 *FI* II.1, p.45
294 *FI* II.2, p.321
346 *FI* II.1, pp.67-8
358 R. Giacomelli 1977:63-9
359 R. Giacomelli 1977:63-9
361 Renzetti Marra 1990:336-7, B 1

376	Colonna 1976b
378	Torelli 1967:536, nr.1
379	Torelli 1967:536-7, nr.2
380	Torelli 1967:537, nr.3
381	Torelli 1967:537, nr.4
382	Torelli 1967:537-8, nr.5
383	Torelli 1967:538, nr.1
384	Torelli 1967:538, nr.2
394	Briquel 1972:825
434	Moretti 1975:175, nr. 44
435	Moretti 1975:173-4, nr.40
436	Moretti 1975:152, nr.156
438	Moretti 1975:152, nr.154
439	Moretti 1975:158, nr.7
440	Moretti 1975:158, nr.8
441	Moretti 1975:158, nr.9
442	Moretti 1975:158, nr.10
443	Moretti 1975:158, nr.11
444	Moretti 1975:158, nr.12
445	Moretti 1975:159, nr.13
446	Moretti 1975:159, nr.14
447	Moretti 1975:159, nr.15
448	Degrassi & Krummrey *CIL* 1^2.2910b,10
449	Moretti 1975:159, nr.16
450	Moretti 1975:159, nr.17
451	Moretti 1975:159, nr.18
452	Moretti 1975:159, nr.19
453	Moretti 1975:159, nr.20
454	Moretti 1975:160, nr.21
455	Moretti 1975:160, nr.22
456	Moretti 1975:104-5, nr.141
470*	Wallace 2004
471*	Olmos Romera 2003
472*	Stanco 2001
473*	*Tajan* 2002, p.59
480†	Colonna 1983
481†	Firmani 1977:116

XVIII	*CVA* Louvre 23, p.21
XX	Polidori 1977
XXIV	Beranger & Fortini 1978
XXVI	Gulinelli 1995a:319-20
XXX	Michetti 2003
XXXVI	Colonna 1990:118-20
XXXVII	Gulinelli 1995a:320-1
XXXVIII	Dini e.a 1985:69
sub XXXIX	Colonna 1997
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6 (EF) – 36, 58, 93, 129, 140, 143, 148, 184, 216, 219, 245, 306, 323, 327, 343; 365, 372, 375, 381,

382 fig.11.1, 393, 401, **415**, 578, 590

7 (EF) – 36, 58, 83, 111 fig.3.9, 137, 148, 184, 216, 218, 240, 306, 323, 327, 343; 365, 372, 375, 381, 382 fig.11.1, 393, 401, **415**, 578, 590

8 (EF) – 36, 323, 343; 362, 365, 375, 381, 382 fig.11.1, 393, **415-6**, 437, 578, 590

9 (EF) – 36, 58, 59, 61, 62, 71, 75, 93, 148, 155, 156, 159, 160, 165, 167-8, 169, 172, 175, 184, 185, 190-1, 216, 219, 293, 298, 299, 299-300, 309, 323, 327, 343, 348, 350, 353, 354, 355; 365, 372, 375, 381, 382 fig.11.1, 393, 400, **415-6**, 437, 578, 579, 590

10 (EF) – 33, 36, 93, 143, 202, 295, 307 fig.8.1, 314, 323, 327, 343; 365, 374, 375, 381, 382 fig.11.1, 393, **416**, 425, 457, 578, 590

11 (MF) – 130, 224, 234, 235, 253-4, 273-4; 366, 369, 375, **418-9**, 420

12 (MF) – 77, 93, 94, 97, 107 fig.3.7, 181, 224, 234 fig.7.3, 234, 235, 241-3, 245, 270, 282, 292, 295, 302, 313, 325, 326, 327; 366, 369, 375, **418-9**, 444, 445, 531

13 (MF) – 81, 107 fig.3.7, 130, 224, 239, 247, 260, 263; 366, 369, 375, 386, **419-20** with **fig.13.1**

14 (MF) – 59, 60, 62, 72, 80, 97, 111 fig.3.9, 130, 131, 184-5, 226, 228, 232, 234 fig.7.3, 241-3, 253, 266, 324; 362, 366, 371, 375, 418, **420**, 471, 552

15 (MF) – 118, 184-5, 224, 234 fig.7.3, 241-3, 253-4, 269, 324; 366, 370, 375, 418, **421**, 540, 541

16 (MF) – 225, 234, 235, 269; 366, 370, 375, 418, **421**, 540, 541

17 (MF) – 90, 113, 122, 141, 143, 188-9, 193, 198-9, 230-1, 314, 350; 366, 369, 370, 375, 418, **421**, 446, 516

18 (MF) – 81, 97, 98, 186, 228, 248, 264; 366, 370, 375, 418, **421-2**, 446, 534

19 (MF) – 81, 93, 97, 98, 186, 225, 234, 235, 243-4, 264; 366, 370, 375, 418, **422** with **fig.13.2**, 534

20 (MF) – 84, 109, 111 fig.3.9, 122, 126, 131, 137, 221, 240, 296, 305, 307 fig.8.1; 362, 366, 372, 375, **422-3**

21 (MF/LtF) – 229, 307 fig.8.1, 337; 366; 367, 376, 383, **423**

22-27 (MF) – 228, 274, 307 fig.8.1; 366, 372, 376, **423**, 426, 430, 527

28 (MF?) – 196-7, 197, 250, 317; 366, 372, 376, 383, **423**, 424, 464

29 (MF?) – 196-7, 250, 276; 362, 366, 372, 376, 423, **424**, 464

30 (MF?) – 239, 240; 362, 362, 366, 372, 376, **424**

31-32 (MF) – 59, 73, 97, 100, 105, 109, 143, 189, 204, 295, 307 fig.8.1, 314, 327; 366, 374, 376, 418, **424-5**

33 (MF?) – 107 fig.3.7, 208, 245, 265; 362, 366, 372, 376, **425**, 469

34-36 (MF) – 130, 131, 221, 249-50, 273, 295, 307 fig.8.1, 324; 366, 372, 376, **425-6**

37 (MF/Etr) – 259, 323; 362, 366, 368, 372, 376, **426**, 599

38 (MF?) – 241-3, 274; 362, 366, 372, 376, 423, **426**

39 (MF) – 87, 91 fig.3.5, 93, 118, 224, 243-4, 267; 366, 371, 376, 422, **426**

40 (MF) – 60, 61, 70, 73, 78, 88, 91 fig.3.5, 92, 93, 96, 99, 109, 124, 125, 126, 131, 155, 157, 161, 182, 188, 233 n.118, 240, 261, 292, 293, 298, 300, 310, 311, 312-3, 324, 330; 366, 370, 376, 422, **426-7**, 486, 496

41 (MF) – 29, 59, 72, 73, 84, 90, 94, 97, 100, 103 n.49, 105, 107 fig.3.7, 109, 111 fig.3.9, 113, 130, 141, 189, 198-9, 228, 230-1, 236, 240, 245, 263, 267, 302, 325, 330; 366, 371, 376, **427-8**, 475, 523, 524

42 (MF) – 72, 76, 86, 90, 94, 130, 141, 144, 198-9, 207, 228, 230-1, 241-3, 263-4, 272, 325, 330; 366, 371, 376, 387, **428-9**, 524, 560

43 (MF) – 198-9, 225, 229, 230-1, 252, 252-3, 330; 366, 371, 376, **429**, 527

44 (MF?) – 274; 362, 366, 372, 376, **430**

45 (MF) – 130, 221, 259, 295, 307 fig.8.1; 366, 372, 376, **430**

46 (MF?) – 81, 263; 362, 366, 372, 376, **430**

47 (MF) – 87, 228, 276; 366, 370, 376, 387, **430**, 441 n.229, 446, 486, 522

48 (MF) – 74, 93, 107 fig.3.7, 118, 224, 227,

228, 243-4, 248, 260, 287; 366, 370, 376, **431**

49 (MF) – 74, 78, 86, 93, 107 fig.3.7, 141, 224, 227, 228, 241-3, 251, 260, 287; 366, 370, 376, 386, 387, **431**

50 (MF) – 74, 93, 107 fig.3.7, 224, 227, 228, 241-3, 248, 260, 287; 366, 370, 376, **431**

51 (MF) – 93, 111 fig.3.9, 224, 227, 240, 260, 287; 366, 370, 376, 386, **432**

52 (MF) – 93, 107 fig.3.7, 225, 260; 366, 370, 376, **432**

53 (MF) – 74, 107 fig.3.7, 118, 224, 260, 263-4, 287; 366, 370, 376, **432**

54 (MF) – 72, 81, 91 fig.3.5, 93, 97, 98, 186, 224, 248, 264; 366, 370, 376, **432**, 534

55 (MF) – 362, 366, 371, 376, **433**

56 (MF) – 80, 85, 93, 97, 99, 108 fig.3.8, 125, 141, 151, 187, 224, 273, 282, 288, 293, 297, 310, 329; 366, 371, 376, 387, **433**, 486, 525, 602

57 (MF) – 88, 224, 241-3, 258, 261, 263, 267; 366, 376, 383, **433**

58 (MF) – 71, 74, 130, 221, 241, 260; 366, 372, 376, **434**, 564, 567

59-60 (MF) – 59, 60, 63, 73, 78, 80, 81, 84, 86, 90, 91 fig.3.5, 92, 94, 96, 101, 109, 127, 147, 151, 155, 156, 157, 161, 169-70, 174, 175, 180, 182, 183, 187, 199, 292, 294, 298, 299, 301, 326, 350, 353, 355; 362, 366, 373, 376, 383, 385, 432 n.223, **434-5**, 453

61 (MF/Etr) – 323; 362, 366, 368, 376, **435-6** **with fig.13.3**, 599, 600

62 (MF) – 28, 59, 89 n.46, 90, 96, 141, 142, 147, 182, 183, 192, 203, 204, 204 n.106, 295; 366, 372, 373, 376, 383, 409, **436**

63 (LtF) – 130, 202, 221, 259, 295, 337; 362; 367, 372, 376, 387, **437**

64 (MF/Etr) – 94, 221, 228, 253-4, 277, 323, 325; 362, 366, 368, 372, 376, 384, 388, **437**, 521, 529, 599

65 (MF) – 33, 89 n.46, 142, 226, 307 fig.8.1; 362, 366, 374, 376, 409, **437**

66 (MF/Etr) – 226, 229, 323; 362, 366, 368, 372, 376, **437-8**, 599

67 (MF/Etr) – 85, 94, 226, 229, 237, 258, 323, 325; 366, 368, 372, 373, 376, 387, **438** **with fig.13.4**

68 (MF?) –239-40, 240; 362, 366, 372, 376, 383, 437, **438**

69-71 (MF) – 109, 122, 126, 131, 137, 138, 221, 251, 262, 296, 305, 307 fig.8.1; 366, 372, 376, 437, **438-9**

72 (MF) – 89, 91 fig.3.5, 102, 128, 172, 198, 221, 252, 297; 366, 372, 376, 408, 414, 437, **439**

73 (MF) – 118, 221, 243-4, 307 fig.8.1; 366, 372, 376, **439**

74 (MF) – 121, 122, 221, 243-4, 296, 305, 307 fig.8.1; 366, 372, 376, **439**

75 (MF) – 228, 266; 366, 372, 376, **440**

76 (MF?) – 195, 316; 362, 366, 372, 376, 383, **440**

77 (MF/Etr) – 86, 323; 366, 368, 372, 376, 386, 387, **440**

78 (MF?) – 229, 372, 376, 383, **440**

79 (MF) – 15, 59, 62, 93, 94, 103, 111 fig.3.9, 126, 130, 224, 234 fig.7.3, 244, 253-4, 270, 333; 366, 369, 376, 384, **440**, 486, 489 n.255

80 (MF) – 59, 60, 61, 78, 90, 91 fig.3.5, 93, 101, 108 fig.3.8, 111 fig.3.9, 118, 125, 157, 161, 182, 190, 194, 224, 226, 228, 229, 234 fig.7.3, 241-3, 246, 252-3, 253-4, 270, 273, 275, 275, 281, 282, 283 n.142, 293, 295, 297, 303, 310; 366, 370, 376, 386, **443-4**, 444

81 (MF) – 86, 107, 108 fig.3.8, 228, 241-3, 250, 262-3, 275, 282; 366, 376, 386, 387, 388, 442, **443**, 471

82 (MF) – 29, 84, 103, 107 fig.3.7, 118, 141, 191, 224, 237, 260, 276, 284; 366, 370, 376, 433, **443-4**, 486, 546, 576

83 (MF) – 77, 86, 130, 181, 224, 276, 282, 295, 302, 313, 326; 366, 369, 369, 376, 386, 387, 444, **444-5**, 445

84 (MF) – 77, 87 n.45, 130, 181, 224, 241-3, 273, 282, 295, 302, 313, 326; 366, 369, 369, 376, 418, 444, **445**

85 (MF) – 88, 91 fig.3.5, 102, 226, 282, 324; 366, 376, 387, 388, 418, 445, **445**, 599

86 (MF) – 226, 229, 276; 366, 370, 376, 430, **445-6**, 486, 522

87 (MF) – 118, 224, 246; 366, 370, 376, 441, **446**

88 (MF) – 58, 63, 72, 75, 80, 88, 93, 101, 107, 108 fig.3.8, 125, 151, 156, 167, 169, 187, 189, 190, 224, 234, 235, 253-4, 276, 293, 297, 298, 300, 301, 310, 311, 350, 356; 362, 366, 370, 376, 422, 441, 445, **446-7**, 481, 508

89 (MF) – 81, 93, 101, 102, 111 fig.3.9, 118, 187, 190, 218, 224, 238, 263, 281, 283 n.142, 300; 362, 366, 370, 370, 376, 441, **446-7**, 578

90 (MF) – 30, 31 fig.2.1, 34, 59, 93, 96, 101, 102, 111 fig.3.9, 141, 195, 224, 240 n.121, 244, 261, 281, 282; 362, 366, 370, 371, 376, 447, **447-9**, 450, 515, 558

91 (MF) – 30, 31 fig.2.1, 34, 59, 141, 148 n.78, 184, 195, 281; 362, 366, 370, 370 n.179, 370 n.180, 371, 376, 447, **447-9**, 558

92 (MF) – 111 fig.3.9, 228, 261; 366, 371, 376, 447, **449**, 558

93 (MF) – 111 fig.3.9, 224, 229, 244, 266; 366, 371, 376, 447, **449**, 558

94 (MF) – 93, 111 fig.3.9, 130, 151, 184-5, 187, 225, 229, 240, 261, 293, 297, 310; 362, 366, 371, 376, 447, **449-50**, 558

95 (MF) – 80, 90, 93, 111 fig.3.9, 125, 157, 162, 182, 225, 261, 293, 297, 310; 362, 366, 371, 376, 447, **450**, 558

96 (MF) – 99, 100, 111 fig.3.9, 118, 224, 229, 243-4, 260, 261; 362, ; 366, 371, 376, 447, **450-1**, 451, 558

97 (MF) – 93, 111 fig.3.9, 225, 261, 371, 376, 447, **451**, 558

98 (MF) – 101, 102, 103, 111 fig.3.9, 190, 225, 271-2, 281; 362, 366, 371, 376, 447, **451**, 452, 455

99 (MF) – 103, 111 fig.3.9, 225, 228, 271-2; 366, 371, 376, 447, 451, **452**, 452

100 (MF) – 93, 103, 111 fig.3.9, 141, 225, 271; 362, 366, 371, 376, 447, 452, **452**

101 (MF) – 78, 84, 90, 198-9, 228, 230-1, 243, 251, 301; 366, 371, 376, 383, 386, **453**

102 (MF) – 143, 198-9, 225, 229, 230-1, 248, 277, 282; 362, 366, 371, 376, **453**

103 (MF) – 104, 191; 362, 366, 371, 376, **453-4**

104 (MF) – 362, 366, 371, 376, 447, **454**

105 (MF) – 93, 111 fig.3.9, 261; 362, 366, 371, 376, **454**

106 (MF) – 362, 366, 371, 376, **455**

107 (MF) – 74, 121, 122, 307 fig.8.1; 362, 366, 371, 376, 454, **455**, 599

108 (MF) – 194; 362, 366, 371, 376, **455**, 599, 600

109 (MF) – 113, 122, 229, 296, 307 fig.8.1, 315, 324; 366, 372, 376, **457-8**

110 (MF/Etr MF) – 112, 113, 229, 258; 366, 372, 373, 374, 376, 457, **458**

111 (MF?) – 366, 372, 372, 376, 384, 441, **458**

112 (LF) – 113, 221, 243-4, 296, 305, 307 fig.8.1, 372, 376, 417, 457, **458-9**

113 (MF) – 30, 34, 58, 63, 73, 94, 98, 109, 111 fig.3.9, 114, 126, 131, 137, 138, 145, 146, 179, 197-8, 204, 296, 300, 315, 324, 339; 362, 366, 374, 376, 457, 459, **459**, **462-4**

114 (MF) – 30, 34, 58, 63, 73, 98, 109, 111 fig.3.9, 114, 126-7, 114, 146, 179, 197-8, 204, 296, 300, 315, 324, 339; 362, 366, 374, 376, 457, 459, **460**, **462-4**

115 (MF) – 30, 34, 58, 63, 73, 94, 98, 109, 111 fig.3.9, 114, 126, 131, 145, 146, 179, 197-8, 204, 296, 300, 315, 324, 339; 362, 366, 374, 376, 457, 459, **460**, **462-4**

116 (MF) – 30, 34, 58, 73, 94, 98, 109, 111 fig.3.9, 114, 126, 131, 146, 179, 197-8, 204, 296, 300, 315, 324, 339; 362, 366, 374, 376, 457, 459, **460**, **462-4**

117 (MF) – 30, 34, 63, 94, 98, 114, 145, 296, 300, 315, 324, 366, 374, 376, 457, 459, **460**, 461, **462-4**

118 (MF) – 34, 98, 109, 114, 126, 131, 146, 197-8, 204, 296, 315, 324; 362, 366, 374, 376, 457, 459, **460**, **462-4**

119 (MF) – 34, 98, 109, 114, 126, 146, 197-8, 204, 296, 315, 324; 362, 366, 374, 376, 457, 459, **461**, **462-4**

120 (MF) – 34, 98, 109, 114, 126, 131, 146, 197-8, 204, 296, 315, 324; 362, 366, 374, 376, 457, 459, **461**, **462-4**

121 (MF) – 34, 98, 109, 114, 126, 131, 146, 197-8, 204, 296, 315, 324; 362, 366, 374, 376, 457, 459, **461**, **462-4**

122 (MF) – 34, 98, 109, 114, 126, 131, 146, 197-8, 204, 296, 315, 324; 362, 366, 374, 376, 457, 459, **461**, **462-4**

123 (MF) – 34, 98, 114, 204, 296, 315; 362, 366, 374, 376, 457, 459, 460, **461**, **462-4**

124 (MF) – 34, 98, 114, 146, 197, 204, 296, 315; 362, 366, 374, 376, 457, 459, **461**, **462-4**

125 (MF) – 34, 98, 114, 146, 197, 204, 296, 315; 362, 366, 374, 376, 457, **462-4**

126 (MF) – 34, 98, 197, 204, 296, 315; 362, 366, 374, 376, 457, **462-4**

127 (MF) – 59, 195, 295, 316, 317; 362, 366, 374, 376, 457, **464**

128 (MF?) – 196-7, 197, 250, 317; 362, 366, 372, 374, 376, 424, 457, **464**, 465

129 (MF?) – 78, 194, 249; 362, 366, 372, 374, 375, 383, 386, 457, **464-5**, 129

130 (MF?) – 108, 270; 362, 366, 372, 374, 376, 457, **465**, 481

131 (MF?) – 195, 316; 362, 366, 372, 374, 376, 383, 417, 457, **465**

132 (MF) – 362, 362, 366, 374, 375, 376, **465-6**

133 (MF?) – 241-3; 362, 366, 372, 374, 374, 376, 457, **466**

134 (MF?) – 362, 366, 372, 374, 374, 376, 457, **466**

135 (MF) – 91 fig.3.5, 208, 228, 240, 261; 362, 366, 371, 376, 426, 466, **467**

136 (MF) – 71, 90, 206, 228, 248, 263, 325; 362, 366, 371, 376, 466, **467-7**

137 (MF) – 93, 277; 362, 366, 371, 376, 466, **467-7**

138 (MF) – 126; 362, 366, 371, 376, 466, **468**, 599

139 (MF) – 71, 90, 206, 225, 263; 362, 366, 371, 376, 466, **468**

140 (LtF) – 43 n.26, 99, 111 fig.3.9, 194, 224, 234 fig.7.3, 238, 240, 264, 287, 337; 362; 367, 371, 376, 383, 389, 417, **468-9**, 481, 542, 546 n.283

141 (MF) – 93, 97, 111 fig.3.9, 113, 225, 232-3, 234 fig.7.3, 243-4, 265; 362, 366, 371, 376, 425, 466, **469**

142 (MF) – 93, 111 fig.3.9, 224, 234 fig.7.3, 265; 362, 366, 371, 376, 425, 466, **469**

143 (MF) – 93, 224, 265; 362, 366, 371, 376, 425, 466, **469**

144 (MF) – 193-4, 208, 228, 230-1, 234 fig.7.3, 253-4, 266-7, 326; 362, 366, 371, 376, 466, **470-1** **with fig.14.1**

145 (MF) – 208, 225, 253-4; 362, 366, 371, 376, 466, **470-1**

146 (MF) – 59, 60, 62, 72, 80, 87, 90, 91 fig.3.5, 93, 97, 103, 108 fig.3.8, 111 fig.3.9, 125, 151, 157, 161, 182, 208, 224, 228, 234 fig.7.3, 241-3, 243, 266, 277, 293, 297, 310; 362, 366, 371, 376, 385, 458, 466, **471-2**, 578, 587, 588

147 (MF) – 59, 62, 91 fig.3.5, 93, 111 fig.3.9, 225, 228, 243, 265, 266, 282, 366, 371, 376, 386, 425, 466, 469, **472**

148 (MF) – 84, 93, 111 fig.3.9, 118, 224, 234 fig.7.3, 243-4, 246, 266; 362, 366, 371, 376, 466, **472**, 476

149 (MF) – 59, 93, 98, 99, 101, 118, 151, 187, 190, 224, 253-4, 271, 281; 362, 366, 371, 376, 442, 466, **473**, 474

150 (MF) – 80, 99, 208, 226, 229, 271, 293, 297, 310; 362, 366, 371, 376, 466, **473**

151 (MF) – 93, 97, 99, 113, 224, 232-3, 234 fig.7.3, 243-4, 252, 271; 362, 366, 371, 376, 401, 439, 466, **473-4** **with fig.14.2**

152 (MF) – 87, 93, 100, 185, 194, 224, 234, 235, 253-4, 268, 282; 362, 366, 371, 376, 466, **474-5**

153 (MF) – 85, 85 n.44, 93, 97, 111 fig.3.9, 224, 240, 272; 362, 366, 371, 376, 387, 466, **475**

154 (MF) – 85, 85 n.44, 113, 121, 122, 229, 272, 297, 300, 312, 313; 362, 366, 371, 376, 387, 466, **475**

155 (MF) – 29, 97, 106, 107 fig.3.7, 114, 184-5, 189, 228, 234 fig.7.3, 236, 245, 251, 274, 284, 301, 302; 366, 371, 376, 466, **475-6**

156 (MF) – 101, 123, 190, 225, 229, 253-4, 277, 281 n.141, 300, 312, 366, 371, 376, 466, **476**

157 (MF) – 224, 243-4, 276;

, 366, 371, 376, 466, **476**

158 (MF) – 78, 80, 90, 91 fig.3.5, 108 fig.3.8, 118, 151, 157, 161, 182, 187, 194, 225, 229, 234, 235, 253-4, 266, 293, 297, 303, 310; 362, 366, 371, 376, 386, 467, **477**

159 (MF) – 59, 93, 111 fig.3.9, 125, 157, 161, 182, 225, 244, 293, 297, 310; 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **477**

160 (MF) – 228, 248; 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **477-8**

161 (MF) – 93, 118, 161, 182, 229, 293, 297, 310; 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **478**, 552

162 (MF) – 93, 190, 226, 234 fig.7.3, 253-4, 281, 282, 366, 371, 376, 467, **478**

163 (MF) – 225, 234 fig.7.3, 253-4; 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **478**

164 (MF) – 93, 226, 253-4; 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **479**

165 (MF) – 29, 106, 107 fig.3.7, 113, 121, 122, 189, 236, 245, 284, 301, 302, 366, 371, 376, 467, **479**

166 (MF) – 181, 226, 234, 235, 243-4, 282, 371, 376, 467, **479-80**

167 (MF) – 226, 253-4, 253-4; 362, 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **480**

168 (MF) – 238; 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **480**

169 (MF) – 85, 91 fig.3.5, 143, 226, 238; 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **480**

170 (MF) – 78, 194, 303, 337; 362, 366, 371, 376, 386, 467, **480-1**

171 (LtF) – 43 n.26, 94, 184-5, 226, 235 fig.7.4, 239-40, 240, 337; 362, 367, 371, 376, 389, 417, 465, 466, 467, **481**

172 (LtF) – 43 n.26, 98, 156, 172-3, 175, 184-5, 197, 226, 235 fig.7.4, 241-3, 337; 367, 371, 376, 389, 417, 466, 467, **481**

173 (LtF) – 43 n.26, 90, 102, 125, 142, 191, 229, 241-3, 246, 272, 337; 367, 371, 376, 389, 417, 466, 467, **482**, 482

174 (LtF) – 43 n.26, 182, 184-5, 226, 230-1, 235 fig.7.4, 239, 262, 337; 362; 367, 371, 376, 389, 417, 466, 482, **482 with n.252**

175 (MF) – 93, 126; 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **482-3**

176 (MF) – 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **483**

177 (MF) – 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **483**

178 (MF) – 93, 126; 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, 482, **483**

179 (MF) – 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **484**

180 (MF) – 93; 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **484**

181 (MF) – 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **484**

182 (MF) – 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **484**

183 (MF) – 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **484-5**

184 (MF) – 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **485**

185 (MF) – 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **485**

186 (MF) – 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **485**

187 (MF) – 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **485**

188 (MF) – 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **485**

189 (MF) – 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **485**

190 (MF) – 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **486**

191 (MF) – 99, 141, 224, 252, 273, 288, 366, 371, 376, 467, **486**

192 (MF) – 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **486**

193 (MF) – 93; 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **486**

194 (MF) – 362, 366, 371, 376, 467, **486**

195 (MF) – 91 fig.3.5, 93, 99, 100, 103, 224, 260, 366, 370, 376, 467, **487**

196 (MF) – 87, 88, 112, 228, 264, 270, 277, 366, 370, 376, 467, **487**, 580

197 (MF) – 93, 224, 241-3, 366, 370, 376, 467, **487**

198 (MF) – 118, 221, 243-4, 366, 370, 376, 467, **487**

199 (MF/Etr) – 108 fig.3.8, 118, 221, 270, 309, 323; 366, 368, 372, 376, 467, **488**

200 (MF) – 98, 130, 225, 241-3, 262, 295, 309; 366, 372, 376, 454, 467, **488**

201 (MF) – 121, 220, 227, 251-2, 295, 307 fig.8.1; 362, 366, 372, 376, 467, **488**

202 (MF?) – 246-7, 366, 372, 376, 387, 467, **488**

203 (MF?) – 243-4; 362, 366, 372, 376, 467, **488**

204 (MF?) – 240; 362, 366, 372, 376, 467, **489**

205 (LtF) – 15, 30, 74, 108

fig.3.8, 179, 207; 367, 375, 376, **489-90**, 490, 500 n.262, 599

206 (MLF) – 15, 30, 84, 93, 118, 225, 239, 252, 268, 277, 303, 317; 366, 374, 376, 429, 441 n.229, 489, **490**, 490, 491, 500 n.262

207 (MLF) – 15, 30, 87, 225, 241-3, 267, 317, 339; 366, 374, 376, 387, 441 n.229, 489, **490-1**, 491, 500 n.262

208 (MLF/Etr) – 15, 226, 270, 317, 323; 366, 368, 375, 376, 441 n.229, **491**, 491, 500 n.262

209 (MLF/Etr) – 15, 204, 270, 323; 366, 368, 374, 375, 376, 441 n.229, 489, **491**, 491, 500 n.262

210 (MLF) – 15, 30, 87, 88, 93, 196, 225, 241-3, 264, 266, 339; 366, 374, 376, 441 n.229, 487, **491**, 500 n.262, 580

211 (MLF) – 93, 111 fig.3.9, 224, 234, 235, 240, 241-3, 261, 267; 362, 366, 371, 376, **491**

212 (MLF) – 86, 91 fig.3.5, 228, 272, 277; 362, 366, 371, 376, 386, 387, **492**, 554, 565

213 (LF) – 30, 31 fig.2.1, 34, 76, 80, 94, 97, 98, 113, 184-5, 186, 193, 225, 234 fig.7.3, 239-40, 240, 241-3, 246, 264, 273, 303, 336; 367, 375, 376, 420, 493, **493-4**

214 (LF/Lat) – 30, 31 fig.2.1, 34, 47, 54, 76, 85, 92, 95, 100, 101, 102, 110, 111 fig.3.9, 114, 123, 124, 142, 144, 146, 178, 183, 184-5, 193, 195, 225, 234 fig.7.3, 244, 262, 288, 291, 303, 317, 336, 337, 339, 342, 355 n.175; 362, 368, 374, 376, 377, 387, 387, 389, 493, **494-7**, 497, 498, 513

215 (LtF) – 94, 102, 125, 225, 235, 241-3, 273, 277, 317, 336, 337; 367, 375, 376, 454 n.242, 493, 494, **497**, 498

216 (Lat) – 43, 102, 107 fig.3.7, 125, 235 fig.7.4, 251-2, 265, 309, 336; 367, 372, 376, 389, 493, **497-8**

217 (Lat) – 54, 95, 101, 102, 107 fig.3.7, 108 fig.3.8, 178, 201, 291, 303, 317, 336, 337 n.173, 339; 367, 374, 376, 384, 389, 493, 494, 497, **498-500**

218 (Lat) – 25-6, 54, 101, 102, 108 fig.3.8, 125, 178, 201, 204 n.106, 208, 225, 235 fig.7.4, 240, 241-3, 245, 253-4, 254, 266, 272, 291, 303, 317, 337, 337 n.173, 339; 367, 374, 376, 386, 389, 493, 494, 497, **498-500**

219 (Lat) – 30, 31 fig.2.1, 33, 48, 54, 97, 125, 178, 201, 202, 209, 225, 235 fig.7.4, 241-3, 274, 283, 291, 311, 317, 337, 339; 367, 370, 374, 376, 384, 493, **500**, 556

220 (LF) – 15, 80, 93, 94, 97, 101, 107, 108 fig.3.8, 113, 141, 151, 157, 161, 182, 187, 190, 224, 229, 232-3, 234 fig.7.3, 241-3, 243-4, 253-4, 258, 276, 281, 282, 283, 288, 293, 297, 310, 339; 362; 367, 371, 376, 493, **501**, 503, **508-9**

221 (LF) – 15, 29, 44, 59, 80, 85, 90, 93, 96, 97, 98, 106, 107 fig.3.7, 113, 118, 125, 130, 141, 151, 157, 182, 187, 189, 190, 206-7, 229, 236, 246, 253, 256, 257-8, 293, 297, 301, 301 n.151, 302, 310; 362; 367, 371, 376, 387, 476, 493, **501-2**, 507, **508-9**

222 (LF) – 15, 44, 59, 73, 80, 90, 98, 108 fig.3.8, 130, 198-9, 229, 230-1, 234 fig.7.3, 241-3, 246, 253-4, 256, 257-8, 272, 276, 288, 339; 362; 367, 371, 376, 493, **502**, **508-9**, 545 n.282

223 (LF) – 15, 44, 80, 90, 91 fig.3.5, 94, 97, 108 fig.3.8, 113, 118, 125, 151, 157, 161, 182, 187, 206-7, 224, 229, 230-1, 241-3, 256, 276, 288, 293, 298, 310; 362; 367, 370, 371, 376, 493, **502**, **508-9**, 545 n.282

224 (LF) – 15, 59, 80, 93, 94, 97, 108 fig.3.8, 113, 125, 151, 157, 161, 182, 187, 190, 224, 228, 232-3, 234 fig.7.3, 241-3, 253-4, 267, 276, 288, 293, 298, 310; 362; 367, 371, 376, 493, **503**, **508-9**, 545 n.282

225 (LF) – 15, 59, 94, 97, 108 fig.3.8, 113, 125, 190, 224, 228, 229, 241-3, 267, 276, 288; 362; 367, 371, 376, 388, 493, **503**, **508-9**, 545 n.282

226 (LF) – 15, 93, 94, 99, 108 fig.3.8, 157, 162, 182, 187, 206-7, 224, 229, 234 fig.7.3, 239-40, 240, 246, 248, 251-2, 257-8, 270, 293, 298, 310, 325; 362; 367, 371, 376, 388, 493, **503-4**, **508-9**

227 (LF) – 15, 106, 107 fig.3.7, 197, 198-9, 230-1, 234 fig.7.3, 246, 247-8, 268, 282; 362; 367,

371, 376, 388, 493, **504**, 505, 507, **508-9**

228 (LF) – 15, 94, 225, 234 fig.7.3, 246, 268; 362; 367, 371, 376, 493, **505**, **508-9**

229 (LF) – 15, 111 fig.3.9, 184-5, 206, 229, 234 fig.7.3, 240, 251, 274; 362; 367, 371, 376, 493, **505**, **508-9**, 574

230 (LF) – 15, 88, 97, 100, 141, 182, 224, 245, 262, 283, 290, 326; 362; 367, 371, 376, 493, **505-6**, **508-9**, 579

231 (LtF) – 15, 30, 31 fig.2.1, 33, 34, 59, 60, 70, 72, 88, 90, 94, 97, 100, 101, 102, 108 fig.3.8, 141, 151, 161, 181, 182, 184-5, 187, 194, 195, 196, 224, 228, 232, 235 fig.7.4, 239-40, 240, 241-3, 246, 249, 262, 270, 282, 283, 293, 298, 310, 311, 325, 326, 337, 339; 362; 367, 370, 371, 376, 387-8, 389, 448, 493, 505, **506-9**, 510, 513, 514, 515, 516, 579

232 (part LF, part LtF) – 15, 30, 31 fig.2.1, 33, 34, 60, 70, 72, 90, 91 fig.3.5, 101, 141, 181, 187, 196, 226, 238, 246, 311, 337, 339; 362, 367; 367, 370, 371, 376, 389, 493, 505, 507, 508, **509-10 with fig.15.1**

233 (LtF) – 31 fig.2.1, 70, 88, 97, 100, 102, 125, 141, 181, 182, 194, 225, 230-1, 246, 262, 326, 337, 339; 362; 367, 370, 371, 376, 389, 493, **509-10 with fig.15.1**, 579

234 (LF) – 184-5, 226, 229, 234 fig.7.3, 239; 367, 371, 376, 387, 493, **510**

235 (LF) – 111 fig.3.9, 229, 234, 235, 239-40, 240, 277; 367, 371, 376, 493, **511**

236 (LF) – 131, 224, 234 fig.7.3, 241-3, 260; 367, 371, 376, 493, **511**

237 (Lat) – 30, 31 fig.2.1, 54, 102, 125, 178, 235 fig.7.4, 241-3, 246, 273, 287, 291, 311, 337, 339; 368, 370, 371, 376, 493, 507, 508, **511**, 515

238 (Lat) – 30, 31 fig.2.1, 54, 102, 125, 178, 235 fig.7.4, 241-3, 246, 273, 287, 291, 311, 337, 339; 368, 370, 371, 376, 493, 507, 508, **511**, 515

239 (LtF) –225, 246, 269, 337, 339; 367, 370, 371, 376, 493, **511-2**

240 (Lat) – 30, 31 fig.2.1, 54, 128, 178, 291; 368, 376, 493, **512**

241 (MLF/LtF) – 90, 337; 362, 366, 367, 372, 376, 493, **512**

242 (LF) – 17, 30, 31 fig.2.1, 78, 84, 89, 90, 91 fig.3.5, 92, 93, 94, 111 fig.3.9, 141, 142, 147, 156, 157, 159, 160, 169, 174, 180, 184-5, 186, 189-90, 193, 194, 198-9, 224, 227, 228, 230-1, 232, 234 fig.7.3, 239, 241-3, 246, 271, 293, 298, 299, 311, 317, 339, 344; 367, 370, 371, 376, 386, 471, 472, 493, 494, 495, 512, **512-3**, 513, 514, 523, 579

243 (LF) – 17, 30, 31 fig.2.1, 59, 78, 84, 111 fig.3.9, 128, 141, 156, 157, 159, 169, 174, 183, 186, 189-90, 193, 194, 199, 293, 298, 299, 311, 317, 339; 367, 370, 371, 376, 386, 386, 387, 472, 493, 507, 512, **513**, 523

244 (LF) – 17, 94, 103, 127, 193, 200, 225, 271, 294; 367, 371, 376, 493, 512, 513, **514**

245 (LF) – 17, 30, 31 fig.2.1, 78, 103, 111 fig.3.9, 127, 194, 200, 294, 311, 339; 367, 370, 371, 376, 386, 493, 512, 514, **514**

246 (LF) – 17, 30, 262-3; 362; 367, 371, 376, 386, 472, 493, 512, **514**

247 (LF) – 17, 30, 31 fig.2.1, 59, 78, 90, 111 fig.3.9, 128, 183, 184-5, 193, 194, 199, 226, 234 fig.7.3, 311, 339; 367, 370, 371, 376, 386, 493, 507, 512, **514**

248 (LF) – 17, 30, 31 fig.2.1, 59, 90, 128, 141, 183, 193, 199, 224, 273, 311, 339; 367, 370, 371, 376, 493, 512, **515**

249 (LF) – 17, 30, 31 fig.2.1, 34, 59, 128, 183, 184-5, 195, 199, 226, 229, 234 fig.7.3, 241-3, 339; 367, 370, 371, 376, 448, 493, 507 n.267, 508, 512, **515**

250 (Lat) – 54, 87, 102, 125, 178, 225, 235 fig.7.4, 241-3, 248, 265, 283, 291, 303, 337; 368, 372, 376, 480, 493, 512, **515**, 590

251 (Lat) – 54, 59, 76, 94, 102, 106, 107 fig.3.7, 108 fig.3.8, 125, 178, 188-9, 193, 206, 225, 228, 229, 235 fig.7.4, 241-3, 245, 247-8, 253-4, 257, 266, 270, 275, 291, 314, 325, 337; 368, 369, 376, 421, 471, 493, 514, **515-6**, 553

252 (MF/LtF) – 244; 362, 366, 367, 372, 376, **517**

253 (MF/LtF) – 362, 366,

367, 372, 376, 383, 519, **520**

254 (MF?) – 337; 362, 366, 372, 376, 519, **520**

255 (MF?) – 362, 366, 372, 376, 519, **520**

256 (MF/Etr) – 323; 362, 366, 368, 372, 376, 519, **520**

257 (MF) – 76, 84, 85, 90, 91 fig.3.5, 94, 99, 100, 111 fig.3.9, 141, 143, 224, 232, 234 fig.7.3, 238, 261, 289, 325, 328, 366, 371, 376, 387, 519, **521**

258 (MF) – 94, 226, 229, 252-3, 272, 275, 325, 328, 366, 371, 376, 384, 437, 519, **521**, 529

259-260 (MF) – 93, 221, 229, 267, 307 fig.8.1, 366, 372, 376, 519, **522**

261-262 (MF?) – 130, 221, 276, 295, 307 fig.8.1, 366, 372, 376, 388, 519, **522**

263 (MF) – 111 fig.3.9, 226, 234, 235, 240, 243, 265, 366, 372, 376, 519, **522-3 with fig.16.1**

264 (MF/Etr) – 12, 98, 118, 307 fig.8.1, 323; 362, 366, 368, 372, 376, 519, **523**, 602

265 (MF) – 84, 85, 90, 91 fig.3.5, 93, 94, 99, 100, 111 fig.3.9, 132, 141, 143, 207, 219, 221, 228, 230-1, 234 fig.7.3, 238, 245, 248, 259, 261, 265, 286, 289, 292, 325, 326, 327, 328; 362, 366, 371, 376, 418, 519, 521, **523-4**, 601, 602

266 (MF) – 76, 85, 90, 91 fig.3.5, 118, 141, 143, 224, 232, 234 fig.7.3, 238, 252, 273-4, 286, 289, 328; 362, 366, 371, 376, 519, **524**

267 (MF/Etr) – 86, 99, 100, 225, 238, 309, 323, 366, 368, 372, 376, 384, 386, 387, 519, **524**, 604

268 (Lat) – 13, 54, 102, 107 fig.3.7, 125, 149, 178, 267, 291, 309, 335, 337; 367, 368, 372, 376, 389, 498, 519, **525**, 579, 602

269 (MF) – 70, 85, 90, 91 fig.3.5, 94, 99, 100, 118, 141, 145, 224, 238, 268, 268, 286, 289, 323, 325, 326, 329; 362, 366, 371, 376, 387, 409, 519, **525**, 526, 601

270 (MF) – 70, 84, 90, 91 fig.3.5, 113, 118, 121, 122, 142, 145, 224, 228, 245, 261, 268, 286, 289, 297, 300, 312, 313 (with n.161) , 324, 325, 326, 329; 362, 366, 371, 376, 387, 388, 409, 519, 525, **526**, 557, 601

271 (MF) – 85, 97, 99, 228, 248, 273, 286, 329; 362, 366, 371, 376, 387, 433, 519, **526**

272 (MF) – 84, 85, 93, 118, 224, 228, 241-3, 247, 269, 273, 281, 283 n.142, 286, 329; 362, 366, 371, 376, 387, 519, **526-7**

273 (MF) – 130, 221, 241-3, 274, 295, 307 fig.8.1, 366, 372, 376, 426, 430, 519, **527**

274 (MF) – 274; 362, 366, 372, 376, 519, **527**

275 (MF) – 74, 93, 97, 107 fig.3.7, 113, 224, 232-3, 234 fig.7.3, 241-3, 253-4, 260, 287, 329; 362, 366, 371, 376, 519, **527**

276 (MF) – 74, 86, 93, 97, 107 fig.3.7, 111 fig.3.9, 113, 224, 232-3, 234 fig.7.3, 240, 253-4, 260, 287, 327, 328, 329, 330; 362, 366, 371, 376, 386, 387, 519, **527-8**

277 (MF/LtF) – 241, 337; 362; 367; 367, 372, 376, 519, **528**

278 (MF/LtF) – 244, 337; 362; 367; 367, 372, 376, 519, **528**

279 (MF/Etr) – 94, 226, 229, 237, 258, 323; 366, 368, 372, 376, 519, **528**

280 (MF/Etr) – 94, 226, 229, 238, 259, 323; 366, 368, 372, 376, 519, **528**

281 (MF?) – 362, 366, 372, 376, 519, **528**

282 (MF/Etr) – 94, 226, 229, 238, 259, 366, 368, 372, 376, 519, **528**

283 (MF?) – 362, 366, 372, 376, 383, 519, **528**

284 (MF?) – 252; 362, 366, 372, 376, 519, **529**

285 (MLF) – 74, 77, 85, 90, 91 fig.3.5, 92, 98, 102, 109, 113, 128, 144, 156, 172-3, 175, 181, 188-9, 193, 197, 226, 277, 279, 292 n.146, 293, 295, 298, 302, 313, 314, 326, 344, 353; 366, 369, 369 n.178, 376, 384, 387, 418, 421, 437, 444, 445, 446, 516, 519, 521, **529**, 553

286 (MLF) – 362, 366, 372, 376, 519, **529**, 604

287 (MF/Etr) – 362, 366, 368, 372, 376, 519, **530 with fig.16.2**

288 (LtF) – 337; 362, 367, 369, 376, 519, **530**

289 (MLF/Etr) – 84, 323; 366, 375, 376, 489, 519, **530**, 601

290 (LtF) – 94, 97, 102, 125, 195, 225, 226, 245,

258, 270, 277, 281, 282, 303, 317, 337, 339; 367, 376, 418, 489, 501, 519, **531**, 541, 548

291 (Lat) – 30, 54, 102, 125, 178, 225, 235 fig.7.4, 241-3, 250, 262-3, 291, 317, 337, 339; 368, 374, 376, 489, 519, **531**

292 (LtF) – 104, 189, 337; 367, 372, 376, 519, **531-2**

293 (MLF) – 107 fig.3.7, 109, 111 fig.3.9, 131, 218, 227, 231-2, 233 n.118, 234 fig.7.3, 237-8, 245, 296, 300, 305; 366, 372, 376, 519, **532**, 578

294 (LtF) – 239, 337; 362; 367, 372, 376, 519, **532**

295 (Lat) – 99, 271, 295, 309; 368, 372, 376, 519, **532**

296 (Lat) – 54, 99, 178, 271, 291, 295, 309; 368, 372, 376, 519, **532**

297 (MLF) – 118, 221, 243-4; 366, 371, 376, 519, **532**

298 (MLF) – 118, 221, 243-4; 366, 371, 376, 519, **532**

299 (LtF) – 103, 225, 253-4, 268, 337; 367, 371, 376, 429, 519, **533**

300 (LtF) – 81, 103, 107 fig.3.7, 141, 184-5, 198-9, 226, 230-1, 235 fig.7.4, 239, 268; 367, 371, 376, 429, 519, **533**

301 (LtF) – 97, 141, 198-9, 229, 230-1, 235 fig.7.4, 243, 246, 269, 277, 337; 367, 371, 376, 504, 519, **533-4**

302 (MLF) – 16, 72, 81, 97, 98, 186, 228, 234 fig.7.3, 243, 251-2, 264; 366, 370, 376, 420, 453, 519, 534, **534**

303 (MLF) – 16, 228, 248, 262; 366, 370, 376, 519, 534, **534**

304 (MLF) – 16, 99, 121, 228, 248, 271, 307 fig.8.1; 366, 372, 376, 519, **535**, 601

305 (MLF) – 16, 80, 88, 93, 109, 113, 125, 126, 131, 157, 161, 184-5, 224, 233 n.118, 234 fig.7.3, 251-2, 275, 287, 295, 312-3; 366, 371, 376, 433, 519, 534, **535**, 569

306 (MLF) – 16, 84, 229; 366, 371, 376, 519, 534, **535-6**

307 (MLF) – 16, 88, 93, 113, 118, 224, 243-4, 251-2, 275, 287, 293, 298, 310; 366, 371, 376, 519, 534, **536**, 569

308 (MLF) – 16, 87, 88, 93, 113, 113, 121, 122, 184-5, 224, 228, 241-3, 248, 275, 287, 297, 300, 312, 313; 366, 371, 376, 519, 534, **536**, 537, 569

309 (MLF) – 16, 88, 93, 113, 125, 159, 168, 188, 224, 234 fig.7.3, 234, 235, 246-7, 251-2, 275, 281, 282, 287, 300, 312, 326; 366, 371, 376, 454, 519, 534, **536-7**, 538, 569

310 (MLF) – 16, 69, 70, 76, 78, 88, 91 fig.3.5, 93, 97, 113, 121, 195, 224, 229, 249, 275, 287, 297, 300, 312, 313; 366, 371, 376, 386, 519, 534, **537**, 569

311 (MLF) – 16, 196, 228; 366, 371, 376, 519, 534, **537**

312 (MLF) – 16, 59, 88, 93, 111 fig.3.9, 113, 196, 224, 227, 228, 249, 251-2, 253-4, 275, 287; 366, 371, 376, 519, 534, **537**, 569

313 (MLF) – 16, 72, 78, 88, 194, 224, 228, 253-4, 265, 275, 287, 303; 366, 371, 376, 386, 519, 534, **538**, 569

314 (MLF) – 16, 107 fig.3.7, 113, 234 fig.7.3, 241-3, 267; 366, 371, 376, 519, 534, **538**, 559

315 (MLF) – 16, 88, 93, 113, 121, 122, 159, 168, 188, 224, 234 fig.7.3, 243-4, 251-2, 281, 282, 287, 300, 312, 326; 366, 371, 376, 387, 519, 534, 536, **538**, 569

316 (MLF) – 16, 88, 93, 224, 248, 275, 287; 366, 371, 376, 387, 519, 534, **538**, 569, 590

317 (MLF) – 16, 125, 226, 229, 248, 275, 287; 366, 371, 376, 519, 534, 535, **538-9**, 569, 590

318 (MLF) – 16, 84, 88, 93, 195, 225, 230-1, 241-3, 270, 281, 282; 366, 371, 376, 519, 531, 534, 535, **539**

319 (MLF) – 16, 93; 362, 366, 371, 376, 519, 534, 535, 539, **539**

320 (MLF) – 16, 239, 240; 362, 366, 372, 376, 519, 534, **539**

321 (MLF) – 16, 239, 240; 362, 366, 372, 376, 519, 534, **539**

322 (MLF) – 16, 252; 362, 366, 372, 376, 519, 534, **539**

323 (MLF) – 16, 241-3; 362, 366, 372, 376, 519, 534, **539**

324 (MLF) – 93, 224, 241-3, 266; 362, 366, 371, 376, 519, 540, **540**

325 (LtF) – 81, 97, 184-5, 225, 228, 232, 235 fig.7.4, 246, 264, 269, 303, 337; 367, 371, 376, 420, 519, 540, **540**, 541, **548**

326 (LtF) – 93, 157, 162, 182, 337; 367, 371, 376, 519, 540, **541**

327 (LtF) – 59, 111 fig.3.9, 184-5, 225, 229, 235 fig.7.4, 244, 250, 251-2, 258, 266, 275, 337; 367, 371, 376, 501, 519, 540, **541**, 548

328 (LtF) – 225, 250, 269, 337; 367, 371, 376, 420, 471, 519, 540, **541**, 548

329 (LF) – 81, 85, 92, 94, 97, 99, 103, 196, 224, 250, 264, 287; 362; 367, 371, 376, 387, 388, 468, 519, 531, **542**, 546 n.284

330 (LF) – 81, 85, 92, 94, 97, 99, 103, 109, 126, 131, 196, 224, 233 n.118, 234 fig.7.3, 250, 253-4, 264, 287, 297, 300, 312; 362; 367, 371, 376, 387, 387, 468, 519, 542, **543**

331 (LF) – 81, 84, 85, 94, 99, 103, 111 fig.3.9, 225, 240, 264, 287; 362; 367, 371, 376, 387, 468, 519, **543**

332 (LF) – 81, 85, 94, 97, 99, 103, 113, 130, 184-5, 225, 227, 228, 232, 234 fig.7.3, 234 fig.7.3, 239-40, 241, 248, 252, 264, 282, 287, 297, 339; 362; 367, 371, 376, 387, 468, 519, **543-4**, 564 n.284

333 (LF) – 81, 84, 85, 94, 97, 99, 103, 109, 126, 131, 225, 233 n.118, 234 fig.7.3, 264, 300, 312; 362; 367, 371, 376, 387, 468, 519, **544-5** **with fig.16.3**, 551

334 (LF) – 13 n.4, 229, 241-3, 276; 362; 367, 371, 376, 468, 519, **545**

335 (LF, *falsum*?) – 13 n.4, 94, 225; 362; 367, 371, 376, 468, 519, **545**

336 (LF) – 76, 94, 225, 234 fig.7.3, 241-3, 251-2, 253-4, 268, 276, 339; 362, 367, 371, 376, 388, 468, 519, **546**

337 (LF) – 248, 268; 367, 371, 376, 468, 519, **546**, 590

338 (MLF) – 228, 250, 266; 366, 371, 376, 519, 547, **547**

339 (MLF) – 76, 98-9, 141, 142, 207, 234 fig.7.3, 252, 269; 366, 371, 376, 519, 547, **547**, 558, 603

340 (LtF) – 229, 241-3, 269, 337; 362; 367, 371, 376, 420, 519, 540, 541, 547, **548**

341 (LtF) – 94, 125, 182, 226, 229, 230-1, 243, 258, 277, 283, 337; 367, 371, 376, 453, 501, 519, 541, 547, **548**

342 (LtF) – 235 fig.7.4, 337; 362; 367, 371, 376, 519, 547, **548**

343 (LtF) , 337; 362; 367, 371, 376, 519, 531, 547, **549**

344 (LtF) , 337; 362; 367, 371, 376, 519, 547, **549**

345 (LtF) , 337; 362; 367, 371, 376, 519, 547, **549**

346 (MLF) – 29, 81, 93, 118, 207, 224, 237, 246, 251-2, 253-4, 264, 274, 284, 292; 366, 370, 376, 442 n.233, 519, 547, **549**

347 (MLF) – 78, 141, 228, 251; 366, 370, 376, 386, 427 n.217, 455, 467 n.247, 519, 547, **550**

348 (MLF) – 74, 93, 107 fig.3.7, 224, 239, 259; 366, 370, 376, 427 n.217, 467 n.247, 507 n.267, 519, 533, 547, **550**

349 (MLF) – 93, 224, 241-3, 259; 366, 370, 376, 427 n.217, 467 n.247, 507 n.267, 519, 547, **550**

350 (MLF) – 94, 224, 251-2, 259; 366, 370, 376, 427 n.217, 455, 467 n.247, 507 n.267, 519, 519, 547, **550**

351 (MLF) – 94, 111 fig.3.9, 224, 240, 274; 366, 370, 376, 427 n.217, 455, 467 n.247, 507 n.267, 519, 547, **550**, 553

352 (MLF) – 71, 88, 94, 111 fig.3.9, 195, 224, 241, 258, 263; 366, 370, 376, 427 n.217, 434, 467 n.247, 519, 547, **551**, 551, 564, 567

353 (MLF) – 58, 74, 191, 224, 277; 362, 366, 370, 376, 427 n.217, 467 n.247, 519, 547, **551** **with fig.16.4**

354 (MLF) – 87, 94, 99, 131, 84, 224, 234, 235, 251-2, 270-1; 362, 366, 371, 376, 427 n.217, 467 n.247, 519, 547, **551-2**

355 (MLF) – 94, 97, 221, 224, 246, 259, 268; 362, 366, 371, 376, 427 n.217, 467 n.247, 519, 547, **552**

356 (MLF/Etr) – 30, 323; 366, 375, 376, 519, **552**

357 (MLF/Etr) – 30, 86, 259, 323; 366, 375, 376, 519, **552**

358 (MLF) – 94, 111 fig.3.9, 239-40, 274; 362, 366, 371, 376, 519, **552-3**

359 (MLF) – 78, 94, 225, 260; 362, 366, 371, 376, 384, 519, **552-3**

360 (MLF) – 81, 94, 228, 241-3, 263, 298; 362, 366, 371, 376, 420, 446, 540, **553**

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407 (Cap) – 241-3; 362; 367, 372, 376, 561, **566-7**

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433 (Cap) – 94, 97, 102, 114, 123, 125, 178, 201, 291, 303, 317; 367, 374, 376, 570, **571**

434 (Lat) – 97, 102, 178, 201, 291, 317, 337; 368, 374, 376, 570, **572**

435 (Cap) – 94, 102, 125, 178, 201, 225, 236, 246, 249, 251-2, 252, 265, 277, 282, 291, 317; 367, 374, 376, 549, 570, **572**

436 (Lat) – 125, 138, 201, 225, 236, 245, 291, 337; 368, 374, 376, 388, 570, **572**

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XXVIII (Fa S.2) – 35, 204, 205 n.107, 317, 323; 368, 373, 376, 593, 599, **600**

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